Front the Title.

Iames Sartor fecit Londini.

Edw Aubrey
1820

ANTIQUITATES CHRISTIANÆ:
OR, THE
HISTORY
OF THE
LIFE and DEATH
OF THE
HOLY JESUS:
AS ALSO THE
LIVES, ACTS and MARTYRDOMS
OF HIS
APOSTLES.

Christian Antiquities

In TWO PARTS.

The First Part, containing *The* LIFE *of CHRIST*,
WRITTEN BY
JER. TAYLOR, late Lord Biſhop of *Down* and *Connor*.
The Second, containing *The Lives of the APOSTLES*,
with an Enumeration and ſome Brief Remarks upon their firſt Succeſſors
in the Five Great APOSTOLICAL CHURCHES.
BY
WILLIAM CAVE, D. D. Chaplain in Ordinary to His Majeſty.
By whom alſo is added,
An *APPARATUS*, or DISCOURSE INTRODUCTORY to the whole WORK,
concerning the Three Great Diſpenſations of the Church, *Patriarchal*,
Moſaical, and *Evangelical*.

The TENTH EDITION, adorn'd with curious SCULPTURES.

Ὁ μὲν Σωτὴρ καὶ Κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ψευδομαρτυρούμενος μὲν, ἐσιώπα· κατηγορούμενος δὲ, οὐδὲν ἀπεκρίνατο· πειθόμενος πάντα τὸν βίον ἑαυτοῦ, καὶ τὰς ἐν Ἰουδαίοις πράξεις κρείττους γεγονέναι φωνῆς ἐλεγχούσης τὴν ψευδομαρτυρίαν, καὶ λέξεων ἀπολογουμένων πρὸς τὰς κατηγορίας —— καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν καὶ νῦν σιωπᾷ πρὸς ταῦτα, καὶ οὐκ ἀποκρίνεται μὲν διὰ φωνῆς, ἀπολογεῖται δὲ ἐν τῷ βίῳ τῶν γνησίων ἑαυτοῦ μαθητῶν, κεκραγότι τὰ διαφέροντα, καὶ πάσης ψευδομαρτυρίας ὄντι κρείττονι, ἐλέγχων καὶ ἀνατρέπων τὰς ψευδομαρτυρίας καὶ κατηγορίας. Orig. contr. Celſ. l. 1. in Proœm. p. 1, 2.

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Printed for *J. Walthoe*, *D. Midwinter*, *J.* and *J. Bonwicke*, *W. Innys*, *R. Ware*, *J. Walthoe*, jun. *A. Ward*, *J.* and *P. Knapton*, *S. Birt*, *D. Browne*, *C. Hitch*, *T. Longman*, *S. Auſten*, *T. Oſborne*, *A. Millar*, *E. Wickſteed*, *W. Baker*, *J. Hinton*, *J. Beecroft*, *F. Goſling*, *M. Downing*, and *R. Wilkin*. MDCCXLII.

TO THE

RIGHT HONOURABLE,

AND

Right Reverend Father in GOD,

NATHANAEL

Lord Biſhop of *DURHAM*,

And Clerk of the Cloſet to His MAJESTY.

My LORD,

NOTHING but a great experience of your lordſhip's candour could warrant the laying what concernment I have in theſe papers at your lordſhip's feet. Not but that the ſubject is in it ſelf great and venerable, and a conſiderable part of it built upon that authority that needs no patronage to defend it: but to prefix your lordſhip's name to a ſubject ſo thinly and meanly managed, may perhaps deſerve a bigger apology than I can make. I have only brought ſome few ſcattered handfuls of primitive ſtory, contenting my ſelf to glean, where I could not reap. And I am well aſſured, that your lordſhip's wiſdom and love to truth would neither allow me to make my materials, nor to trade in legends and fabulous reports. And yet, alas! how little ſolid foundation is left to build upon in theſe matters? ſo fatally miſchievous was the careleſneſs of thoſe who ought to have been the guardians of books and learning in their ſeveral ages, in ſuffering the records of the ancient church to periſh. Unfaithful truſtees, to look no better after ſuch divine and ineſtimable treaſures committed to them! not to mention thoſe infinite devaſtations that in all ages have been made by wars and flames, which certainly have proved the moſt ſevere and mercileſs plagues and enemies to books.

By ſuch unhappy accidents as theſe we have been robbed of the treaſures of the wiſer and better ages of the world, and eſpecially the records of the firſt times of Chriſtianity, whereof ſcarce any footſteps do remain. So that in this enquiry I have been forced to traverſe remote and deſart paths, ways that afford little fruit to the weary paſſenger; but the conſideration, that it was primitive and apoſtolical, ſweetned my journey, and rendred it pleaſant and delightful. Our inbred thirſt after knowledge naturally obliges us to purſue the notices of former times, which are recommended to us with this peculiar advantage, that the ſtream muſt needs be purer and clearer, the nearer it comes to the fountain; for the ancients (as Plato[a] ſpeaks) were κρείττονες ἡμῶν, ἐγγυτέρω θεῶν οἰκοῦντες, "better than we, and "dwelt nearer to the Gods." And though 'tis true the ſtate of thoſe times is very obſcure and dark, and truth oft covered over with heaps of idle and improbable traditions; yet it may be worth our labour to ſeek for a few jewels, though under a whole heap of rubbiſh. "Is not the gleaning of the ancients (ſay the Jews[b]) better than the vintage of later times?" the very fragments of antiquity are venerable, and at once inſtruct our minds, and gratify our curioſity. Beſides, I was ſomewhat the more inclinable to retire again into theſe ſtudies, that I might get as far as I could from the crowd and the noiſe of a quarrelſome and contentious age.

My Lord,

We live in times, wherein religion is almoſt wholly diſputed into talk and clamour; men wrangle eternally about uſeleſs and inſignificant notions, and which have no tendency to make a man either wiſer or better. And in theſe quarrels the laws of charity are violated, and men perſecute one another with hard names and characters of reproach, and after all conſecrate their fierceneſs with the honourable title of zeal for truth. And what is yet a much ſorer evil, the peace and order of an excellent church, incomparably the beſt that ever was ſince the firſt ages of the goſpel, is broken down, her holy offices derided, her ſolemn aſſemblies deſerted, her laws and conſtitutions ſlighted, the guides and miniſters of religion deſpiſed, and reduced to their primitive character, "the ſcum and offſcouring of the world." How much theſe evils have contributed to the atheiſm and impiety of the preſent age, I ſhall not take upon me to determine. Sure I am, the thing itſelf is too ſadly viſible, men are not content to be modeſt and retired atheiſts, and with the *fool* to *ſay* only *in their hearts, There is no God*; but impiety appears with an open forehead, and diſputes its place in every company; and without any regard to the voice of nature, the dictates of conſcience, and the common ſenſe of mankind, men peremptorily determine againſt a Supreme Being, account it a pleaſant divertiſement to droll upon religion, and a piece of wit to plead for atheiſm. To avoid the preſs and troubleſome importunity of ſuch uncomfortable reflections, I find no better way, than to retire into thoſe primitive and better times, thoſe firſt and pureſt ages of the goſpel, when men really were what they pretended to be, when a ſolid piety and devotion, a ſtrict temperance and ſobriety, a catholick and unbounded charity, an exemplary honeſty and integrity, a great reverence for every thing that was divine and ſacred, rendred Christianity venerable to the world, and led not only the rude and barbarous, but the learned and politer part of mankind in triumph after it.

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[a] In Phileb. p. 16. Tom. 2.

[b] אלא טוב עוללות הראשונים מבציר האחרונים.

BUT, MY LORD, I muſt remember that the minutes of great men are ſacred, and not to be invaded by every tedious impertinent addreſs. I have done, when I have begg'd leave to acquaint your lordſhip, that, had it not been more through other mens fault than my own, theſe papers had many months ſince waited upon you in the number of thoſe publick congratulations, which gave you joy of that great place, which you worthily ſuſtain in the church. Which that you may long and proſperouſly enjoy, happily adorn, and ſucceſsfully diſcharge to the honour of God, the benefit of the church, and the endearing your lordſhip's memory to poſterity, is the hearty prayer of,

My LORD,

Your Lordſhip's faithfully

devoted ſervant,

WILLIAM CAVE.

TO THE

READER.

THE deſign of the following APPARATUS *is only to preſent the reader with a ſhort ſcheme of the ſtate of things in the preceding periods of the church, to let him ſee by what degrees and meaſures the evangelical ſtate was introduced, and what methods God in all ages made uſe of to conduct mankind in the paths of piety and virtue. In the infancy of the world he taught men by the dictates of nature, and the common notices of good and evil,* (τὸ πρεσβύτατον νόμιμον, *as* Philo[a] *calls them, "the moſt ancient law") by lively oracles, and great examples of piety. He ſet forth the holy patriarchs (as Chryſoſtom*[b] *obſerves) as tutors to the reſt of mankind, who by their religious lives might train up others to the practice of virtue, and as phyſicians, be able to cure the minds of thoſe who were infected and over-run with vice. Afterwards, (ſays he) having ſufficiently teſtified his care of their welfare and happineſs by many inſtances of a wiſe and benign Providence towards them, both in the land of Canaan and in Egypt, He gave them prophets, and by them wrought ſigns and wonders, together with innumerable other expreſſions of his bounty. At laſt, finding that none of theſe methods did ſucceed, not patriarchs, not prophets, not miracles, not daily warnings and chaſtiſements brought upon the world, He gave the laſt and higheſt inſtance of his love and goodneſs to mankind, he ſent his only-begotten Son out of his boſom,* τῶν ψυχῶν καὶ τῶν σωμάτων ἰατρὸν, *"the great phyſician both of ſoul and body, who taking upon him the form of a ſervant, and being born of a virgin, converſed in the world, and bore our ſorrows and infirmities, that by reſcuing human nature from under the weight and burden of ſin, He might exalt it to eternal life. A brief account of theſe things is the main intent of the following diſcourſe, wherein the reader will eaſily ſee, that I conſidered not what might, but what was fit to be ſaid, with reſpect to the end I deſigned it for. It was drawn up under ſome more diſadvantageous circumſtances than a matter of this nature did require; which were it worth the while to repreſent to the reader, might poſſibly plead for a ſofter cenſure. However, ſuch as it is, it is ſubmitted to the readers ingenuity and candour.*

W. C.

A N

[a] Lib. de Abrah. p. 350.

[b] Homil. XXVII. in Geneſ. Tom. 2. p. 285.

AN

APPARATUS,

OR,

DISCOURSE Introductory

TO THE

Whole WORK,

CONCERNING

The Three Great Diſpenſations of the CHURCH, Patriarchal, Moſaical, and Evangelical.

SECT. I.

Of the PATRIARCHAL Diſpenſation.

The tradition of Elias. The three great periods of the church. The patriarchal age. The laws then in force natural or poſitive. Natural laws what; evinced from the teſtimony of natural conſcience. The ſeven precepts of the ſons of Noah. Their reſpect to the law of nature. Poſitive laws under that diſpenſation. Eating blood why prohibited. The myſtery and ſignification of it. Circumciſion when commanded and why. The laws concerning religion. Their publick worſhip what. Sacrifices in what ſenſe natural, and how far inſtituted. The manner of God's teſtifying his acceptance. What the place of their publick worſhip. Altars and groves, whence. Abraham's oak, its long continuance, and deſtruction by Conſtantine. The original of the Druids. The times of their religious aſſemblies. In proceſs of time, *Gen. iv. what meant by it. The ſeventh day whether kept from the beginning. The miniſters of religion, who. The prieſthood of the firſt-born. In what caſes exerciſed by younger ſons. The ſtate of religion ſucceſſively under the ſeveral patriarchs. The condition of it in Adam's family. The ſacrifices of Cain and Abel, and their different ſucceſs, whence. Seth, his great learning and piety. The face of the church in the time of Enoſh. What meant by,* Then began men to call upon the name of the Lord. *No idolatry before the flood.* The ſons of God, *who. The great corruption of religion in the time of Jared. Enoch's piety, and walk*ing with God. *His tranſlation, what. The incomparable ſanctity of Noah, and his ſtrictneſs in an evil age. The character of the men of that time. His preſervation from the deluge. God's covenant with him, Sem or Japhet whether the elder brother. The confuſion of languages when, and why. Abraham's idolatry aud converſion. His eminency for religion noted in the ſeveral inſtances of it. God's covenant with him concerning the Meſſiah. The piety of Iſaac and Jacob. Jacob's bleſſing the twelve tribes, and foretelling the Meſſiah. Patriarchs extraordinary under this diſpenſation. Melchiſedeck who; wherein a type of Chriſt. Job, his name, country, quality, religion, ſufferings; when he lived. A reflection upon the religion of the old world, and its agreement with Chriſtianity.*

GOD *who at ſundry times and in divers manners, ſpake in times paſt to the fathers by the prophets, hath in theſe laſt days ſpoken unto us by His Son.*[a] For having created man for the nobleſt purpoſes, to love, ſerve, and enjoy his Maker; He was careful in all ages, by various revelations of his will, to acquaint him with the notices of his duty; and to *ſhew him what was good, and what the Lord did re-*

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[a] Hebr. i. 1, 2.

quire of him: till all other methods proving weak and ineffectual for the recovery and the happineſs of human nature, God was pleaſed to crown all the former diſpenſations with the revelation of his Son. There is among the[b] Jews an ancient tradition of the houſe of Elias, "That the world ſhould laſt ſix thouſand years," which they thus compute, שני אלפים תהו שני אלפים תרה ושני אלפים ימות המשיח "two thouſand "years empty, (little being recorded of thoſe firſt ages of the world) two thouſand "years the law, and two thouſand the days of the Meſſiah." A tradition, which if it miniſter to no other purpoſes, does yet afford us a very convenient diviſion of the ſeveral ages and periods of the church, which may be conſidered under a threefold oeconomy, the patriarchal, moſaical, and evangelical diſpenſation. A ſhort view of the two former will give us great advantage to ſurvey the latter, that new and better diſpenſation which God has made to the world.

2. The patriarchal age, ימי תהו as the Jews call it, "the days of emptineſs," commenced from the beginning of the world, and laſted till the delivery of the law upon mount Sinai. And under this ſtate the laws which God gave for the exerciſe of religion, and the government of his church, were either natural, or poſitive. Natural laws are thoſe innate notions and principles, whether ſpeculative or practical, with which every man is born into the world, thoſe common ſentiments of virtue and religion, thoſe *principia juſti & decori*, principles of fit and right, that naturally are upon the minds of men, and are obvious to their reaſon at firſt ſight, commanding what is juſt and honeſt, and forbidding what is evil and uncomely; and that not only in the general, that what is good to be embraced, and what is evil to be avoided, but in the particular inſtances of duty according to their conformity or repugnancy to natural light, being converſant about thoſe things, that do not derive their value and authority from any arbitrary conſtitutions, but from the moral and intrinſick nature of the things themſelves. Theſe laws, as being the reſults and dictates of right reaſon, are, eſpecially as to their firſt and more immediate emanations, the ſame in all men in the world, and in all times and places, המצות שנתפרסמו בכל אומות; as the Jews call them, precepts that are evident among all nations, indeed they are interwoven into mens nature, inſerted into the texture and conſtitution of their minds, and do diſcover themſelves as ſoon as ever they arrive to the free uſe and exerciſe of their reaſon. That there are ſuch laws and principles naturally planted in mens breaſts, is evident from the conſent of mankind, and the common experience of the world. Whence elſe comes it to paſs, that all wicked men even among the heathens themſelves after the commiſſion of groſs ſins, ſuch as do more ſenſibly rouze and awaken conſcience, are filled with horrors and fears of puniſhment; but becauſe they are conſcious to themſelves of having violated ſome law and rule of duty? Now what law can this be? not the written and revealed law, for this the heathens never had: it muſt be therefore the inbred law of nature, that is born with them, and fixed in their minds, antecedently to any external revelation. *For when the Gentiles which have not the law, do by nature* (by the light and evidence, by the force and tendency of their natural notions and dictates) *the things contained in the law, theſe having not a law, are a law unto themſelves, which ſhew the work of the law written in their hearts, their conſcience alſo bearing witneſs, and their thoughts*, λογισμῶν, the reaſonings of their minds, *in the mean while* (μεταξὺ ἀλλήλων, by turns) *accuſing, or elſe excuſing one another*;[c] that is, although they had not a written law, as the Jews had of old, and we Chriſtians have at this day, yet by the help of their natural principles they performed the ſame actions, and diſcharged the ſame duties that are contained in, and commanded by the written and external law, ſhewing by their practices that they had a law (ſome common notions of good and evil) written in their hearts. And to this their very conſciences bear witneſs, for according as they either obſerve or break theſe natural laws, their conſciences do either acquit or condemn them. Hence we find God in the very infancy of the world, appealing to Cain for the truth of this, as a thing ſufficiently plain and obvious, *Why art thou wroth, and why is thy countenance fallen? if thou doeſt well, ſhalt thou not be accepted*, שאת *be lift up*[d]? able to walk with a pleaſed and chearful countenance, the great indication of a mind ſatisfied in the conſcience of its duty: *but if thou doeſt not well, ſin lies at the door*; the puniſhments of ſin will be ready to follow thee, and conſcience, as a miniſter of vengeance, will perpetually purſue and haunt thee. By theſe laws mankind was principally governed in the firſt ages of the world, there being for near two thouſand years no other fixed and ſtanding rule of duty, than the dictates of this law of nature; thoſe principles of vice and virtue, of juſtice and honeſty, that are written in the heart of every man.

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[b] Talm. Tract. Sanhedr. cap. Halec. & alibi. Vid. Menaſſ. Ben Iſr. de Reſurrect. l. 3. c. 3. & Concil. Quæſt. xxx in Geneſ.

[c] Rom. ii. 14, 15.

[d] Gen. iv. 6, 7.

3. The Jews[a] very frequently tell us of ſome particular commands, to the number of ſeven, which they call מצות בני נוח the precepts of the ſons of Noah, ſix whereof were given to Adam and his children, and the ſeventh given to Noah, which they thus reckon up: The firſt was על עבודה זרה concerning ſtrange worſhip, that they ſhould not give divine honour to idols, or the gods of the heathens, anſwerable to the two firſt commands of the decalogue, *Thou ſhalt have no other gods but me: Thou ſhalt not make unto thee any graven image, nor the likeneſs of any thing that is in heaven above, or in the earth beneath, or in the water under the earth; thou ſhalt not bow down thyſelf to them, or ſerve them: for*, &c. From the violation of this law it was that Job, one of the patriarchs that lived under this diſpenſation, ſolemnly purges himſelf, when ſpeaking concerning the worſhip of the celeſtial lights, the great if not only idolatry of thoſe early ages, ſays he, *If I beheld the ſun when it ſhined, or the moon walking in her brightneſs, and my heart hath been ſecretly enticed, or my mouth hath kiſſed my hand; this alſo were an iniquity to be puniſhed by the judge, for I ſhould have denied the God that is above.*[b] The ſecond על ברכת השם concerning bleſſing, or worſhipping, that they ſhould not blaſpheme the name of God. This law Job alſo had reſpect to, when he was careful to ſanctify his children, and to propitiate the divine Majeſty for them every morning; *for it may be* (ſaid he) *that my ſons have ſinned, and curſed God in their hearts.*[c] The third was על שפיכות דמים concerning the ſhedding of blood, forbidding man-ſlaughter; a law expreſly renewed to Noah after the flood, and which poſſibly Job aimed at, when he vindicates himſelf, that *he had not rejoiced at the deſtruction of him that hated him, or lift up himſelf when evil found him.*[d] Nor was all effuſion of human blood forbidden by this law, capital puniſhments being in ſome caſes neceſſary for the preſervation of human ſociety; but only that no man ſhould ſhed the blood of an innocent perſon, or purſue a private revenge, without the warrant of publick authority. The fourth was על גלוי עריות concerning the diſcloſing of uncleanneſs, againſt filthineſs and adultery, unlawful marriages, and inceſtuous mixtures: *If mine heart* (ſays Job in his apology) *hath been deceived by a woman, or if I have laid wait at my neighbour's door; then let my wife grind*, &c. *for this is an heinous crime, yea, it is an iniquity to be puniſhed by the judges.*[e] The fifth was על הגזל concerning theft and rapine, the invading another man's right and property, the violation of bargains and compacts, the falſifying a man's word or promiſe, the deceiving of another by fraud, lying, or any evil arts. From all which Job juſtifies himſelf, that *he had not walked with vanity, nor had his foot haſted to deceit; that his ſtep had not turned out of the way, nor his heart walked after his eyes, nor any blot cleaved to his hands.*[f] And elſewhere he bewails it as the great iniquity of the times, that *there were ſome that removed the land-marks; that violently took away the flocks, and fed thereof; that drove away the aſs of the fatherleſs, and took the widow's oxe for a pledge; that turned the needy out of the way, and made the poor of the earth hide themſelves together*,[g] &c. The ſixth was על הדינים concerning judgments, or the adminiſtration of juſtice; that judges and magiſtrates ſhould be appointed in every place for the order and government of civil ſocieties, the determination of cauſes, and executing of juſtice between man and man. And that ſuch there then were, ſeems evident from the עין פלילי which Job twice ſpeaks of in one chapter, *that judged iniquity*;[h] which the Jews expound, and we truly render, *an iniquity to be puniſhed by the judges.* The ſeventh על אבר מן החי concerning the member of any live creature, that is, as God expreſſes it in the precept to Noah, they might not *eat the blood, or the fleſh with the life thereof.* Whether theſe precepts were by any ſolemn and external promulgation particularly delivered to the ante-diluvian patriarchs (as the Jews ſeem to contend) I will not ſay: for my part, I cannot but look upon them (the laſt only excepted) as a conſiderable part of nature's ſtatute-law, as compriſing the greater ſtrokes and lineaments of thoſe natural dictates that are imprinted upon the ſouls of men. For what more comely and reaſonable, and more agreeable to the firſt notions of our minds, than that we ſhould worſhip and adore God alone, as the author of our beings, and the fountain of our happineſs, and not derive the luſtre of his incommunicable perfections upon any creature; that we ſhould entertain great and honourable thoughts of God, and ſuch as become the grandeur and majeſty of his Being; that we ſhould abſtain from doing any wrong or injury to another, from invading his right, violating his privileges, and much more from making any attempt upon his life, the deareſt bleſſing in this world; that we ſhould be juſt and fair in our tranſactions, and *do to all men, as we would they ſhould do to us*; that we ſhould live chaſtly and temperately, and not by wild and extravagant luſts and ſenſualities offend againſt the natural modeſty of our minds; that order and government ſhould be maintained in the world, juſtice advanced, and every

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[a] Gem. Babyl. Tit. Sanhedr. cap. 7. fol. 56. Maimon. Tr. Melak. c. 9. & alibi paſſim ap. Judæos. Vid. Selden. de Jur. Nat. & Gen. l. 1. c. 10. & de Synedr. Vol. I. c. 2. p. 8.

[b] Job xxxi. 26, 27, 28.

[c] Chap. i. 6.

[d] Chap. xxxi. 29.

[e] Ibid. 9, 10, 11.

[f] Ibid. 5—7.

[g] Chap. xxiv. 2, 3, 4, & ſeq.

[h] Chap. xxxi. 11—28.

man ſecured in his juſt poſſeſſions? And ſo ſuitable did theſe laws ſeem to the reaſon and underſtandings of men, that the Jews, though the moſt zealous people under heaven of their legal inſtitutions, received thoſe Gentiles who obſerved them as proſelytes into their church, though they did not oblige themſelves to circumciſion, and the reſt of the Moſaic rites. Nay, in the firſt age of Chriſtianity, when the great controverſy aroſe between the Jewiſh and Gentile converts about the obligation of the law of Moſes as neceſſary to ſalvation, the obſervation only of theſe precepts, at leaſt a great part of them, was impoſed upon the Gentile converts as the beſt expedient to end the difference, by the apoſtolical ſynod at Jeruſalem.

4. But though the law of nature was the common law by which God then principally governed the world, yet was not he wanting by methods extraordinary to ſupply, as occaſion was, the exigencies and neceſſities of his church, communicating his mind to them by dreams and viſions, and other ways of revelation, which we ſhall more particularly remark, when we come to the Moſaical oeconomy. Hence aroſe thoſe poſitive laws which we meet with in this period of the church, ſome whereof are more expreſsly recorded, others more obſcurely intimated. Among thoſe that are more plain and obvious, two are eſpecially conſiderable, the prohibition for not eating blood, and the precept of circumciſion; the one given to Noah, the other to Abraham. The prohibition concerning blood is thus recorded, *Every moving thing that liveth ſhall be meat for you: but fleſh with the life thereof, which is the blood thereof, ſhall you not eat.*[i] The blood is the vehiculum to carry the ſpirits, as the veins are the channels to convey the blood: now the animal ſpirits give vital heat and activity to every part, and being let out, the blood preſently cools, and the creature dies. *Not fleſh with the blood, which is the life thereof*; that is, not fleſh while it is alive, while the blood and the ſpirits are yet in it. The myſtery and ſignification whereof was no other than this, that God would not have men train'd up to acts of cruelty, or whatever did but carry the colour and aſpect of a mercileſs and a ſavage temper, leſt ſeverity towards beaſts ſhould degenerate into fierceneſs towards men. It is good to defend the out-guards, and to ſtop the remoteſt ways that lead towards ſin, eſpecially conſidering the violent propenſions of human nature to paſſion and revenge. Men commence bloody and inhuman by degrees, and little approaches in time render a thing in itſelf abhorrent, not only familiar, but delightful. The Romans, who at firſt entertained the people in the Amphitheatre only with wild beaſts killing one another, came afterwards wantonly to ſport away the lives of the gladiators; yea, to caſt perſons to be devoured by bears and lions, for no other end than the divertiſement and pleaſure of the people. He who can pleaſe himſelf in tearing and eating the parts of a living creature, may in a ſhort time make no ſcruple to do violence to the life of man.[k] Beſides, eating blood naturally begets a ſavage temper, makes the ſpirits rank and fiery, and apt to be eaſily inflamed and blown up into choler and fierceneſs. And that hereby God did deſign to bar out ferity, and to ſecure mercy and gentleneſs, is evident from what follows after: [kk] *And ſurely your blood of your lives will I require: at the hand of every beaſt will I require it, and at the hand of man, at the hand of every man's brother will I require the life of man; whoſo ſheddeth man's blood, by man ſhall his blood be ſhed.* The life of a beaſt might not be wantonly ſacrificed to men's humours, therefore not man's; the life of man being ſo ſacred and dear to God, that if kill'd by a beaſt, the beaſt itſelf was to die for it; if by man, that man's life was to go for retaliation, *by man ſhall his blood be ſhed*: where by man we muſt neceſſarily underſtand the ordinary judge and magiſtrate, or בית דינ של מתי as the Jews call it, the lower judicature, with reſpect to that divine or ſuperior court, the immediate judgment of God himſelf. By which means God admirably provided for the ſafety and ſecurity of man's life, and for the order and welfare of human ſociety: and it was no more than neceſſary, the remembrance of the violence and oppreſſion of the Nephilim or giants before the flood being yet freſh in memory; and there was no doubt but ſuch mighty hunters, men of robuſt bodies, of barbarous and inhuman tempers, would afterwards ariſe. This law againſt eating blood was afterwards renewed under the Moſaick inſtitution, but with this peculiar ſignification, *For the life of the fleſh is in the blood, and I have given it to you upon the altar, to make an atonement for your ſouls; for it is the blood that maketh an atonement for the ſoul:*[l] that is, the blood might not be eaten, not only for the former reaſon, but becauſe God had deſigned it for particular purpoſes, to be the great inſtrument of expiation, and an eminent type of the blood of the Son of God, who was to die as the great expiatory ſacrifice for the World: nay, it was re-eſtabliſhed by the apoſtles in the infancy of Chriſtianity, and obſerved by the primitive Chriſtians for ſeveral Ages, as we have elſewhere obſerved.

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[i] Gen. ix. 3, 4.

[k] Ῥᾳδίως γὰρ [illegible] ἐγκαρτερήσεις, καὶ [illegible] [illegible] ἂν ἡ ἄψυχος καὶ λιτὴ τροφὴ καὶ πᾶσιν εὐπόριστος ἀφαιρῆται ἡμᾶς, εἰρήνην παρασκευάζουσα τῷ τὰ σωτήρια ἡμῖν ἐκπορίζοντι λογισμῷ. οὐ γὰρ ἐκ τῶν μαζοφαγούντων φησὶν ὁ Διογένης, οἱ κλέπται καὶ οἱ πολέμιοι· ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν κρεοφαγούντων οἱ συκοφάνται καὶ οἱ τύραννοι. Porphyr. de Abſtin. l. 1. § 47. p. 39.

[kk] Gen. ix. 5, 6.

[l] Levit. xvii. 11.

5. The other precept was concerning circumciſion, given to Abraham at the time of God's entring into covenant with him. *God ſaid unto Abraham, Thou ſhalt keep my covenant*, &c. *This is my covenant which ye ſhall keep between me and you, and thy ſeed after thee, every man child among you ſhall be circumciſed: and ye ſhall circumciſe the fleſh of your fore-ſkin, and it ſhall be a token of the covenant betwixt me and you.*[m] God had now made a covenant with Abraham to take his poſterity for his peculiar people, and that out of them ſhould ariſe the promiſed Meſſiah: and as all federal compacts have ſome ſolemn and external rites of ratification, ſo God was pleaſed to add circumciſion as the ſign and ſeal of this covenant, partly as it had a peculiar fitneſs in it to denote the promiſed ſeed; partly that it might be a diſcriminating badge of Abraham's children (that part whom God had eſpecially choſen out of the reſt of mankind) from all other people. On Abraham's part it was a ſufficient argument of his hearty compliance with the terms of this covenant, that he would ſo chearfully ſubmit to ſo unpleaſing and difficult a ſign as was impoſed upon him. For circumciſion could not but be both painful and dangerous in one of his years, as it was afterwards to be to all new-born infants: whence Zipporah complained of Moſes, commanding her to circumciſe her ſon, that he was חתן דמים an huſband of bloods, a cruel and inhuman huſband. And this, the Jews[n] tell us, was the reaſon why circumciſion was omitted during their forty years journey in the wilderneſs, it was משום חולשא דאורחא by reaſon of the trouble and inconveniency of the way; God mercifully diſpenſing with the want of it, leſt it ſhould hinder their travelling, the ſoreneſs and weakneſs of the circumciſed perſon not comporting with hard and continual journeys. It was to be adminiſtred the eighth day,[o] not ſooner, the tenderneſs of the infant not well till then complying with it; beſides, that the mother of a male-child was reckoned legally impure till the ſeventh day; not later, probably becauſe the longer it was deferred, the more unwilling would parents be to put their children to pain, of which they would every day become more ſenſible, not to ſay the ſatisfaction it would be to them, to ſee their children ſolemnly entred into covenant. Circumciſion was afterwards incorporated into the body of the Jewiſh law, and entertained with a mighty veneration, as their great and ſtanding privilege, relied on as the main baſis and foundation of their confidence, and hopes of acceptance with heaven, and accounted in a manner equivalent to all the other rites of the Moſaic law.

6. But beſides theſe two, we find other poſitive precepts, which though not ſo clearly expreſſed, are yet ſufficiently intimated to us. Thus there ſeems to have been a law, that none of the holy line, none of the poſterity of Seth ſhould marry with infidels, or thoſe corrupt and idolatrous nations which God had rejected, as appears in that it is charged as a great part of the ſin of the world, that the *ſons of God*[p] matched with the *daughters of men*; as alſo from the great care which Abraham took that his ſon Iſaac ſhould not take a wife of the daughters of the Canaanites among whom he dwelt. There was alſo מצות יבום *Jus Leviratus*, whereby the next brother to him who died without iſſue, was obliged to marry the widow of the deceaſed, and to raiſe up ſeed unto his brother, the contempt whereof coſt Onan his Life: together with many more particular laws, which the ſtory of thoſe times might ſuggeſt to us. But what is of moſt uſe and importance to us, is to obſerve what laws God gave for the adminiſtration of his worſhip, which will be beſt known by conſidering what worſhip generally prevailed in thoſe early times; wherein we ſhall eſpecially remark the nature of their publick worſhip, the places where, the times when, and the perſons by whom it was adminiſtred.

7. It cannot be doubted but that the holy patriarchs of thoſe days were careful to inſtruct their children, and all that were under their charge (their families being then very vaſt and numerous) in the duties of religion, to explain and improve the natural laws written upon their minds, and acquaint them with thoſe divine traditions, and poſitive revelations which they themſelves had received from God: this being part of that great character which God gave of Abraham, *I know him, that he will command his children and his houſhold after him, and they ſhall keep the way of the Lord, to do juſtice and judgment.*[q] To this they joined prayer and invocation, than which no duty is more natural and neceſſary; more natural, becauſe it fitly expreſſes that great reverence and veneration which we have for the divine majeſty, and that propenſity that is in mankind to make known their wants: none more neceſſary, becauſe our whole dependance being upon the continuance and conſtant returns of the divine power and goodneſs, 'tis moſt reaſonable that we ſhould make our daily addreſſes to him, *in whom we live, move, and have*

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[m] Gen. xvii. 9, 10, 11.

[n] Talm. Tract. Jebam. cap. 8.

[o] Vid. Maimonid. Mor. Nevoch. part. 3. c. 49. p. 506.

[p] Gen. vi. 2, 3.

[q] Gen. xviii. 19.

have our being. Nor were they wanting in returns of praiſe, and ſolemn celebrations of the goodneſs of heaven, both by entertaining high and venerable thoughts of God, and by actions ſuitable to thoſe honourable ſentiments which they had of him. In theſe acts of worſhip they were careful to uſe geſtures of the greateſt reverence and ſubmiſſion, which commonly was proſtration. Abraham *bowed himſelf towards the ground*:[r] and when God ſent the Iſraelites the happy news of their deliverance out of Egypt, *they bowed their heads and worſhipped*.[s] A poſture which hath ever been the uſual mode of adoration in thoſe Eaſtern countries unto this day. But the greateſt inſtance of the publick worſhip of thoſe times was ſacrifices; a very early piece of devotion, in all probability taking its riſe from Adam's fall. They were either euchariſtical, expreſſions of thankfulneſs for bleſſings received; or expiatory, offered for the remiſſion of ſin.[t] Whether theſe ſacrifices were firſt taken up at mens arbitrary pleaſure, or poſitively inſtituted and commanded by God, might admit of a very large enquiry. But to me the caſe ſeems plainly this, that as to euchariſtical ſacrifices, ſuch as firſt-fruits, and the like oblations, men's own reaſon might ſuggeſt and perſuade them, that it was fit to preſent them as the moſt natural ſignifications of a thankful mind. And thus far there might be ſacrifices in the ſtate of innocence: for man being created under ſuch excellent circumſtances as he was in paradiſe, could not but know that he owed to God all poſſible gratitude and ſubjection; obedience he owed to him as his ſupreme Lord and Maſter; gratitude as his great patron and benefactor, and was therefore obliged to pay to him ſome euchariſtical ſacrifices, as a teſtimony of his grateful acknowledgment, that he had both his being and preſervation from him. But when ſin had changed the ſcene, and mankind was ſunk under a ſtate of guilt, he was then to ſeek for a way how to pacify God's anger: and this was done by bloody and expiatory ſacrifices, which God accepted in the ſinners ſtead. And as to theſe, it ſeems reaſonable to ſuppoſe that they ſhould be founded upon a poſitive inſtitution, becauſe pardon of ſin being a matter of pure grace and favour, whatever was a means to ſignify and convey that, muſt be appointed by God himſelf; firſt revealed to Adam, and by him communicated to his children. The deity propitiated by theſe atonements was wont to teſtify his acceptance of them by ſome external and viſible ſign; thus Cain ſenſibly perceived that God had reſpect to Abel's ſacrifice, and not to his: tho' what this ſign was, it is not eaſy to determine. Moſt probably it was fire from heaven coming down upon the oblation, and conſuming it: for ſo it frequently was in the ſacrifices of the Moſaic diſpenſation, and ſo we find it was in that famous ſacrifice of Abraham, *a lamp of fire paſſed between the parts of the ſacrifice*.[u] Thus when it is ſaid, *God had reſpect to Abel and to his offering*, Theodotion renders it, ἐνεπύρισεν, he burnt it; and to this cuſtom the Pſalmiſt alludes in that petition, *Remember all thy offerings, and accept thy burnt-ſacrifice*, ועולתך ידשנה *let thy burnt-offering be reduced into aſhes*.[w]

8. Where it was that this publick worſhip was performed, is next to be enquired into. That they had fixed and determinate places for the diſcharge of their religious duties, thoſe eſpecially that were done in common, is greatly probable; nature and the reaſon of things would put them upon it. And this moſt think is intended in that phraſe, where it is ſaid of Cain and Abel, that *they brought their oblations*, that is, (as Aben Ezra and others expound it) אל שקום ▭ שקבע לתפלתי *to the place ſet apart for divine worſhip*.[x] And this probably was the reaſon, why Cain, though vexed to the heart to ſee his brother preferred before him, did not preſently ſet upon him, the ſolemnity and religion of the place, and the ſenſible appearances of the divine majeſty having ſtruck an awe into him, but deferred his murderous intentions till they came into the field, and there fell upon him. For their ſacrifices they had altars, whereon they offered them; contemporary no doubt with ſacrifices themſelves, though we read not of them till after the flood, when *Noah built an altar unto the Lord, and offered burnt-offerings upon it*:[y] ſo Abraham, immediately after his being called to the worſhip of the true God, in Sichem built an altar unto the Lord who appeared unto him; and removing thence to a mountain eaſtward, he built another altar, and called on the name of the Lord; as indeed he did almoſt in every place where he came.[z] Thus alſo when he dwelt at Beerſheba in the plains of Mamre, he planted a grove there, *and called upon the name of the Lord the everlaſting God*.[a] This, no doubt, was the common chapel or oratory, whither Abraham and his

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[r] Gen. xviii. 2.

[s] Exod. iv. 31.

[t] Καὶ ἐγένετο μεθ᾽ ἡμέρας ἤνεγκε Κάϊν ἀπὸ τῶν καρπῶν τῆς γῆς θυσίαν τῷ Κυρίῳ.] Σκόπει πῶς τῷ συνειδότι τὴν γνῶσιν ἐναπέθετο τῆς φύσεως ὁ δημιουργός. Τίς γὰρ ἂν εἴπῃ μοι τοῦτον ὡδήγησε πρὸς τὴν τοιαύτην ἔννοιαν; οὐδεὶς ἕτερος, ἀλλ᾽ ἡ ἐν τῷ συνειδότι γνῶσις. ἤνεγκε, φησιν, ἀπὸ τῶν καρπῶν τῆς γῆς θυσίαν τῷ Κυρίῳ· ᾔδει γὰρ καὶ ἠπίστατο, ὅτι προσήκει καθάπερ ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκείων κλημάτων προσάγειν τι τῷ Κυρίῳ· οὐκ ἐπειδὴ αὐτὸς δεῖται, ἀλλ᾽ ἵνα τὴν οἰκείαν εὐγνωμοσύνην ἐπιδείξηται αὐτὸς τῆς τοιαύτης εὐεργεσίας ἀπολαύων. Chryſoſt. Homil. xviii. in Geneſ. p. 173. Tom. 2.

[u] Gen. xv. 17.

[w] Pſal. xx. 3.

[x] Apud P. Fag. in Gen. iv.

[y] Gen. viii. 20.

[z] Gen. xii. 7, 8. Vid. ch. xiii. 4—18.

[a] Gen. xxi. 33.

numerous family, and probably thoſe whom he gained to be proſelytes to his religion, were wont to retire for their publick adorations, as a place infinitely advantageous for ſuch religious purpoſes. And indeed the ancient devotion of the world much delighted in groves, in woods and mountains; partly for the conveniency of ſuch places, as better compoſing the thoughts for divine contemplations, and reſounding their joint praiſes of God to the beſt advantage; partly becauſe the ſilence and retiredneſs of the place was apt to beget a kind of ſacred dread and horror in the mind of the worſhipper. Hence we find in Ophrah, where Gideon's father dwelt, an altar to Baal,[b] and a grove that was by it; and how common the ſuperſtitions and idolatries of the heathen world were in groves and high-places, no man can be ignorant, that is ever ſo little converſant either in prophane or ſacred ſtories. For this reaſon, that they were ſo much abuſed to idolatry, God commanded the Iſraelites to deſtroy their *altars*, *break down their images*, *and cut down their groves*:[c] and that *they ſhould not plant a grove of any trees near unto the altar of the Lord*,[d] leſt he ſhould ſeem to countenance what was ſo univerſally proſtituted to falſe worſhip and idolatry. But to return to Abraham. He *planted a grove*, אשל a tree, which the ancients generally make to have been a large ſpreading oak; and ſome foundation there is for it in the ſacred text; for the place where Abraham planted it, is called *the plain of Mamre*;[e] or, as in the Hebrew, *he dwelt* באלני ממרא *among the oaks of Mamre*;[f] and ſo the Syriack renders it ܒܝܠܒܟܘܡܪ *the houſe of the oak*. The name whereof, Joſephus tells us,[g] was Ogyges; and it is not a conjecture to be deſpiſed, that Noah[h] might probably inhabit in this place, and either give the name to it, or at leaſt derive his from it, Ogyges being the name by which he is uſually deſcribed in foreign writers. This very oak, St. Jerom[i] aſſures us, and Euſebius[k] intimates as much, was yet ſtanding till the time of Conſtantine, and worſhipped with great ſuperſtition. And Sozomen[l] tells us more particularly, that there was a famous mart held there every ſummer, and a feaſt celebrated by a general confluence of the neighbouring countries, and perſons of all religions, both Chriſtians, Jews and Gentiles, προσφόρως γὰρ ταῖς θρησκείαις τιμῶσι πάντες τὸν χῶρον, every one doing honour to this place according to the different principles of their religion: but that Conſtantine being offended that the place ſhould be prophaned with the ſuperſtitions of the Jews, and the idolatry of the Gentiles, wrote with ſome ſeverity to Macarius the biſhop of Jeruſalem, and the biſhops of Paleſtine, that they ſhould deſtroy the altars and images, and deface all monuments of idolatry, and reſtore the place to its ancient ſanctity. Which was accordingly done, and a church erected in the place, where God was purely and ſincerely worſhipped. From this oak, the ordinary place of Abraham's worſhip and devotion, the religion of the Gentiles doubtleſs derived its oaks and groves, and particularly the Druids, the great and almoſt only maſters and directors of all learning and religion among the ancient Britons, hence borrowed their original; who are ſo notoriouſly known to have lived wholly under oaks and in groves, and there to have delivered their doctrines and precepts, and to have exerciſed their religious and myſterious rites, that hence they fetched their denomination, either from Δρῦς, (as the ancients generally thought) or more probably from the old Celtic word Deru, both ſignifying an oak, and which the Welſh, the deſcendants of the ancient Britons, ſtill call **Derw** at this day. But of this enough.

9. From the place where, we proceed to the times when, they uſually paid their devotions. And ſeeing order is neceſſary in all undertakings, and much more in the actions of religion, we cannot think that mankind was left at a roving uncertainty in a matter of ſo great importance, but that they had their ſtated and ſolemn times of worſhip: eſpecially when we find among all nations, even the moſt rude and unpoliſhed heathens, times peculiarly ſet apart for the honour of their gods, and the publick ſolemnities of religion. And ſo no queſtion it was in the more early ages of the world; they had fixed and appropriate ſeaſons, when they met together to do homage unto God, and to offer up their joint acknowledgments to heaven. Thus we read of Cain, that he brought his oblation *in proceſs of time*,[m] מקץ ימים *at the end of days*, at one of thoſe fixed and periodical returns, when they uſed to meet in the religious aſſemblies; the word קץ denoting not ſimply an end, but a determinate and an appointed end. I know many with great zeal and eagerneſs contend, that the Sabbath or ſeventh day from the creation was

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[b] Judg. vi. 25.

[c] Exod. xxxiv. 13.

[d] Deut. xvi. 21.

[e] Gen. xiii. 18.

[f] Παρὰ τὴν δρῦν τὴν Μαμβρῆ. LXX. Ita Verſ. Samaritana: nec aliter Arabs in Geneſ. xviii. 1.

[g] Antiq. Jud. l. 1. c. 11. p. 19.

[h] Vid. Dick. Delph. Phœnic. c. 12. p. 137. & App. p. 38.

[i] De loc. Hebr. in voce Arboch.

[k] Ἡ δρῦς Ἀβραὰμ δείκνυται, &c. Euſeb. περὶ τοπικ. ὀνομ. in voc. Ἀρχώ.

[l] Hiſt. Eccl. l. 2. c. 4. p. 447.

[m] Gen. iv. 3.

ſet apart, and univerſally obſerved as the time of publick worſhip, and that from the beginning of the world. But alas, the foundation upon which this opinion is built, is very weak and ſandy, having nothing to rely on but one place, where it is ſaid, that *God reſting on the ſeventh day from all his works, bleſſed the ſeventh day, and ſanctified it.*[n] Which words are reaſonably thought to have been ſet down by Moſes by way of prolepſis, as it was in his time, if they relate at all to the ſabbath, and are not rather to be underſtood of God's bleſſing and ſanctifying the ſeventh day, as having then compleated all his works in the creating of man, and in whom, as in the crown and glory of the creation, he would ſanctify himſelf. For that it ſhould be meant of a weekly ſabbath, hath as little countenance from this text, as it hath from the practice of thoſe times, there being no footſteps or ſhadow of any ſuch ſabbath kept through all the patriarchal periods of the church, till the times of Moſes; which, beſides the evidence of the ſtory, is univerſally owned by the ancient Jews, and very many of the fathers do expreſly aſſert it.

10. The laſt circumſtance concerns the perſons by whom the publick worſhip was adminiſtred. Impoſſible it is that any ſociety ſhould be regularly managed, where there are not ſome peculiar perſons to ſuperintend, direct, and govern the affairs of it. And God, who in all other things is a God of order, is much more ſo in matters of religion: and therefore, no doubt, from the beginning appointed thoſe whoſe care and buſineſs it ſhould be to diſcharge the publick parts of piety and devotion in the name of the reſt. Now the prieſthood in thoſe times was veſted in the heads of tribes, and in the firſt-born of every family. To the patriarch or head of every tribe it belonged to bleſs the family, to offer ſacrifice, to intercede for them by prayer, and to miniſter in other ſolemn acts of religion. And this office hereditarily deſcended to the firſt-born, who had power to diſcharge it during the life of his father; for it was not neceſſary, that he who was prieſt by virtue of his primogeniture, ſhould be alſo the eldeſt of the houſe. Jacob, who ſucceeded in his brother's right, offered ſacrifices in the life of his father Iſaac; and Abraham was a prieſt, though Sem the head of the family, and ten degrees removed from him in a direct line, was then alive, yea, ſurvived Abraham (as ſome learned men think) near forty years. Every firſt-born had three great prerogatives, a double portion of the paternal inheritance, a lordſhip and principality over his brethren, and a right to the prieſthood, to inſtruct them in the knowledge of divine things, and to manage the common offices of religion. So that in thoſe times there was a particular prieſthood in every family, the adminiſtration whereof was uſually appropriate to the firſt-born. Thus Noah, Abraham and Iſaac offered ſacrifices, and Job (who lived about that time, or not long after) both for his children and his friends. Thus Eſau was a prieſt by his primogeniture; and that goodly raiment of her ſon Eſau which Rebekah put upon Jacob, when he went in to his father, is by many not improbably underſtood of the ſacerdotal veſtments, wherein as firſt-born he was wont to execute his office. Of theſe prieſts we are to underſtand that place, *Let the prieſts which come near to the Lord ſanctify themſelves.*[o] This could not be meant of the Levitical prieſts, (the Aaronical order not being yet inſtituted) and therefore muſt be underſtood of the prieſthood of the firſt-born, and ſo Solomon Jarchi's gloſs expounds it. Thus when Moſes had built an altar at the foot of the mountain, he *ſent young men of the children of Iſrael, which offered burnt-offerings, and ſacrificed peace-offerings unto the Lord.*[p] Where for *young men*, the Chaldee paraphraſe and the Hieruſalem Targum have בוכרי בני ישראל *the firſt-born of the children of Iſrael*; ſo has that of Jonathan, who expreſly adds this reaſon, for unto that very hour the worſhip remained among the firſt-born, the tabernacle of the covenant not being yet made, nor the Aaronical prieſthood ſet up. So when Jacob bequeathed his bleſſing to Reuben, *Reuben, thou art my firſt-born, my might, and the beginning of my ſtrength, the excellency of dignity, and the excellency of power*;[q] the ſame Jewiſh paraphraſts tell us, that there were three things in this bleſſing conveyed and confirmed to Reuben, the birth-right, the kingdom, and the prieſthood; but that for his enormous and unnatural ſin they were transferred to others, the primogeniture to Joſeph, the kingdom to Judah, and the prieſthood to Levi. But though the ſacerdotal function ordinarily belonged to the firſt-born; yet was it not ſo wholly inveſted in them, but that it might in ſome caſes be exercifed by younger brothers, eſpecially when paſſing into other families, and themſelves becoming heads of tribes and families. Abraham, we know, was not a firſt-born; and it is highly probable that Sem himſelf was not Noah's eldeſt ſon: Moſes was a prieſt, yea, כהן הכהנים the Jews call him, the prieſt of prieſts, and yet was but Amram's ſecond ſon, and Aaron's younger brother. So that the caſe in ſhort ſeemed to lie thus: the patriarch, or ſurviving

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[n] Gen. ii. 3.

[o] Exod. xix. 22.

[p] Exod. 24. 5.

[q] Gen. xlix. 3.

head of every tribe, was a kind of high-prieſt over all the families that were deſcended from him; the firſt-born in every family was the ordinary prieſt, who might officiate in his father's ſtead, and who after his deceaſe ſucceeded in his room; the younger brethren, when leaving their father's houſe, and themſelves becoming heads of families, and their ſeats removed too far diſtant to make uſe of the ordinary prieſthood, did themſelves take the office upon them, and exerciſe it over all thoſe that were under them, and ſprung from them, though the main honour and dignity was reſerved for the prieſthood of the firſt-born. Thus Abraham, though but a ſecond ſon, yet when become the head of a great family, and removed into another country, became a prieſt, and that not only during the life of his father, but of Sem himſelf, the grand ſurviving patriarch of that time. I obſerve no more concerning this, than that this right of the firſt-born was a prime honour and privilege, and therefore the reaſon (ſay the Jews[r]) why Jacob was ſo greatly deſirous of the birth-right, was becauſe in thoſe days the prieſthood was entailed upon it. And for this chiefly no doubt it was, that Eſau is called βέβηλος, a profane perſon,* for ſelling his birth-right for a meſs of pottage, becauſe thereby he made ſo light of the ſacred honour of the prieſthood, the venerable office of miniſtring before God.

II. **H**AVING thus ſeen what were the laws, what the worſhip of thoſe times, it remains briefly to conſider what was the face of the church, and the ſtate of religion under the ſeveral patriarchs of this oeconomy. Not to meddle with the ſtory either of the creation or apoſtaſy of Adam; no ſooner was he fallen from that innocent and happy ſtate wherein God had placed him, but conſcience began to ſtir, and he was ſenſible that God was angry, and ſaw it neceſſary to propitiate the offended deity by prayer and invocation, by ſorrow and repentance, and probably by offering ſacrifice; a conjecture that hath at leaſt ſome countenance from thoſe *coats of ſkins*[s] wherewith God cloathed our firſt parents, which ſeem likely to have been the ſkins of beaſts ſlain for ſacrifice; for that they were not killed for food is evident, becauſe fleſh was not the ordinary diet (if it was at all) of thoſe firſt ages of the world. And God might purpoſely make choice of this ſort of covering, to put our firſt parents in mind of their great degeneracy, how deep they were ſunk into the animal life, and by gratifying brutiſh and ſenſual appetites at ſo dear a rate, how like they were become to the beaſts that periſh. And if this were ſo, it poſſibly might give birth to that law of Moſes,[t] that every prieſt that offered any man's burnt-offering, ſhould have to himſelf the ſkin of the burnt-offering which he had offered. But however this was, it is certain that Adam was careful to inſtruct his children in the knowledge of divine things, and to maintain religion and the worſhip of God in his family. For we find Cain and Abel bringing their oblations, and that at a certain time, though they had different ſucceſs. I omit the traditions of the eaſt, that the cauſe of the difference between Cain and Abel was about a wife, and that they ſought to decide the caſe by ſacrifice; and that when Abel's ſacrifice was accepted, Cain out of envy and indignation fell upon his brother, ſtruck his head with a ſtone, and ſlew him. The preſent[u] they brought was according to their different ways and inſtitution of life: Cain as an huſbandman brought of the fruit of the ground; Abel as a ſhepherd brought of the firſtlings of his flock, and of the fat thereof: but the one was accepted and the other rejected. The cauſe whereof certainly was not that the one was little and inconſiderable, the other large and noble; the one, only a dry oblation; the other, a burnt-offering; or that Cain had entertained a conceived prejudice againſt his brother: the true cauſe lay in the different temper and diſpoſition of their minds; Abel had great and honourable thoughts of God, and therefore brought of the beſt that he had; Cain mean and unworthy apprehenſions, and accordingly took what came firſt to hand: Abel came with a grateful ſenſe of the goodneſs of heaven, with a mind piouſly and heartily devoted to the divine majeſty, and an humble reliance upon the divine acceptance; Cain brought his oblation indeed, but looked no further, was not careful to offer up himſelf *a living ſacrifice, holy and acceptable to God*, as being *the moſt reaſonable ſervice*; too confidently bearing up himſelf, as we may ſuppoſe, upon the prerogative of his primogeniture. By which means *Abel offered unto God a more excellent ſacrifice than Cain, by which he obtained witneſs, that he was righteous, God teſtifying of his gifts.*[w] For, *He had reſpect unto Abel, and to his offering: but unto Cain, and to his offering he had not reſpect.*[x] And if in that fire, by which God teſtified his reſpect by conſuming one oblation, and not the other, there was (as the Jews ſay) ſeen the face of a lion, it doubtleſs prefigured the late promiſed Meſſiah, *the lion of the tribe of Judah*, our great expiatory ſacrifice, of whom all other ſacrifices were but types and ſhadows, and in whom all our oblations are rendred grateful unto God, *the odour of a ſweet ſmell, a ſacrifice acceptable and well pleaſing unto God.*

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[r] Bereſ. Rabba fol. 71. col. 1. ap. Selden. de ſucceſ. ad leg. Ebr. c. 5. p. 45.

* Heb. xii. 16.

[s] Gen. iii. 21.

[t] Lev. vii. 8.

[u] Ἡ διαφορὰ τῆς γνώμης λοιπὸν καὶ τῆς προαιρέσεως ἡ ῥαθυμία τοῦ μὲν εὐπρόσδεκτον ἐποίησε τὴν προσαγωγὴν, τοῦ δὲ ἀπόβλητον. Chryſoſt. Homil. xviii. in Geneſ. p. 174.

[w] Heb. xi. 4.

[x] Gen. iv. 4, 5.

12. Abel being taken away by his envious and enraged brother, God was pleaſed to repair the loſs by giving his parents another ſon, whom they called Seth, and he accordingly proved a very virtuous and religious man. He was (if we may believe the ancients) a great ſcholar; the firſt inventor of letters and writing, an accurate aſtronomer, and taught his children the knowledge of the ſtars; who having heard from their grand-father Adam, that the world was to be twice deſtroyed, once by fire, and again by water, (if the ſtory be true which Joſephus[y] without any great warrant reports) wrote their experiments and the principles of their art upon two pillars, one of brick, the other of ſtone, that if the one periſhed, the other might remain and convey their notions to poſterity; one of which pillars, Joſephus adds, was ſaid to be ſtanding in Syria in his time. But that which rendred Seth moſt renowned, was his piety and devotion; a good man he was, one who aſſerted and propagated religion and the true worſhip of God, as he received it from his father Adam, notwithſtanding the declenſions and degeneracy, and poſſibly oppoſitions of his brother Cain and his party. The eaſtern writers, both Jews and Arabians,[z] confidently aſſure us, that Seth and his retinue withdrew from Cain, who dwelt in the valley, where he had killed his brother Abel, into a very high mountain, (on the top whereof their father Adam was buried) ſo high, if we could believe them, that they could hear the angels ſinging anthems, and did daily join in with that heavenly choir. Here they wholly devoted themſelves to the daily worſhip of God, and obtained a mighty name and veneration for the holineſs and purity of their lives. When Seth came to lie upon his death-bed, he ſummoned his children, their wives and families together, bleſſed them, and as his laſt will commanded them to worſhip God, adjuring them by the blood of Abel, (their uſual and ſolemn oath) that they ſhould not deſcend from the holy mount, to hold any correſpondence or commerce with Cain or his wicked faction: and then breathed his laſt. A command, ſay my authors, which they obſerved for ſeven generations, and then came in the promiſcuous mixtures.

13. To Seth ſucceeded his ſon Enos, who kept up the glory and purity of religion, and the honour of the holy line. Of his time it is particularly recorded, *then began men to call upon the name of the Lord.*[a] The ambiguity of the word הוחל ſignifying ſometimes to profane, ſometimes to begin, hath begotten various apprehenſions among learned men concerning this place, and led them not only into different, but quite contrary ſenſes. The words are by ſome rendred thus, then men profaned in calling upon the name of the Lord; which they thus explain, that at that time when Enos was born, the true worſhip and ſervice of God began to ſink and fail, corruption and idolatry mightily prevailing by reaſon of Cain's wicked and apoſtate family; and that as a ſad memorial of this corrupt and degenerate age, holy Seth called his ſon's name Enoſh, which not only ſimply ſignifies a man, but a poor, calamitous, miſerable man. And this way go many of the Jews, and ſome Chriſtian writers of great name and note. Nay, Maimonides, one of the wiſeſt and ſobereſt of all the Jewiſh writers, begins his tract about idolatry[b] בימי אנוש from the times of Enoſh, referring to this very paſſage; he tells us, that men did then greviouſly err, and that the minds of the wiſe men of thoſe days were grown groſs and ſtupid; yea, that Enos himſelf was מן הטועים among thoſe that erred, and that their idolatry conſiſted in this, that they worſhipped the ſtars and the hoſt of heaven. Others[c] there are who expreſly aſſert, that Enoſh was the firſt that invented images, to excite the ſpirit of the creatures, שיתפללו לאלוה באמצעותם that by their mediation men might invocate and call upon God. But how infirm a foundation this text is to build all this upon, is evident. For beſides, what ſome[d] have obſerved, that the hebrew phraſe is not tolerably reconcilable with ſuch a ſenſe, if it were, yet העיקר חסר as one of the Rabbins[e] has well noted, that there wants a foundation for any ſuch expoſition, no mention being made in Moſes's ſtory of any ſuch falſe gods as were then worſhipped, no footſteps of idolatry appearing in the world till after the flood. Nor, indeed, is it reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that the creation of the world being yet freſh in memory, and divine traditions ſo lately received from Adam, and God frequently communicating himſelf

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[y] Antiquit. Jud. l. 1. c. 3. p. 8.

[z] Vid. Teſtimonia eorum citat. ap. Hotting. Smeg. Orient. c. 8. p. 226. &. ſeq.

[a] Gen. iv. 26.

[b] De Idol. c. 1. ſect. 1.

[c] Vid. ap. Hotting. loc. cit. p. 230.

[d] Dionyſ. Voſſ. not. in Maimon. p. 4. Heideg. de Hiſt. Patr. exerc. 6. p. 223.

[e] R. Eliez. Maaſ. Bereſ. c. 22. ibid.

ſelf to men, that the caſe being thus, men could in ſo ſhort a time be fallen under ſo great an apoſtaſy, as wholly to forget and renounce the true God, and give divine honours to ſenſleſs and inanimate creatures; I can hardly think that the Cainites themſelves ſhould be guilty of this, much leſs Enoſh and his children. The meaning of the words then is plainly this, that in Enoſh his time the holy line being greatly multiplied, they applied themſelves to the worſhip of God in a more publick and remarkable manner, either by framing themſelves into more diſtinct ſocieties for the exerciſe of publick worſhip, or by meeting at more fixed and ſtated times, or by invocating God under more ſolemn and peculiar rites than they had done before. And this probably they did the rather, to obviate that torrent of profaneneſs and impiety, which by means of the ſons of Cain they ſaw flowing in upon the world. This will be further confirmed, if we take the words as by ſome they are rendred, *then men began to be called by the name of the Lord*, that is, the difference and ſeparation that was between the children of Seth and Cain every day ripening into a wider diſtance; the poſterity of Seth began to take to themſelves a diſtinctive title, that the world might the better diſtinguiſh between thoſe who kept to the ſervice of God, and thoſe who threw off Religion, and let looſe the reins to diſorder and impiety. And hereof we meet with clear intimation in the ſtory of thoſe times, when we read of בני האלהים *the ſons of God*[f] (who doubtleſs were the pious and devout poſterity of Seth, calling themſelves after the name of the Lord, whom they conſtantly and ſincerely worſhipped, notwithſtanding the fancy of Joſephus, and the fathers, that they were angels; or that of the Jewiſh paraphraſts, that they were בני רבלביא the ſons of great men and princes) in oppoſition to the בני אדם the ſons of men, the impure and debauched poſterity of Cain, who made light of religion, and were wholly governed by earthly and ſenſual inclinations. And the matching of theſe *ſons of God* with the daughters of men, that is, thoſe of the family of Cain, and the fatal conſequences of thoſe unhappy marriages, was that which provoked God to deſtroy the world. I have no more to add concerning Enoſh, than that we are told, that dying he gave the ſame commands to his children, which he had received of his father, that they ſhould make religion their great care and buſineſs, and keep themſelves pure from ſociety and converſe with the line of Cain.

14. After Enoſh was his ſon Kenan, who, as the Arabian[g] hiſtorian informs us, ruled the people committed to him by a wiſe and excellent government, and gave the ſame charge at his death that had been given to him. Next Kenan comes Mahalaleel,[h] who carries devotion and piety in his very name, ſignifying, one that praiſes God; of whom they ſay, that he trained up the people in ways of juſtice and piety; bleſſed his children at his death, and having charged them to ſeparate from the Cainites, appointed his ſon Jared to be his ſucceſſor; whoſe name denotes a deſcent, probably either becauſe of the notable decreaſe and declenſion of piety in his time; or becauſe in his days ſome of the Sethites deſcended from the holy mountain to mix with the poſterity of Cain. For ſo the oriental writers[i] inform us, that a great noiſe and ſhout coming from the valley, an hundred of the holy mountaineers agreed to go down to the ſons of Cain, whom Jared endeavoured to hinder by all the arts of counſel and perſuaſion. But what can ſtop a mind bent upon an evil courſe? down they went, and being raviſhed with the beauty of the Cainite women, promiſcuouſly committed folly and lewdneſs with them; from whence ſprang a race of giants, men of vaſt and robuſt bodies, but of more vicious and ungovernable tempers, who made their will their law, and might the ſtandard and rule of equity. Attempting to return back to the holy mount, heaven had ſhut up their way, the ſtones of the mountain burning like fire when they came upon them; which whether the reader will have faith enough to believe, I know not. Jared being near his death, adviſed his children to be wiſe, by the folly of their brethren, and to have nothing to do with that profane generation. His ſon Enoch followed in his ſteps; a man of admirable ſtrictneſs and piety, and peculiarly exemplary for his innocent and holy converſation, it being particularly noted of him, that *he walked with God*[k]; he ſet the divine majeſty before him, as the guide and pattern, the ſpectator and rewarder of his actions; in all his ways endeavoured to approve himſelf to his all-ſeeing eye, by doing nothing but what was grateful and acceptable to him; he was a great inſtance of virtue and goodneſs in an evil age, and by the even tenor and conſtancy of a holy and a religious life ſhewed his firm belief and expectation of a future ſtate, and his hearty dependance upon the divine goodneſs for the rewards of a better life. And God, who is never behind-hand with his ſer-

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[f] Gen. vi. 2.

[g] Elmacin. ap. Hotting. p. 233.

[h] Id. ib. p. 234.

[i] Elmac. & Patric. apud Hotting. ubi ſupra. p. 235.

[k] Gen. v. 24.

vants, crowned his extraordinary obedience with an uncommon reward. *By faith Enoch was tranſlated, that he ſhould not ſee death; and was not found, becauſe God had tranſlated him: for before his tranſlation he had this teſtimony, that he pleaſed God.*[l] And what that faith was, is plain by what follows after; a belief of God's being and his bounty, *without faith it is impoſſible to pleaſe Him: for he that cometh to God muſt believe that He is, and that He is a rewarder of them that diligently ſeek him.*[m] What that tranſlation was, and whither it was made, whether into that terreſtrial paradiſe out of which Adam was expelled and baniſhed, and whereunto Enoch had deſired of God he might be tranſlated, as ſome fancy; or whether placed among the ſtars, as others, or carried into the higheſt heaven, as others will have it, were nice and uſeleſs ſpeculations. 'Tis certain he was taken out of theſe mutable regions, and ſet beyond the reach of thoſe miſeries and miſfortunes to which a preſent ſtate of ſin and mortality does betray us; tranſlated, probably, both ſoul and body, that he might be a type and ſpecimen of a future reſurrection, and a ſenſible demonſtration to the world, that there is a reward for the righteous, and another ſtate after this, wherein good men ſhall be happy for ever. I paſs by the fancy of the Jews as vain and frivolous; that though Enoch was a good man, yet he was very mutable and inconſtant, and apt to be led aſide; and that this was the reaſon why God tranſlated him ſo ſoon, leſt he ſhould have been debauched by the charms and allurements of a wicked world. He was an eminent prophet; and a fragment of his prophecy is yet extant in St. Jude's epiſtle, by which it appears, that wickedneſs was then grown rampant, and the manners of men very corrupt and vicious; and that he as plainly told them of their faults, and that divine vengeance would certainly overtake them. Of Methuſelah, his ſon, nothing conſiderable is upon record, but his great age, living full nine hundred ſixty-nine years, (the longeſt proportion which any of the patriarchs arrived to) and died in that very year wherein the flood came upon the world.

15. FROM his ſon Lamech, concerning whom we find nothing memorable, we proceed to his grandchild Noah; by the very impoſition of whoſe name his parents preſaged, that he would be a refreſhment and comfort to the world, and highly inſtrumental to remove that curſe which God, by an univerſal deluge, was bringing upon the earth; *He called his name Noah, ſaying, This ſame ſhall comfort us concerning our work and toil of our hands, becauſe of the ground which the Lord hath curſed*[n]; he was one in whom his parents did acquieſce and reſt ſatisfied, that he would be eminently uſeful and ſerviceable to the world. Indeed he proved a perſon of incomparable ſanctity and integrity, a preacher of righteouſneſs to others, and who as carefully practiſed it himſelf; *he was a juſt man, and perfect in his generation, and he walked with God.*[o] He did not warp and decline with the humour of the age he lived in, but maintained his ſtation, and kept his line. *He was upright in his generation.* It is no thanks to be religious, when it is the humour and faſhion of the times: the great trial is, when we live in the midſt of a corrupt generation. It is the crown of virtue to be good, when there are all manner of temptations to the contrary; when the greateſt part of men go the other way; when virtue and honeſty are laughed and drolled on, and cenſured as an overwiſe and affected ſingularity; when luſt and debauchery are accounted the modes of gallantry, and pride and oppreſſion ſuffered to ride in proſperous triumphs without controul. Thus it was with Noah; he contended with the vices of the age, and dared to own God and religion, when almoſt all mankind beſides himſelf had rejected and thrown them off. For in his time wickedneſs openly appeared with a brazen forehead, and violence had covered the face of the earth; the promiſcuous mixtures of the children of Seth and Cain had produced giants and mighty men; men ſtrong to do evil, and who had as much will as power, ὑβρισταὶ παῖδες, καὶ παντὸς ὑπερόπται καλοῦ διὰ τὴν ἐν τῇ δυνάμει πεποίθησιν, as Joſephus[p] deſcribes them, "a race of men inſolent and ungovernable, ſcornful and in-"jurious, and who bearing up themſelves in the confidence of their own ſtrength, "deſpiſed all juſtice and equity, and made every thing truckle under their extravagant "luſts and appetites." The very ſame character does Lucian[q] give of the men of this age, ſpeaking of the times of Deucalion (their Noah) and the flood, ὑβρισταὶ κάρτα ἐόντες (ſays he) ἀθέμιστα ἔργα ἔπρησσον· οὔτε γὰρ ὅρκια ἐφύλασσον, οὔτε ξείνους ἐδέχοντο, οὔτε ἱκετέων ἠνείχοντο, ἀνθ' ὧν σφίσι ἡ μεγάλη συμφορὴ ἀπίκετο. αὐτίκα γὰρ ἡ γῆ πολλὸν ὕδωρ ἐκδιδοῖ, &c. men exceedingly ſcornful and contumelious, guilty of the moſt unrighteous and enormous actions, violating all oaths and covenants, throwing off kindneſs and hoſpitality, and rejecting all addreſſes and ſupplications made to them. For which cauſe great miſeries

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[l] Heb. xi. 5.

[m] Ibid. xi. 6.

[n] Gen. v. 29.

[o] Gen. vi. 9.

[p] Antiq. Jud. l. i. c. 4. p. 8.

[q] De dea Syria. p. 882. Tom. 2.

overtook them: for heaven and earth, ſeas and rivers conſpired together to pour out mighty floods upon the world; which ſwept all away, but Deucalion only, who for his prudence and piety was left to repair mankind. And ſo he goes on with the relation conſonant to the accounts of the ſacred ſtory. This infection had ſpread itſelf over all parts, and was become ſo general and epidemical, that all fleſh had corrupted their ways, and ſcarce any beſides Noah left to keep up the face of a church, and the profeſſion of religion. Things being come to this paſs, quickly alarmed the divine juſtice, and made the world ripe for vengeance; the patience of God was now tired out, and he reſolved to make mankind feel the juſt effects of his incenſed ſeverity. But yet in the midſt of judgment he remembers mercy: he tells them, that though he would not ſuffer his patience to be eternally proſtituted to the wanton humours of wicked men, yet that he would bear with them one hundred and twenty years longer in order to their reformation. So loth is God to take advantage of the ſins of men, *not willing that any ſhould periſh, but that all ſhould come unto repentance.* In the mean time righteous Noah found favour with heaven (a good man hath a peculiar guardianſhip and protection in the worſt of times;) and God orders him to *prepare an ark for the ſaving of his houſe.* An hundred years was this ark in building; not but that it might have been finiſhed in a far leſs time, but that God was willing to give them ſo long a ſpace for wiſe and ſober conſiderations, Noah preaching all the while, both by his doctrine and practice, that they would break off their ſins by repentance, and prevent their ruin. But *they that are filthy, will be filthy ſtill*; the hardened world perſiſted in their impieties, till the wrath of God came upon them to the uttermoſt, and *deſtroyed the world of the ungodly.* God ſhut up Noah, his wife, his three ſons and their wives into the ark, together with proviſions, and ſo many creatures of every ſort as were ſufficient not only for food, but for reparation of the kind, (miracles muſt not be expected, where ordinary means may be had) and then *opened* the *windows* of heaven, and *broke up* the *fountains* of the deep, and brought in the flood that ſwept all away. Twelve months Noah and his family continued in this floating habitation; when the waters being gone, and the earth dried, he came forth; and the firſt thing he did, was to erect an altar, and offer up an euchariſtical ſacrifice to God for ſo remarkable a deliverance (ſome of the Jews tell us, that coming out of the ark he was bitten by a lion, and rendred unfit for ſacrifice, and that therefore Sem did it in his room) he did not concern himſelf for food, or preſent habitation, but immediately betook himſelf to his devotion. God was infinitely pleaſed with the pious and grateful ſenſe of the good man, and openly declared that his diſpleaſure was over, and that he would no more bring upon the world ſuch effects of his ſeverity as he had lately done, and that the ordinances of nature ſhould duly perform their conſtant motions, and regularly obſerve their periodical revolutions. And becauſe man was the principal creature in this lower world, he reſtored to him his charter of dominion and ſovereignty over the creatures; and by enacting ſome laws againſt murder and cruelty, ſecured the peace and happineſs of his life: and then eſtabliſhed a covenant with Noah, and all mankind, that he would no more drown the world; for the ratification and enſurance whereof he placed the rainbow in the clouds, as a perpetual ſign and memorial of his promiſe. Noah after this betook himſelf to huſbandry; and planting vineyards, and being unwarily overtaken with the fruit of the vine, became a ſcorn to Cham one of his own ſons, while the two others piouſly covered their father's ſhame. Awaking out of his ſleep, and knowing what had been done, he prophetically curſed Cham and his poſterity; bleſſed Sem, and in Japhet foretold the calling of the Gentiles to the worſhip of God, and the knowledge of the Meſſiah; that God ſhould *enlarge Japhet, and that he ſhould dwell in the tents of Shem.* He died in the nine hundred and fiftieth year of his age, having ſeen both worlds, that before the flood, and that which came after it.

16. **Sem** and Japhet were the two good ſons of Noah, in the aſſigning whoſe primogeniture, though the ſcripture be not poſitive and decretory, yet do the moſt probable reaſons appear for Japhet, eſpecially if we compute their age. Sem [r] was an hundred years old two years after the flood, (for then he begat Arphaxad) now the flood happened juſt in the ſix hundredth year of Noah's age; whence it follows that Sem [s] was born when his father was five hundred and two years old. But Noah [t] being expreſſly ſaid to have begotten ſons in the five hundredth year of his age, plain it is that there muſt be one ſon at leaſt two years elder than Sem, which could be no other than Japhet, Cham being acknowledged by all the younger brother. And hence it is that Sem [u] is

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[r] Gen. xi. 10.

[s] Ibid. vii. 11.

[t] Gen. v. 32.

[u] Ibid. x. 21.

called the brother יפת הגדול of Japhet the greater, or, as we render it, the elder. They were both pious and devout men, having been brought up under the religious inſtitutions, not only of their father Noah, but their grandfather Lamech, and their great grandfather Methuſelah, who had for ſome hundreds of years converſed with Adam. The holy ſtory records nothing concerning the ſtate of religion in their days; and little heed is to be given to the eaſtern writers, when they tell us of Sem, that according to the command of his father he took the body of Adam, which Noah had ſecretly hidden in the ark, and joining himſelf to Melchiſedeck, they went and buried it in the heart of the earth, an angel going before, and conducting them to the place; with a great deal more, with little truth, and to as little purpoſe. As for the patriarchs born after the flood, little notice is taken of them beſides the bare mention of their names, Arphaxad, Salah, Eber. Of this laſt they ſay that he was a great prophet[w]; that he inſtituted ſchools and ſeminaries for the advancement and propagation of religion: and there was great reaſon for him to beſtir himſelf, if it be true, what the Arabian hiſtorians tell us, that now idolatry began mightily to prevail, and men generally carved to themſelves the images of their anceſtors; to which upon all occaſions they addreſſed themſelves with the moſt ſolemn veneration, the dæmons giving anſwers through the images which they worſhipped. Heber was the father of the Jewiſh nation, who from him are ſaid to have derived the title of Hebrews, Ἕβηρος, ἀφ' οὗ τοὺς Ἰουδαίους Ἑβραίους ἀρχῆθεν ἐκάλουν, as Joſephus tells us,[x] (though there want not thoſe who aſſign other reaſons of the name) and that the Hebrew language was preſerved in his family, which till his time had been the mother-tongue, and the common language of the world. To Eber ſucceeded his ſon Peleg, a name given him out of a prophetical foreſight of that memorable diviſion that happened in his time. For now it was that a company of bold daring perſons, combining themſelves under the conduct and command of Nimrod, reſolved to erect a vaſt and ſtupendous fabrick, partly to raiſe themſelves a mighty reputation in the world, partly to ſecure themſelves from the invaſion of an after-deluge, and probably as a place of retreat and defence, the better to enable them to put in practice that oppreſſion and tyranny which they deſigned to exerciſe over the world. But whatever it was, God was diſpleaſed with the attempt; and to ſhew how eaſily he can baffle the ſubtileſt counſels, and in a moment ſubvert the firmeſt projects, on a ſudden he confounded the language of theſe fooliſh builders, ſo that they were forced to deſiſt from their vain and ambitious deſign, as not being able to underſtand and converſe with one another. To Peleg ſucceeded his ſon Rehu, to Rehu Serug, to him Nachor, to Nachor Terah, who dwelt in Ur of the Chaldeans, where converſing with thoſe idolatrous nations, he lapſed himſelf into the moſt groſs idolatry. So apt are men *to follow a multitude to do evil*; ſo fatally miſchievous is ill company, and a bad example. But the beſt way to avoid the plague, is to remove out of the houſe of infection. Away goes Terah to Haran, where, by repentance, he is ſaid to have recovered himſelf out of the ſnare of the devil.

17. ABRAHAM the ſecond ſon of Terah ſucceeds in the patriarchal line. In his minority he was educated in the idolatries of his father's houſe, who, they ſay, was a maker of ſtatues and images: and the Jews[y] tell us many pleaſant ſtories of Abraham's going into the ſhop in the abſence of his father, his breaking the images, and jeering thoſe that came to buy, or worſhip them; of his father's carrying him to Nimrod to be puniſhed, his witty anſwers, and miraculous eſcapes. But God, who had deſigned him for higher and nobler purpoſes, called him at length out of his father's houſe, fully diſcovered himſelf to him, and by many ſolemn promiſes and federal compacts peculiarly engaged him to himſelf. He was a man entirely devoted to the honour of God, and had conſecrated all his ſervices to the intereſts of religion; ſcarce any duty either toward God or men for which he is not eminent upon record. Towards God, how great was his zeal and care to promote his worſhip? erecting altars almoſt in every place, whereon he publickly offered his prayers and ſacrifice. His love to God wholly ſwallowed up the love and regard that he had to his deareſt intereſts; witneſs his entire reſignation of himſelf, his chearful renouncing all the concernments of his eſtate and family; and eſpecially his readineſs to ſacrifice his only ſon, the ſon of his old age; and, which is above all, the ſon of the promiſe, when God by way of trial required it of him. How vigorous and triumphant was his faith, eſpecially in the great promiſe of a ſon, which he firmly embraced againſt all human probabilities to the contrary? *Againſt hope he believed in hope, and being ſtrong in faith, gave glory to God.* How hearty was his dependance upon the divine

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[w] Elmac. & Patricid. ubi ſupra p. 265.
[x] Antiq. Jud. l. 1. c. 7. p. 15.
[y] Schalch. Hakk. p. 8. citante Hotting. Smeg. Orient. c. 8. p. 291. conf. Maimon. Mor. Nevoch. p. 3. c. 29. p. 421.

vine Providence, when called to leave his father's houſe, and to go into a ſtrange country, how chearfully did he *obey and go out, though he knew not whither he went?* How unconquerable was his patience, how even the compoſure of his mind in all conditions? In fifteen ſeveral journeys that he undertook, and ten difficult temptations which he underwent, he never betrayed the leaſt murmuring or hard thought of God. Towards others he ſhewed the greateſt tenderneſs and reſpect, the moſt meek and compaſſionate temper, a mind inflamed with a deſire of peace and concord: admirable his juſtice and equity in all his dealings, his great hoſpitality and bounty towards ſtrangers; and for that end (ſay the Jews) he got him an houſe near the entring into Haran, that he might entertain ſtrangers as they went in, or came out of the city, at his own table; as indeed he ſeems to have had that moſt excellent and divine temper of mind, an univerſal love and charity towards all men. But his greateſt charity appeared in the care that he took of the ſouls of men. Maimonides[z] tells us, that he kept a publick ſchool of inſtitution, whither he gathered men together, and inſtructed them in that truth, which he himſelf had embraced; and he gives an account by what methods of reaſoning and information he uſed to convince and perſuade them. But whatever he did towards others, we are ſure he did it towards thoſe that were under his own charge. He had a numerous family, and a vaſt retinue, and he was as careful to inform them in the knowledge of the true God, and to inſtruct them in all the duties of religion. It is the character which God himſelf gave of him; *I know Abraham, that he will command his children, and his houſhold after him, and they ſhall keep the way of the Lord to do juſtice and judgment.* And ſo he did, his houſe being a ſchool of piety, wherein religion was both taught and practiſed; many reclaimed from the errors and idolatries of the times, and all his domeſticks and dependants ſolemnly dedicated to God by circumciſion. Therefore when it is ſaid, that he *brought with him all the ſouls which they had gotten in Haran*,[a] the paraphraſe of Onkelos renders it, ית נפשתא דשעבידו לאוריתא בחרן the ſouls which they had ſubjected to the law in Haran; Jonathan's Targum, and much at the ſame rate that of Jeruſalem, נפשתא דגיירו the ſouls which they had made proſelytes in Haran, or as Solomon Jarchi expreſſes it, a little more after the Hebrew mode, the ſouls which they had gathered, בתחת כנפי השכינה under the wings of the divine majeſty; and he further adds, that Abraham proſelyted the men, and Sarah the women. So when elſewhere we read of his trained ſervants,[b] ſome of the Jewiſh maſters expound it by חניכים למצות thoſe that were initiated and trained up in the knowledge of the law. Such being the temper of this holy man, God was pleaſed frequently to converſe with him, and to impart his mind to him, acquainting him with the ſecret counſels and purpoſes of his providence, whence he is ſtiled the friend of God. But that which ſhewed him to be moſt dear to heaven, was the covenant which God ſolemnly made with him, wherein binding Abraham and his ſeed to a ſincere and univerſal obedience, he obliged himſelf to become their God, to be his ſhield and his exceeding great reward, to take his poſterity for his peculiar people, to encreaſe their number, and to enlarge their power, to ſettle them in a rich and a pleaſant country (a type of that heavenly and better country that is above) and which was the crown of all, that *in his ſeed all the nations of the earth ſhould be bleſſed*, that is, the promiſed Meſſiah ſhould proceed out of his loins, who ſhould be a common bleſſing to mankind, in whom Jew and Gentile ſhould be juſtified and ſaved, and he by that means become (ſpiritually) *the father of many nations*. This covenant was ratified and enſured on God's part by a ſolemn oath: *For when God made promiſe to Abraham, becauſe he could ſwear by no greater, he ſware by himſelf, ſaying, ſurely bleſſing I will bleſs thee, and multiplying I will multiply thee.*[c] On Abraham's part it was ſealed with the ſacrament of circumciſion, which God inſtituted as a peculiar federal right, to diſtinguiſh Abraham's poſterity from all other people. Abraham died in the hundred and ſeventy-fifth year of his age, and was buried in the ſepulchre which himſelf had purchaſed of the ſons of Heth. Contemporary with Abraham was his nephew Lot; *a juſt man, but vexed with the filthy converſation of the wicked*[e]; for dwelling in the midſt of an impure and debauched generation, *in ſeeing and hearing he vexed his righteous ſoul from day to day with their unlawful deeds*. This endeared him to heaven, who took a particular care of him, and ſent an angel on purpoſe to conduct him and his family out of Sodom, before he let looſe that fatal vengeance that overturned it.

18. ABRAHAM being dead, Iſaac ſtood up in his ſtead, the ſon of his parents old age, and the fruit of an extraordinary promiſe. Being delivered from being a ſacrifice, he frequented (ſay the Jews) the ſchool of Sem, wherein he was educated in the know-

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[z] Mor. Nevoch. part 2. c. 39. p. 301. [a] Gen. xii. 5. [b] Ibid. xiv. 14. [c] Heb. vi. 13, 14. [d] 2 Pet. ii. 7, 8.

ledge of divine things till his marriage with Rebeccah. But however that was, he was a good man; we read of his *going out to meditate* or *pray in the field at even-tide*,[e] and elſewhere we find him publickly ſacrificing and calling upon God. In all diſtreſſes God ſtill appeared unto him, animated him againſt his fears, and encouraged him to go on in the ſteps of his father, renewing the ſame promiſes to him which he had made to Abraham. Nay, ſo viſible and remarkable was the intereſt which he had in heaven, that Abimelech King of the Philiſtines and his courtiers thought it their wiſeſt courſe to confederate with him for this very reaſon, becauſe *they ſaw certainly that the Lord was with him, and that he was the bleſſed of the Lord.*[f] Religion is the trueſt intereſt, and the wiſeſt; it is the ſureſt protection and the ſafeſt refuge. *When a man's ways pleaſe the Lord, he maketh even his enemies to be at peace with him.* Iſaac dying in the hundred and eightieth year of his life; the patriarchate devolved upon his ſon Jacob by virtue of the primogeniture which he had purchaſed of his brother Eſau, and which had been confirmed to him by the grant and bleſſing of his father (though ſubtilly procured by the artifice and policy of his mother) who alſo told him, that *God almighty would bleſs and multiply him, and his ſeed after him, and that the bleſſing of Abraham ſhould come upon them.* He entirely devoted himſelf to the fear and ſervice of God, kept up his worſhip, and vindicated it from the encroachments of idolatry; he erected altars at every turn, and zealouſly purged his houſe from thoſe Teraphim or idols which Rachel had brought along with her out of Laban's houſe, either to prevent her father's enquiring at them which way Jacob had made his eſcape, or to take away from him the inſtruments of idolatry, or poſſibly that ſhe might have wherewith to propitiate and pacify her father, in caſe he ſhould purſue and overtake them, as Joſephus thinks[g], though ſurely then ſhe would have produced them, when ſhe ſaw her father ſo zealous to retrieve them. He had frequent viſions and divine condeſcenſions; God appearing to him and ratifying the covenant that he had made with Abraham, and changing his name from Jacob to Iſrael, as a memorial of the mighty prevalency which he had with heaven. In his latter time he removed his family into Egypt, where God had prepared his way by the preferment of his ſon Joſeph to be viceroy and lord of that vaſt and fertile country, advanced to that place of ſtate and grandeur by many ſtrange and unſearchable methods of the divine providence. By his two wives, the daughters of his uncle Laban, and his two handmaids, he had twelve ſons, who afterwards became founders of the twelve tribes of the Jewiſh nation; to whom upon his death-bed he bequeathed his bleſſings, conſigning their ſeveral portions, and the particular fates of every tribe, among whom that of Judah is moſt remarkable; to whom it was foretold, that the Meſſiah ſhould ariſe out of that tribe[h]; that the regal power and political ſovereignty ſhould be annexed to it, and remain in it till the Meſſiah came, at whoſe coming the *ſcepter ſhould depart, and the lawgiver from between his knees:* and thus all their own paraphraſts, both Onkelos, Jonathan, and he of Jeruſalem do expound it, that there ſhould *not want kings or rulers of the houſe of Judah, nor ſcribes to teach the law of that race,* עד זמן דייתי מלכא משיחא דדידיא היא מלכותא *until the time that Meſſiah the king ſhould come, whoſe the kingdom is.* And ſo it accordingly came to paſs, for at the time of Chriſt's birth, Herod, who was a ſtranger, had uſurped the throne, debaſed the authority of their great Sanhedrim; murdered their ſenators, diveſted them of all judiciary power, and kept them ſo low, that they had not power left to put a man to death. *And unto him ſhall the gathering of the people be:* a prophecy exactly accompliſhed, when in the firſt ages of chriſtianity the nations of the world flocked to the ſtandard of Chriſt at the publication of the Goſpel. Jacob died a hundred and forty ſeven years old, and was buried in Canaan, in the ſepulchre of his fathers: After whoſe deceaſe his poſterity for ſome hundreds of years were afflicted under the Egyptian yoke. Till God remembring the covenant he had made with their fathers, powerfully reſcued them from the iron furnace, and conducted them through the wilderneſs into the land of promiſe, where he framed and ordered their commonwealth, appointed laws for the government of their church, and ſettled them under a more fixed and certain diſpenſation.

Hitherto we have ſurveyed the ſtate of the church in the conſtant ſucceſſion of the patriarchal line. But if we ſtep a little further into the hiſtory of thoſe times, we ſhall find that there were ſome extraordinary perſons without the pale of that holy tribe, renowned for the worſhip of God, and the profeſſion of religion: among whom two are moſt conſiderable, Melchiſedeck and Job. Melchiſedeck was king of Salem in the land of Canaan, and prieſt of the moſt high God. The ſhort account which the ſcripture gives of him, hath left room for various fancies and conjectures. The opinion that has moſt generally obtained, is, that Melchiſedeck was Sem, one of the ſons of Noah, who was of a great age, and lived above ſeventy years after Abraham's coming into Canaan, and might therefore well enough meet him in his triumphant return from his conqueſt over the kings of the plain. But notwithſtanding the univerſal authority which this opinion aſſumes to itſelf, it appears not to me with any tolerable probability, partly becauſe Canaan, where Melchiſedeck lived, was none of thoſe countries which were allotted to Sem and to his poſterity, and unlikely it is that he ſhould be prince in a foreign country: partly, becauſe thoſe things which the ſcripture reports concerning Melchiſedeck, do no ways agree to Sem, as that he was without father and mother, without genealogy, &c. when as Moſes does moſt exactly deſcribe and record Sem and his family, both as to his anceſtors, and as to his poſterity. That therefore which ſeems moſt probable in the caſe, is, that he was one of the Reguli, or petty kings (whereof there were many) in the land of Canaan, but a pious and devout man, and a worſhipper of the true God, as there were many others in thoſe days among the idolatrous nations; he being extraordinarily raiſed up by God from among the Canaanites, and brought in without mention of parents, original or end, without any predeceſſor or ſucceſſor in his office, that he might be a fitter type of the royal and eternal prieſthood of Chriſt. And for any more particular account concerning his perſon, it were folly and raſhneſs over-curiouſly to enquire after what God ſeems induſtriouſly to have concealed from us. The great character under which the ſcripture takes notice of him, is his relation to our bleſſed Saviour, who is more than once ſaid to *be a prieſt*, κατὰ τάξιν, *after the order*, in the ſame way and manner that Melchiſedeck was, or (as the apoſtle explains himſelf) *after the ſimilitude of Melchiſedeck.*[i] Our Lord was ſuch a prieſt as Melchiſedeck was, there being a nearer ſimilitude and conformity between them, than ever was between any other prieſts whatſoever. A ſubject which St. Paul largely and particularly treats of. Paſſing by the minuter inſtances of the parallel, taken from the name of his perſon, Melchiſedeck, that is, *king of righteouſneſs*, and his title to his kingdom, *king of Salem*, that is, *of peace*; we ſhall obſerve three things eſpecially wherein he was a type of Chriſt. Firſt, in the peculiar qualification of his perſon, ſomething being recorded of him uncommon to the reſt of men, and that is, that he was *without father*, *without mother*, and *without deſcent.*[k] Not that Melchiſedeck, like Adam, was immediately created, or in an inſtant dropt down from heaven; but that he hath no kindred recorded in the ſtory, which brings him in without any mention of father or mother, οὐκ ἴσμεν ποτέ τινα πατέρα ἔχειν, ἢ τινα μητέρα, as Chryſoſtom[l] gloſſes, we know not what father or mother he had: he was (ſays St. Paul) ἀγενεαλόγητος, *without genealogy*, without having any pedigree extant upon record: whence the ancient Syriack verſion truly expreſſes the ſenſe of the whole paſſage thus, *Whoſe neither father nor mother are written* ܒܫܪ̈ܒܬܐ *among the generations*, that is, the genealogies of the ancient patriarchs. And thus he eminently typified Chriſt, of whom this is really true: he is without father in reſpect of his human nature, begotten only of a pure virgin; without mother in reſpect of his divinity, being begotten of his father before all worlds, by an eternal and ineffable generation. Secondly, Melchiſedeck typified our Saviour in the duration and continuance of his office: for ſo 'tis ſaid of him, that he was *without deſcent, having neither beginning of days, nor end of life, but made like unto the ſon of God, abideth a prieſt continually.* By which we are not to underſtand that Melchiſedeck never died; for being a man, he was ſubject to the ſame common law of mortality with other men: but the meaning is, that as he is ſaid to be *without father and mother*, becauſe the ſcripture ſpeaking of him makes no mention of his parents, his genealogy and deſcent; ſo he is ſaid to *abide a prieſt for ever, without any beginning of days, or end of life*; becauſe we have no account of any that either preceded, or ſucceeded him in his office; no mention of the time either when he took it up, or laid it down. And herein how lively and eminent a type of Chriſt, the true Melchiſedeck, who as to his divine nature was without beginning of days from eternal ages, and who either in the execution or virtue of his office abides for ever. There is no abolition, no tranſlation of his office, no expectation of any to ariſe that ſhall ſucceed him in it: *he was made a prieſt, not after the law of a carnal commandment*, a tranſient and mutable diſpenſation, *but after the power of an endleſs life.* Thirdly, Melchiſedeck was a type of Chriſt in his excellency above all other prieſts. St. Paul's great deſign is to evince the pre-eminence and precedency of

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[e] Gen. xxiv. 63. [f] Ibid. xxvi. 28, 29. [g] Antiq. Jud. l. 1. c. 19. p. 31. [h] Gen. xlix. 10.

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[i] Hebr. vii. 17.

[k] Ibid. 3.

[l] Homil. 12. in Heb. p. 1838.

Melchiſedeck above all the prieſts of the Moſaick miniſtration; yea, above Abraham himſelf, the founder and father of the Jewiſh nation, from whom they reckoned it ſo great an honour to derive themſelves. And this the apoſtle proves by a double inſtance: Firſt, that Abraham, in whoſe loins the Levitical prieſts then were, paid tithes to Melchiſedeck, when he *gave him the tenth of all his ſpoils*, as due to God and his miniſters, thereby confeſſing himſelf and his poſterity inferior to him. *Now conſider how great this man was, unto whom even the patriarch Abraham gave the tenth of the ſpoils.*[m] Secondly, that Melchiſedeck conferred upon Abraham a ſolemn benediction, it being a ſtanding part of the prieſt's office to bleſs the people. And this was an undeniable argument of his ſuperiority. *He whoſe deſcent is not counted from them* (the legal prieſts) *received tithes of Abraham, and bleſſed him that had the promiſes: and without all contradiction the leſs is bleſſed of the better.*[n] Whereby it evidently appears, that Melchiſedeck was greater than Abraham, and conſequently than all the Levitical prieſts that deſcended from him. Now herein he admirably prefigured and ſhadowed out our bleſſed Saviour, a perſon peculiarly choſen out by God, ſent into the world upon a nobler and a more important errand, owned by more ſolemn and mighty atteſtations from heaven than ever was any other perſon; his office incomparably beyond that of the legal oeconomy, his perſon greater, his undertaking weightier, his deſign more ſublime and excellent, his oblation more valuable and meritorious, his prayers more prevalent and ſucceſsful, his office more durable and laſting, than ever any whoſe buſineſs it was to intercede and mediate between God and man.

20. The other extraordinary perſon under this oeconomy is Job, concerning whom two things are to be enquired into, Who he was, and when he lived. For the firſt, we find him deſcribed by his name, his country, his kindred, his quality, his religion, and his ſufferings, though in many of them we are left under great uncertainties, and to the ſatisfaction only of probable conjectures. For his name, among many conjectures two are eſpecially conſiderable, though founded upon very different reaſons; one, that it is from איוב ſignifying one that grieves or groans, myſtically preſaging thoſe grievous miſeries and ſufferings that afterwards came upon him; the other, more probably, from יאב to love, or to deſire, noting him the deſire and delight of his parents, earneſtly prayed for, and affectionately embraced with the tendereſt endearments. His country was the land of Uz; though where that was is almoſt as much diſputed, as about the ſource of Nilus. Some will have it Armenia, others Paleſtine, or the land of Canaan; and ſome of the Jewiſh maſters aſſure us, that בירח מרושו his ſchool, or place of inſtitution, was at Tiberias; and nothing more commonly ſhewed to travellers than Job's well, in the way between Ramah and Jeruſalem: others place it in Syria near Damaſcus; ſo called from Uz, the founder of that city: others, a little more northward at Apamea, now called Hama, where his houſe is ſaid to be ſhewed at this day: moſt make it to be part of Idumæa near mount Seir, or elſe Arabia the deſart; (probably it was in the confines of both) this part of Arabia being neareſt to the Sabæans and Chaldæans who invaded him, and moſt applicable to his dwelling among the *ſons of the eaſt*, to the ſituation of his friends who came to viſit him, and beſt correſponding with thoſe frequent Arabiſms diſcernible both in the language and diſcourſes of Job and his friends; not to ſay that this country produced perſons exceedingly addicted to learning and contemplation, and the ſtudies of natural philoſophy: whence the wiſe men who came out of the eaſt to worſhip Chriſt are thought by many to have been Arabians. For his kindred and his friends, we find four taken notice of, who came to viſit him in his diſtreſs; Eliphaz the Temanite, the ſon probably of Teman, the grandchild of Eſau by his eldeſt ſon Eliphaz, the country deriving its name Teman from his father, and was ſituate in Idumæa in the borders of the deſart Arabia: Bildad the Shuhite, a deſcendant in all likelihood of Shuah, one of the ſons of Abraham by his wife Keturah, whoſe ſeat was in this part of Arabia: Zophar the Naamathite, a country lying near thoſe parts; and Elihu the Buzite, of the off-ſpring of Buz the ſon of Nahor, and ſo nearly related to Job himſelf. He was the ſon of Barachel, of the kindred of Ram, who was the head of the family; and his habitation was in the parts of Arabia the deſart near Euphrates, or at leaſt in the ſouthern part of Meſopotamia bordering upon it. As for Job himſelf, he is made by ſome a Canaanite, of the poſterity of Cham; by others to deſcend from Sem by his ſon Amram, whoſe eldeſt ſon's name was Uz; by moſt from Eſau, the father of the Idumæan nations; but moſt probably either from Nahor, Abraham's brother, whoſe ſons were Huz, Buz, Cheſed, &c. or from Abraham himſelf by ſome of the ſons which he had by his wife Keturah;

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[m] Hebr. vii. 4, 5, 6, &c.

[n] Ibid. 6, 7.

whereby an account is moſt probably given, how Job came to be imbued with thoſe ſeeds of piety and true religion, for which he was ſo eminently remarkable, as deriving them from thoſe religious principles and inſtructions which Abraham and Nahor had bequeathed to their poſterity. His quality, and the circumſtances of his external ſtate, were very conſiderable, a man rich and honourable: *His ſubſtance was ſeven thouſand ſheep, and three thouſand camels, and five hundred yoke of oxen, and five hundred ſhe-aſſes, and a very great houſhold*, ſo that he was *the greateſt of all the men of the eaſt*. Himſelf largely deſcribes the great honour and proſperity of his fortunes, that *he waſhed his ſteps in butter, and the rock poured out rivers of oil. When he went out to the gate through the city, and prepared his ſeat in the ſtreet, the young men ſaw him, and hid themſelves, the aged aroſe and ſtood up, the princes refrained talking, and laid their hand on their mouth*, &c. *He delivered the poor that cried, and the fatherleſs, and him that had none to help him; the bleſſing of him that was ready to periſh came upon him*, &c. *He brake the jaws of the wicked, and pluckt the ſpoil out of their teeth*, &c. Indeed, ſo great was his ſtate and dignity, that it has led many into a perſuaſion that he was king of Idumæa, a powerful and mighty prince; a fancy that has received no ſmall encouragement from the common, but groundleſs confounding of Job with Jobab King of Edom, of the race of Eſau. For the ſtory gives no intimation of any ſuch royal dignity to which Job was advanced, but always ſpeaks of him as a private perſon, though exceeding wealthy and proſperous, and thereby probably of extraordinary power and eſtimation in his country. Nay, that he might not want fit companions in his regal capacity, three of his friends are made kings as well as he, the LXX tranſlators themſelves ſtyling Eliphaz king of the Temanites, Bildad of the Suchites, and Zophar king of the Minæans, though with as little, probably leſs reaſon than the former.

21. BUT whatever his condition was, we are ſure he was no leſs eminent for piety and religion; he *was a man perfect and upright, one that feared God, and eſchewed evil.* Though living among the idolatrous Gentiles, he kept up the true and ſincere worſhip of God, daily offered up ſacrifices and prayers to heaven, piouſly inſtructed his children and family, lived in an entire dependance upon the divine Providence, in all his diſcourſes expreſſed the higheſt and moſt honourable ſentiments and thoughts of God, and ſuch as beſt became the majeſty of an infinite Being; in all tranſactions he was juſt and righteous, compaſſionate and charitable, modeſt and humble; indeed by the character of God himſelf, who knew him beſt, *There was none like him in the earth, a perfect and an upright man, fearing God, and eſchewing evil:* his mind was ſubmiſſive and compliant, his patience generous and unſhaken, great even to a proverb, *You have heard of the patience of Job*. And enough he had to try it to the utmoſt, if we conſider what ſufferings he underwent; thoſe evils which are wont but ſingly to ſeize upon other men, all centred and met in him. Plundered in his eſtate by the Sabæan and Chaldæan free-booters, (whoſe ſtanding livelihood were ſpoils and robberies) and not an oxe or aſs left of all the herd, not a ſheep or a lamb either for food or ſacrifice: undone in his poſterity, his ſeven ſons and three daughters being all ſlain at once by the fall of one houſe: blaſted in his credit and good name, and that by his neareſt friends, who traduced and challenged him for a diſſembler and an hypocrite: ruined in his health, being ſmitten with *ſore boils* from the crown of the head to the ſole of the foot, till his body became a very hoſpital of diſeaſes: tormented in his mind with ſad and uncomfortable reflections, *The arrows of the Almighty being ſhot within him, the poiſon whereof drank up his ſpirit, the terrors of God ſetting themſelves in array againſt him.* All which were aggravated and ſet home by Satan, the grand engineer of all thoſe torments, and all this continuing for at leaſt twelve months (ſay the Jews) probably for a much longer time; and yet endured with great courage and fortitude of mind, till God put a period to this tedious trial, and crowned his ſufferings with an ample reſtitution. We have ſeen who this excellent perſon[o] was, we are next to enquire when he lived. And here we meet with almoſt an infinite variety of opinions, ſome making him contemporary with Abraham, others with Jacob, which had he been, we ſhould doubtleſs have found ſome mention of him in their ſtory, as well as we do of Melchiſedeck: others again refer him to the time of the law given at mount Sinai, and the Iſraelites travels in the wilderneſs: others, to the times of the Judges, after the ſettlement of the Iſraelites in the land of promiſe; nay ſome, to the reign of David and Solomon; and I know not whether the reader will not ſmile at the fancy of the Turkiſh Chronologiſts,[p] who make Job Major-domo to Solomon, as they make Alexander the great the general of his army. Others go further, and place him among

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[o] Vid. Maimonid. Mor. Nevoch. part. 3. c. 22. p. 395.

[p] Aug. Busbequius de Legat. Turcic. Epiſt. 1. p. 94.

thoſe that were carried away in the Babyloniſh captivity, yea, in the time of Ahaſuerus, and make his fair daughters to be of the number of thoſe beautiful young virgins that were ſought for for the king; follies that need no confutation. It is certain that he was elder than Moſes, his kindred and family, his way of ſacrificing, the idolatry riſe in his time, evidently placing him before that age; beſides that there are not the leaſt footſteps in all his book of any of the great things done for the Iſraelites deliverance, which we can hardly ſuppoſe ſhould have been omitted, being examples ſo freſh in memory, and ſo appoſite to the deſign of that book. Moſt probable therefore it is, that he lived about the time of the Iſraelitiſh captivity in Egypt; though whether, as ſome Jews will have it, born that very year that Jacob came down into Egypt, and dying that year that they went out of Egypt, I dare not peremptorily affirm. And this, no queſtion, is the reaſon why we find nothing concerning him in the writings of Moſes, the hiſtory of thoſe times being crouded up into a very little room, little being recorded even of the Iſraelites themſelves for near two hundred years, more than in general, that they were heavily oppreſſed under the Egyptian yoke. More concerning this great and good man, and the things relating to him, if the reader deſire to know, he may among others conſult the elaborate exercitations of the younger Spanhemius in his *Hiſtoria Jobi*, where the largeſt curioſity may find enough to ſatisfy it.

22. AND now for a concluſion to this œconomy, if we reflect a little upon the ſtate of things under this period of the world, we ſhall find that the religion of thoſe early ages was plain and ſimple, unforced and natural, and highly agreeable to the common dictates and notions of mens minds. They were not educated under any foreign inſtitutions, nor conducted by a body of numerous laws and written conſtitutions, but were ἀυτήκοοι ϗ ἀυτομαθεῖς (as Philo[q] ſays of them) tutored and inſtructed by the dictates of their own minds, and the principles of that law that was written in their hearts, following the order of nature and right reaſon, as the ſafeſt and moſt ancient Rule. By which means (as one of the ancients[r] obſerves) ἐλεύθερον ϗ ἀνειμένον εὐσεβείας κατόρθουν τρόπον, βίῳ μὲν τῷ κατὰ τ̃ φύσιν κεκοσμημένοι, they maintained a free and uninterrupted courſe of religion, conducting their lives according to the rules of nature; ſo that having purged their minds from luſt and paſſion, and attained to the true knowledge of God, they had no need of external and written laws. Their creed was ſhort and perſpicuous, their notions of God great and venerable, their devotion and piety real and ſubſtantial, their worſhip grave and ſerious, and ſuch as became the grandeur and majeſty of the Divine Being, their rites and ceremonies few and proper, their obedience prompt and ſincere, and indeed the whole conduct of their converſation diſcovering itſelf in the moſt eſſential and important duties of the human life. According to this ſtandard it was that our bleſſed Saviour[s] mainly deſigned to reform religion in its moſt excellent inſtitutions, to retrieve the piety and purity, the innocency and ſimplicity of thoſe firſt and more uncorrupted ages of the world, to improve the laws of nature, and to reduce mankind from ritual obſervances to natural and moral duties, as the moſt vital and eſſential parts of religion; and was therefore pleaſed to charge Chriſtianity with no more than two poſitive inſtitutions, Baptiſm and the Lord's Supper, that men might learn, that the main of religion lies not in ſuch things as theſe. Hence Euſebius undertakes at large to prove the faith and manners of the holy patriarchs, who lived before the times of Moſes, and the belief and practice of Chriſtians to be ἕνα ϗ τ̃ ἀυτὸν, one and the ſame. Which he does not only aſſert and make good in general, but deduce from particular inſtances, the examples of Enoch, Noah, Abraham, Melchiſedeck, Job, *&c.* whom he expreſsly proves to have believed and lived, ἄντικρυς χριστιανικῶς, "altogether after the manner of Chriſti-"ans:" nay, that they had the name alſo as well as the thing, ὥστε ϗ τ̃ τοῦ Χριστοῦ προσηγορίας ἡμῖν ὁμοίως κεκοινωνηκέναι, as he ſhews from that place (which he proves to be meant of Abraham, Iſaac and Jacob) μὴ ἅπτεσθε τ̃ Χριστῶν μου, *Touch not my Chriſtians, mine Anointed, and do my Prophets no harm.* And in ſhort, that as they had the ſame common religion, ſo they had the common bleſſing and reward.

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[q] Phil. lib. de Abrah. p. 350.

[r] Euſeb. Præparat. Evangel. lib. 7. c. 6. p. 304.

[s] Demonſtrat. Evangel. lib. 1. c. 5 & 6. p. 9, 10, &c. & loc. ſupr. cit.

SECT.

SECT. II.

Of the MOSAICAL Diſpenſation.

Moſes the miniſter of this œconomy. His miraculous preſervation. His learned and noble education. The divine temper of his mind. His conducting the Iſraelites out of Egypt. Their arrival at mount Sinai. The law-giver, and how. Moral laws; the decalogue whether a perfect Compendium of the moral law. The ceremonial law, what. Reduced to their proper heads. Such as concerned the matter of their worſhip. Sacrifices, and the ſeveral kinds of them. Circumciſion. The paſſover, and its typical relation. The place of publick worſhip. The tabernacle and temple, and the ſeveral parts of them, and their typical aſpects conſidered. Their ſtated times and feaſts, weekly, monthly, annual. The Sabbatical year. The year of Jubilee. Laws concerning the perſon miniſtring; prieſts, levites; the high-prieſt, how a type of Chriſt. The deſign of the ceremonial law, and its abolition. The judicial laws, what. The Moſaical law how divided by the Jews into affirmative and negative precepts, and why. The ſeveral ways of divine revelation. Urim and Thummim, what, and the manner of its giving anſwers. Bath Col. Whether any ſuch way of revelation among the Jews. Revelation by dreams. By viſions. The revelation of the Holy Spirit, what. Moſes his way of prophecy wherein exceeding the reſt. The pacate way of the ſpirit of prophecy. This ſpirit when it ceaſed in the Jewiſh church. The ſtate of the church under this diſpenſation briefly noted. From the giving of the law till Samuel. From Samuel till Solomon. Its condition under the ſucceeding kings till the captivity. From thence till the coming of Chriſt. The ſtate of the Jewiſh church in the time of Chriſt more particularly conſidered. The prophanations of the temple. The corruption of their worſhip. The abuſe of the prieſthood. The depravation of the law by falſe gloſſes. Their oral and unwritten law. Its original and ſucceſſion according to the mind of the Jews. Their unreaſonable and blaſphemous preferring it above the written law. Their religious obſerving the traditions of the elders. The vow of Corban, what. The ſuperſeding moral duties by it. The ſects in the Jewiſh church. The Phariſees, their denomination, riſe, temper and principles. Sadduces, their impious principles, and evil lives. The Eſſenes, their original, opinions, and way of life. The Herodians, who. The Samaritans, Karræans. The ſect of the Zealots. The Roman tyranny over the Jews.

1. THE church, which had hitherto lain diſperſed in private families, and had often been reduced to an inconſiderable number, being now multiplied into a great and a populous nation, God was pleaſed to enter into covenant, not any longer with particular perſons, but with the body of the people, and to govern the church by more certain and regular ways and methods than it had hitherto been. This diſpenſation began with the delivery of the law, and continued till the final period of the Jewiſh ſtate, conſiſting only of meats and drinks, and divers waſhings, and carnal ordinances, impoſed on them until the time of reformation. In the ſurvey whereof we ſhall chiefly conſider what laws were given for the government of the church, by what methods of revelation God communicated his mind and will to them, and what was the ſtate of the church, eſpecially towards the concluſion of this œconomy.

2. THE great miniſter of this diſpenſation was Moſes the ſon of Amram, of the houſe of Levi, a perſon whoſe ſignal preſervation when but an infant preſaged him to be born for great and generous undertakings. Pharaoh king of Egypt, deſirous to ſuppreſs the growing numbers of the Jewiſh nation, had afflicted and kept them under with all the rigorous ſeverities of tyranny and oppreſſion. But this not taking its effect, he made a law, that all Hebrew male-children ſhould be drowned as ſoon as born, knowing well enough how to kill the root, if he could keep any more branches from ſpringing up. But the wiſdom of heaven defeated his crafty and barbarous deſigns. Among others that were born at that time was Moſes, a goodly child, and whom his mother was infinitely deſirous to preſerve: but having concealed him, till the ſaving of his might endanger the loſing her own life, her affection ſuggeſted to her this little ſtratagem, ſhe prepared an ark made of paper-reeds, and pitched within; and ſo putting him aboard this little veſſel, threw him into the river Nilus, committing him to the mercy of the waves, and the conduct of the Divine Providence. God, who wiſely orders all events, had ſo diſpoſed

things, that Pharaoh's daughter (whoſe name, ſay the Jews, was Bithia; Thermuth, ſays Joſephus[t]; ſay the Arabians, Sihhoun) being troubled with a diſtemper that would not endure the hot baths, was come down at this time to waſh in the Nile, where the cries of the tender babe ſoon reached her ears. She commanded the ark to be brought aſhore, which was no ſooner opened, but the mournful oratory of the weeping infant ſenſibly ſtruck her with compaſſionate reſentments: and the Jews[u] add, that ſhe no ſooner touched the babe, but ſhe was immediately healed, and cried out that he was an holy child, and that ſhe would ſave his life; for which (ſay they) ſhe obtained the favour to "be brought under the wings of the Divine Majeſty," and to be called the daughter of God. His ſiſter Miriam, who had all this while beheld the ſcene afar off, officiouſly proffered her ſervice to the princeſs to call an Hebrew nurſe, and accordingly went and brought his mother. To her care he was committed, with a charge to look tenderly to him, and the promiſe of a reward. But the hopes of that could add but little, where nature was ſo much concerned. Home goes the mother joyful and proud of her own pledge, and the royal charge, carefully providing for his tender years. His infant ſtate being paſt, he was reſtored to the princeſs, who adopted him for her own ſon, bred him up at court, where he was poliſhed with all the arts of a noble and ingenuous education, inſtructed in the modes of civility and behaviour, in the methods of policy and government, "learned in all the wiſdom of the Egyptians;" whoſe renown for wiſdom is not only once and again taken notice of in holy writ, but their admirable ſkill in all liberal ſciences, natural, moral and divine, beyond the rate and proportion of other nations, is ſufficiently celebrated by foreign writers. To theſe accompliſhments God was pleaſed to add a divine temper of mind, a great zeal for God, not able to endure any thing that ſeemed to claſh with the intereſts of the divine honour and glory; a mighty courage and reſolution in God's ſervice, whoſe edge was not to be taken off either by threats or charms: *He was not afraid of the king's commandment, nor feared the wrath of the king; for he endured as ſeeing him that is inviſible.*[w] His contempt of the world was great and admirable, ſlighting the honours of Pharaoh's court, and the fair probabilities of the crown, the treaſures and pleaſures of that rich, ſoſt and luxurious country, out of a firm belief of the inviſible rewards of another world: *He refuſed to be called the ſon of Pharaoh's daughter, chuſing rather to ſuffer affliction with the people of God, than to enjoy the pleaſures of ſin for a ſeaſon: eſteeming the reproach of Chriſt greater riches than the treaſures in Egypt, for he had reſpect unto the recompence of reward.*[x] Joſephus[y] relates, that when but a child he was preſented by the princeſs to her father, as one whom ſhe had adopted for her ſon, and deſigned for his ſucceſſor in the kingdom; the king taking him up into his arms, put his crown upon his head, which the child immediately pulled off again, and throwing it upon the ground, trampled it under his feet. An action which however looked upon by ſome courtiers then preſent, ὡς οἰωνὸν ἐπὶ τῇ βασιλείᾳ φέρων, as portending a fatal omen to the kingdom, did however generouſly preſage his generous contempt of the grandeur and honours of the court, and thoſe plauſible advantages of ſovereignty that were offered to him. His patience was inſuperable, not tired out with the abuſes and diſappointments of the king of Egypt, with the hardſhips and troubles of the wilderneſs; and which was beyond all, with the croſs and vexatious humours of a ſtubborn and unquiet generation. He was of a moſt calm and treatable diſpoſition, his ſpirit not eaſily ruffled with paſſion; he who in the cauſe of God and religion could be bold and fierce as a lion, was in his own patient as a lamb, God himſelf having given this character of him, *That he was the meekeſt man upon the earth.*

3. THIS great perſonage thus excellently qualified, God made choice of him to be the commander and conductor of the Jewiſh nation, and his ambaſſador to the king of Egypt, to demand the enfranchiſement of his people, and free liberty to go ſerve and worſhip the God of their fathers. And that he might not ſeem a mere pretender to divine revelation, but that he really had an immediate commiſſion from heaven, God was pleaſed to furniſh him with extraordinary credentials, and to ſeal his commiſſion with a power of working miracles beyond all the arts of magick, and thoſe tricks for which the Egyptian ſorcerers were ſo famous in the world. But Pharaoh unwilling to part with ſuch uſeful vaſſals, and having oppreſſed them beyond poſſibility of reconcilement, would not hearken to the propoſal, but ſometimes downright rejected it, otherwhiles ſought by ſubtil and plauſible pretences to evade and ſhift it off; till by many aſtoniſhing miracles, and ſevere judgments, God extorted at length a grant from him. Under the conduct of

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[t] Antiq. Jud. l. 2. c. 5. p. 56.

[u] R. Eliez. c. 48. apud Hotting. Smeg. Orient. c. 8. p. 402.

[w] Heb. xi. 27.

[x] Ver. 24, 25, 26.

[y] Loc. ſupr. cit. p. 57.

Moſes they ſet forwards, after at leaſt two hundred years ſervitude under the Egyptian yoke; and though Pharaoh, ſenſible of his error, with a great army purſued them, either to cut them off, or bring them back, God made way for them through the midſt of the ſea, the waters becoming like a wall of braſs on each ſide of them; till being all paſſed to the other ſhoar, thoſe inviſible cords which had hitherto tied up that liquid element, burſting in ſunder, the waters returned and overwhelmed their enemies that purſued them. Thus God by the ſame ſtroke can protect his friends, and puniſh his enemies. Nor did the Divine Providence here take its leave of them, but became their conſtant guard and defence in all their journeys, waiting upon them through their ſeveral ſtations in the wilderneſs; the moſt memorable whereof was that at mount Sinai in Arabia: the place where God delivered them the pattern in the mount, according to which the form both of their church and ſtate was to be framed and modelled. In order hereunto *Moſes* is called up into the mount, where by faſting and prayer he converſed with heaven, and received the body of their laws. Three days the people were by a pious and devout care to ſanctify and prepare themſelves for the promulgation of the law; they might not come near their wives; were commanded to waſh their cloaths, as an emblem and repreſentation of that cleanſing of the heart, and that inward purity of mind, wherewith they were to entertain the divine will. On the third day in the morning God deſcended from heaven with great appearances of majeſty and terror, with thunders and lightnings, with black clouds and tempeſts, with ſhouts and the loud noiſe of a trumpet, (which trumpet, ſay the Jews, was made of the horn of that ram that was offered in the room of Iſaac) with fire and ſmoke on the top of the mount, aſcending up like the ſmoke of a furnace: the mountain itſelf greatly quaking, the people trembling; *nay, ſo terrible was the ſight, that Moſes* (who had ſo frequently, ſo familiarly converſed with God) *ſaid, I exceedingly fear and quake.*[z] All which pompous trains of terror and magnificence God made uſe of at this time, to excite the more ſolemn attention to his laws, and to beget a greater reverence and veneration for them in the minds of the people, and to let them ſee how able he was to call them to account, and by the ſevereſt penalties to vindicate the violation of his law.

4. The code and digeſt of thoſe laws, which God now gave to the Jews as the terms of that national covenant that he made with them, conſiſted of three ſorts of precepts, moral, eccleſiaſtical, and political; which the Jews will have intimated by thoſe three words that ſo frequently occur in the writings of Moſes, laws, ſtatutes, and judgments. By תורה laws, they underſtand the moral law, the notices of good and evil naturally implanted in mens minds: by חקים or ſtatutes, ceremonial precepts, inſtituted by God with peculiar reference to his church: by משפטים or judgments, political laws concerning juſtice and equity, the order of human ſociety, and the prudent and peaceable managery of the commonwealth. The moral laws inſerted into this code are thoſe contained in the decalogue, עשרת הדברים as they are called, the ten words that were written upon two tables of ſtone.[a] Theſe were nothing elſe but a ſummary comprehenſion of the great laws of nature, engraven at firſt upon the minds of all men in the world; the moſt material part whereof was now conſigned to writing, and incorporated into the body of the Jewiſh law. I know the decalogue is generally taken to be a compleat ſyſtem of all natural laws: but whoever impartially conſiders the matter, will find that there are many inſtances of duty ſo far from being commanded in it, that they are not reducible to any part of it, unleſs hooked in by ſubtilties of wit, and drawn thither by forced and unnatural inferences. What proviſion, except in one caſe or two, do any of thoſe commandments make againſt neglects of duty? Where do they oblige us to do good to others, to love, aſſiſt, relieve our enemies? Gratitude and thankfulneſs to benefactors is one of the prime and eſſential laws of nature, and yet no where that I know of (unleſs we will have it implied in the preface to the law) commanded or intimated in the decalogue: with many other caſes, which it is naturally evident are our duty, whereof no footſteps are to be ſeen in this compendium, unleſs hunted out by nice and ſagacious reaſonings, and made out by a long train of conſequences, never originally intended in the commandment, and which not one in a thouſand are capable of deducing from it. It is probable therefore that God reduced only ſo many of the laws of nature into writing, as were proper to the preſent ſtate and capacities of that people to whom they were given, ſuperadding ſome, and explaining others by the preaching and miniſtry of the prophets, who in their ſeveral ages endeavoured to bring men out of the ſhades and thickets, into clear light and noon-day, by clearing up mens obligations to thoſe natural and eſſential

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[z] Heb. xii. 21.

[a] Deut. iv. 13.

duties, in the practice whereof human nature was to be advanced unto its juſt accompliſhment and perfection. Hence it was that our Lord, who *came not to deſtroy the law, but to fulfil* and perfect *it*, has explained the obligations of the natural law more fully and clearly, more plainly and intelligibly, rendred our duty more fixed and certain, and extended many inſtances of obedience to higher meaſures, to a greater exactneſs and perfection, than ever they were underſtood to have before. Thus he commands a free and univerſal charity, not only that we love our friends and relations, but that we *love our enemies, bleſs them that curſe us, do good to them that hate us, and pray for them that deſpitefully uſe and perſecute us:* he hath forbidden malice and revenge with more plainneſs and ſmartneſs; obliged us not only to live according to the meaſures of ſobriety, but extended it to *ſelf-denial*, and *taking up the croſs*, and laying down our lives, whenver the honour of God, and the intereſt of religion calls for it; he not only commands us to do no wrong, but when we have done it, to make reſtitution; not only to retrench our irregular appetites, but *to cut off our right hand, and pluck out our right eye, and caſt them from us*; that is, mortify and offer violence to thoſe vicious inclinations, which are as dear to us, as the moſt uſeful and neceſſary parts and members of our body. Beſides all this, had God intended the decalogue for a perfect ſummary of the laws of nature, we cannot ſuppoſe that he would have taken any but ſuch into the collection; whereas the fourth commandment concerning the ſeventh day is unqueſtionably typical and ceremonial, and has nothing more of a natural and eternal obligation in it, than that God ſhould be ſerved and honoured both with publick and private worſhip, which cannot be done without ſome portions of time ſet apart for it: but that this ſhould be done juſt at ſuch a time, and by ſuch proportions, upon the ſeventh rather than the ſixth or eighth day, is no part of natural religion. And indeed the reaſons and arguments that are annexed to it, to enforce the obſervance of it, clearly ſhew that it is of a later date and of another nature than the reſt of thoſe precepts in whoſe company we find it, though it ſeems at firſt ſight to paſs without any peculiar note of diſcrimination from the reſt. As for the reſt, they are laws of eternal righteouſneſs, and did not derive their value and authority from the divine ſanction which God here gave them at mount Sinai, but from their own moral and internal goodneſs and equity, being founded in the nature of things, and the eſſential and unchangeable differences of good and evil. By which means they always were, always will be obligatory and indiſpenſible, being as eternal and immutable as the nature of God himſelf.

5. The ſecond ſort of laws were ceremonial, divine conſtitutions concerning ritual obſervances, and matters of eccleſiaſtical cognizance and relation, and were inſtituted for a double end, partly for the more orderly government of the church, and the more decent adminiſtration of the worſhip of God; partly that they might be types and figures of the evangelical ſtate, *ſhadows of good things to come*, viſible and ſymbolical repreſentments of the Meſſiah, and thoſe great bleſſings and privileges which he was to introduce into the world; which doubtleſs was the reaſon why God was ſo infinitely punctual and particular in his directions about theſe matters, giving orders about the minuteſt circumſtances of the temple-miniſtration, becauſe every part of it had a glance at a future and better ſtate of things. The number of them was great, and the obſervation burdenſome, the whole nation groaning under the ſervility of that yoke. They were ſuch as principally related to God's worſhip, and may be reduced either to ſuch as concerned the worſhip itſelf, or the circumſtances of time, place, and perſons that did attend it. Their worſhip conſiſted chiefly in three things, prayers, ſacrifices, and ſacraments. Prayers were daily put up together with their offerings; and though we have very few conſtitutions concerning them, yet the conſtant practice of that church, and the particular forms of prayer yet extant in their writings, are a ſufficient evidence. Sacrifices were the conſtant and moſt ſolemn part of their publick worſhip; yea, they had their עלת תמיד *their continual burnt-offering*[b], a lamb offered morning and evening with a meaſure of flour, oil and wine, the charge whereof was defrayed out of the treaſury of the temple. The reſt of their ſacrifices may be conſidered either as they were expiatory or euchariſtical; expiatory were thoſe that were offered as an atonement for the ſins of the people, to pacify the divine diſpleaſure, and to procure his pardon; which they did by virtue of their typical relation to that great ſacrifice which the Son of God was in the fulneſs of time to offer up for the ſins of the world. They were either of a more general relation, for the expiation of ſin in general; whole burnt-offerings, which were entirely (the ſkin and the entrails only excepted) burnt to aſhes; or of a more private and particular concernment, deſigned for the redemption of particular offences, whereof there were two ſorts:

חטאה:

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[b] Exod. xxix.

חטאת or *the ſin-offering*, for involuntary offences committed through error or ignorance; which, according to the condition and capacity of the perſon, were either for the prieſt, or the prince, or the whole body of the people, or a private perſon. The other אשם or the treſpaſs-offering, for ſins done wittingly, ſtudied and premeditated tranſgreſſions, and which the man could not pretend to be the effects of ſurprize or chance. Euchariſtical ſacrifices were teſtimonies of gratitude to God for mercies received; whereof three ſorts eſpecially, 1. מנחא or the meat-offering, made up of things without life, oil, fine flour, incenſe, *&c.* which the worſhipper offered as a thankful return for the daily preſervation and proviſions of life, and therefore it conſiſted only of the fruits of the ground. 2. זבח שלמים or the peace-offering; this was done either out of a grateful ſenſe of ſome bleſſing conferred, or as a voluntary offering to which the perſon had obliged himſelf by a vow, in expectation of ſome ſafety or deliverance which he had prayed for: in this ſacrifice God had his part, the fat which was the only part of it burnt by fire; the prieſt his, as the inſtrument of the miniſtration; the offerer his, that he might have wherewith to *rejoice before the Lord.* 3. תודה a thankſgiving-offering, or a ſacrifice of praiſe; it was a mixed kind of ſacrifice, conſiſting of living creatures, and the fruits of the earth, which they might offer at their own will; but it muſt be eaten the ſame day, and none of it left until the morrow. What other proviſions we meet with concerning ceremonial uncleanneſſes, firſt-fruits, the firſt-born, tenths, *&c.* are conveniently reducible to ſome of theſe heads which we have already mentioned. The laſt part of their worſhip concerned their ſacraments, which were two, circumciſion, and the paſchal ſupper. Circumciſion was the federal rite annexed by God as a ſeal to the covenant which he made with Abraham and his poſterity, and accordingly renewed and taken into the body of the Moſaical conſtitutions. It was to be adminiſtred the eighth day; which the Jews underſtand not of ſo many days compleat, but the current time, ſix full days, and part of the other. In the room of this, baptiſm ſucceeds in the Chriſtian church. The paſſover, which was the eating of the paſchal lamb, was inſtituted as an annual memorial of their ſignal and miraculous deliverance out of Egypt, and as a typical repreſentation of our ſpiritual redemption by Chriſt from the bondage of ſin, and that hell that follows it. It was to be celebrated with a male-lamb without blemiſh, taken out of the flock, to note *the lamb of God that takes away the ſins of the world*, who was taken from *among men*, *a lamb without blemiſh and without ſpot*, *holy*, *harmleſs*, *and ſeparate from ſinners*. The door-poſts of the houſe were to be ſprinkled with the blood of the lamb, to ſignify our ſecurity from the divine vengeance by the blood of ſprinkling. The lamb was to be roaſted and eaten whole, typifying the great ſufferings of our bleſſed Saviour, who was to paſs through the fire of divine wrath, and to be wholly embraced and entertained by us in all his offices, as King, Prieſt, and Prophet. None but thoſe that were clean and circumciſed might eat of it, to ſhew that only true believers, holy and good men, can be partakers of Chriſt, and the merits of his death: it was to be eaten ſtanding, with their loins girt, and their ſtaff in their hand, to put them in mind what haſte they made out of the houſe of bondage; and to intimate to us what preſent diligence we ſhould uſe to get from under the empire and tyranny of ſin and ſatan, under the conduct and aſſiſtance of the Captain of our ſalvation. The eating of it was to be mixed with bitter herbs, partly as a memorial of that bitter ſervitude which they underwent in the land of Egypt, partly as a type of that repentance and bearing of the croſs (duties difficult and unpleaſant) which all true Chriſtians muſt undergo. Laſtly, it was to be eaten with unleavened bread; all manner of leaven being at that time to be baniſhed out of their houſes with the moſt critical diligence and curioſity, to repreſent what infinite care we ſhould take to cleanſe and purify our hearts, *to purge out the old leaven*, *that we may be a new lump*: and that ſince *Chriſt our paſſover is ſacrificed for us*, *therefore we ſhould keep the feaſt* (the feſtival commemoration of his death) *not with old leaven*, *neither with the leaven of malice and wickedneſs*, *but with the unleavened bread of ſincerity and truth.*[c]

6. The places of their publick worſhip were either the tabernacle made in the wilderneſs, or the temple built by Solomon; between which in the main there was no other difference, than that the tabernacle was an ambulatory temple, as the temple was a ſtanding tabernacle, together with all the rich coſtly furniture that was in them. The parts of it were three, the holieſt of all, whither none entred but the high-prieſt, and that but once a year, this was a type of heaven; the holy place, whither the prieſts entred every day to perform their ſacred miniſtrations; and the outward court, whither the people came to offer up their prayers and ſacrifices. In the ſanctum ſanctorum, or ho-

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[c] 1 Cor. v. 7, 8.

lieſt of all, there was the golden cenſer, typifying the merits and interceſſion of Chriſt; the ark of the covenant, as a repreſentation of him who is the Mediator of the covenant between God and man; the golden pot of manna, a type of our Lord, the true manna, *the bread that came down from heaven*; the rod of Aaron that budded, ſignifying the branch of the root of Jeſſe; that though our Saviour's family ſhould be reduced to a ſtate of ſo much meanneſs and obſcurity, as to appear but like the trunk or ſtump of a tree, yet *there ſhould come forth a rod out of this ſtem of Jeſſe, and a branch grow out of his roots, which ſhould ſtand for an enſign of the people, and in him ſhould the Gentiles truſt.*[d] And within the ark were the two tables of the covenant, to denote him, *in whom are hid all the treaſures of wiſdom and knowledge*, and who is the end and perfection of the law. Over it were the cherubims of glory ſhadowing the mercy-ſeat, who looking towards each other, and both to the mercy-ſeat, denoted the two teſtaments, or diſpenſations of the church; which admirably agree, and both direct to Chriſt the mediator of the covenant. The propitiatory, or mercy-ſeat, was the golden covering to the ark, where God veiling his majeſty, was wont to manifeſt his preſence, to give anſwers, and ſhew himſelf reconciled to the people; herein eminently prefiguring our bleſſed Saviour, who interpoſes between us and the Divine Majeſty, *whom God hath ſet forth to be a propitiation, through faith in his blood, for the remiſſion of ſins*: ſo that now *we may boldly come to the throne of grace, and find mercy to help us.* Within the ſanctuary, or the holy place, was the golden candleſtick with ſeven branches, repreſenting Chriſt, who is *the light of the world*, and who *enlightens every one that comes into the world*, and before whoſe throne there are ſaid to be *ſeven lamps of fire, which are the ſeven ſpirits of God*:[e] the table, compaſſed about with a border and a crown of gold, denoting the miniſtry; and the ſhew-bread ſet upon it, ſhadowing out Chriſt, *the bread of life*, who by the miniſtry of the goſpel is offered to the world. Here alſo was the golden altar of incenſe, whereon they burnt the ſweet perfumes morning and evening, to ſignify to us that our Lord is the true altar, by whom all our prayers and ſervices are rendered *the odour of a ſweet ſmell acceptable unto God*; to this the Pſalmiſt refers, *Let my prayer be ſet forth before thee as incenſe, and the lifting up of my hands as the evening ſacrifice.*[f] The third part of the tabernacle, as alſo of the temple, was the court of Iſrael, wherein ſtood the brazen altar, upon which the holy fire was continually preſerved, by which the ſacrifices were conſumed, one of the five great prerogatives that were wanting in the ſecond temple. Here was the brazen laver, with its baſis, made of the brazen looking-glaſſes of the women that aſſembled at the door of the tabernacle, wherein the prieſts waſhed their hands and their feet when going into the ſanctuary, and both they and the people when about to offer ſacrifice; to teach us to purify our hearts, and to *cleanſe ourſelves from all filthineſs of fleſh and ſpirit*, eſpecially when we approach to offer up our ſervices to heaven: hereunto David alludes, *I will waſh mine hands in innocency, ſo will I compaſs thine altar, O Lord.*[g] Solomon, in building the temple, made an addition of a fourth court, the court of the Gentiles, whereinto the unclean Jews and Gentiles might enter; and in this was the corban or treaſury, and it is ſometimes in the New Teſtament called the temple. To theſe laws concerning the place of worſhip, we may reduce thoſe that relate to the holy veſſels and utenſils of the tabernacle and the temple, candleſtick, ſnuffers, diſhes, *&c.* which alſo had their proper myſteries and ſignifications.

7. The ſtated times and ſeaſons of their worſhip are next to be conſidered, and they were either daily, weekly, monthly, or yearly. Their daily worſhip was at the time of the morning and the evening ſacrifice; their weekly ſolemnity was the ſabbath, which was to be kept with all imaginable care and ſtrictneſs, they being commanded to reſt in it from all ſervile labours; and to attend the duties and offices of religion: a type of that *reſt that remains for the people of God*. Their monthly feſtivals were the new moons, wherein they were to blow the trumpets over their ſacrifices and oblations, and to obſerve them with great expreſſions of joy and triumph, in a thankful reſentment of the bleſſings which all that month had been conferred upon them. Their annual ſolemnities were either ordinary or extraordinary: ordinary were thoſe that returned every year, whereof the firſt was the paſſover, to be celebrated upon the fourteenth day of the firſt month, as a memorial of their great deliverance out of Egypt. The ſecond, Pentecoſt, called alſo the feaſt of weeks, becauſe juſt ſeven weeks, or fifty days after the paſſover: inſtituted it was partly in memory of the promulgation of the law, publiſhed at mount Sinai fifty days after their celebration of the paſſover in Egypt; partly as a thankſgiving for the in-gathering of their harveſt, which uſually was fully brought in about this time.

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[d] Iſa. xi. 1, 10. Rom. xv. 12. [e] Rev. iv. 5. [f] Pſal. cxli. 2. [g] Pſal. xxvi. 6.

The third was the feaſt of tabernacles, kept upon the fifteenth day of the ſeventh month for the ſpace of ſeven days together; at which time they dwelt in booths made of green boughs, as a memento of that time when they ſojourned in tents and tabernacles in the wilderneſs, and a ſenſible demonſtration of the tranſitory duration of the preſent life, that *the earthly houſe of our tabernacle muſt be diſſolved*, and that therefore *we ſhould ſecure a building of God, an houſe not made with hands, eternal in the heavens.* Theſe were the three great ſolemnities, wherein all the males were obliged to appear at Jeruſalem, and to preſent themſelves and their offerings in teſtimony of their homage and devotion unto God: beſides which they had ſome of leſſer moment, ſuch as their feaſt of trumpets, and that of expiation. The annual feſtivals extraordinary were thoſe that recurred but once in the periodical return of ſeveral years; ſuch was the ſabbatical year, wherein the land was to lie fallow, and to reſt from ploughing and ſowing, and all manner of cultivation: and this was to be every ſeventh year, typifying the eternal ſabbatiſm in heaven, where good men ſhall *reſt from their labours, and their works ſhall follow them.* But the great ſabbatical year of all was that of Jubilee, which returned at the end of ſeven ordinary ſabbatick years, that is, every fiftieth year, the approach whereof was proclaimed by the ſound of trumpets; in it ſervants were releaſed, all debts diſcharged, and mortgaged eſtates reverted to their proper heirs. And how evidently did this ſhadow out the ſtate of the goſpel, and our Lord's being ſent *to preach good tidings to the meek, to bind up the broken-hearted, to preach liberty to the captives, and the opening of the priſon to them that are bound, to proclaim the acceptable year of the Lord, that they might lift up their heads, becauſe their redemption drew nigh?* [h]

8. Lastly, They had laws concerning the perſons by whom their publick worſhip was adminiſtred; and here there was appointed an high-prieſt, who had his proper offices and rules of duty, his peculiar attire and conſecration; ordinary prieſts, whoſe buſineſs was to inſtruct the people, to pray and offer ſacrifice, to bleſs the congregation, and judge in caſes of leproſy, and ſuch like: at their ordination, they were to be choſen before all the people, to be ſprinkled with the water of expiation, their hair ſhaved, and their bodies waſhed, afterwards anointed, and ſacrifices to be offered for them, and then they might enter upon their prieſtly miniſtrations. Next to theſe were the levites, who were to aſſiſt the prieſts in preparing the ſacrifices, to bear the tabernacle (while it laſted) and lay up its veſſels and utenſils, to purify and cleanſe the veſſels and inſtruments, to guard the courts and chambers of the temple, to watch weekly in the temple by their turns, to ſing and celebrate the praiſes of God with hymns and muſical inſtruments, and to join with the prieſts in judging and determining ceremonial cauſes; they were not to be taken into the full diſcharge of their function till the thirtieth, nor to be kept at it beyond the fiftieth year of their age; God mercifully thinking it fit to give them then a writ of eaſe, whoſe ſtrength might be preſumed ſufficiently impaired by truckling for ſo many years under ſuch toilſome and laborious miniſtrations. Though the levitical prieſts were types of Chriſt, yet it was the high-prieſt who did eminently typify him, and that in the unity and ſingularity of his office: for though many orders and courſes of inferior prieſts and miniſters, yet was there but one high-prieſt, *There is one mediator between God and men, the man Chriſt Jeſus.* In the qualification neceſſary to his election, as to place, he was to be taken out of the tribe of Levi; as to his perſon, which was to be every ways perfect and comely, and the manner of his conſecration; in his ſingular capacity, that he alone might enter into the holy of holies, which he did once every year upon the great day of expiation, with a mighty pomp and train of ceremonies, killing ſacrifices, burning incenſe, ſprinkling the blood of the ſacrifice before and upon the mercy-ſeat, going within the veil, and making an atonement within the holy place. All which immediately referred to Chriſt, who *by the ſacrifice of himſelf*, and *through the veil of his own fleſh, entred*, not into the holy place made with hands, but *into heaven itſelf, now to appear in the preſence of God for us.* All which might be repreſented more at large, but that I intend not a diſcourſe about theſe matters.

9. Besides the laws which we have hitherto enumerated, there were ſeveral other particular commands, ritual conſtitutions about meats and drinks, and other parts of human life. Such was the difference they were to make between the creatures, ſome to be clean, and others unclean; ſuch were ſeveral ſorts of pollution and uncleanneſs, which were not in their own nature ſins, but ceremonial defilements; of this kind were ſeveral proviſions about apparel, diet, and the ordering family-affairs, all evidently of a ceremonial aſpect, but too long to be inſiſted on in this place. The main deſign of this ceremo-

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[h] Iſai. lxi. 1, 2. Luke iv. 18.

nial law was to point out to us the evangelical ſtate. *The law had only a ſhadow of good things to come, and not the very image of the things themſelves; the body was Chriſt*[i]; and thefore though *the law came by Moſes*, yet *grace and truth* (the truth of all thoſe types and figures) *came by Chriſt.*[k] It was time for Moſes to reſign the chair, when once this great Prophet was come into the world. Ceremonies could no longer be of uſe, when once the ſubſtance was at hand. Well may the ſtars diſappear at the riſing of the ſun: the "Meſſiah being cut off, ſhould cauſe the ſacrifice and the oblation to ceaſe." At the time of Chriſt's death the veil of the temple from top to bottom rent in ſunder, to ſhew that his death had revealed the myſteries, and deſtroyed the foundations of the legal œconomy, and put a period to the whole temple miniſtration. Nay, the Jews themſelves confeſs[l], that forty years before the deſtruction of the temple (a date that correſponds exactly with the death of Chriſt) the "lot did no more go up into the right hand "of the prieſt" (this is meant of his diſmiſſion of the ſcape-goat) "nor the ſcarlet rib"bon," uſually laid upon the forehead of the goat, "any more grow white," (this was a ſign that the goat was accepted for the remiſſion of their ſins) "nor the evening lamp "burn any longer, and that the gates of the temple opened of their own accord." By which, as at once they confirm what the goſpel reports of the opening of the ſanctum ſanctorum by the ſciſſure of the veil; ſo they plainly confeſs, that at that very time their ſacrifices and temple ſervices began to ceaſe and fail: as indeed the reaſon of them then ceaſing, the things themſelves muſt needs vaniſh into nothing.

10. THE third ſort of laws given to the Jews were judicial and political: theſe were the municipal laws of the nation, enacted for the good of the ſtate; and were a kind of appendage to the ſecond table of the decalogue, as the ceremonial laws were of the firſt. They might be reduced to four general heads; ſuch as reſpected men in their private and domeſtick capacities, concerning huſbands and wives, parents and children, maſters and ſervants; ſuch as concerned the publick and the commonwealth, relating to magiſtrates and courts of Juſtice, to contracts and matters of right and wrong, to eſtates and inheritances, to executions and puniſhments, &c. ſuch as belonged to ſtrangers, and matters of a foreign nature; as laws concerning peace and war, commerce and dealing with perſons of another nation; or laſtly, ſuch as ſecured the honour and the intereſts of religion, laws againſt apoſtates and idolaters, wizards, conjurers, and falſe prophets; againſt blaſphemy, ſacrilege, and ſuch like; all which not being ſo proper to my purpoſe, I omit a more particular enumeration of them. Theſe laws were peculiarly calculated for the Jewiſh ſtate, and that while kept up in that country wherein God had placed them, and therefore muſt needs determine and expire with it. Nor can they be made a pattern and ſtandard for the laws of other nations; for, though proceeding from the wiſeſt lawgiver, they cannot reaſonably be impoſed upon any ſtate or kingdom, unleſs where there is an equal concurrence of circumſtances, as there were in that people, for whom God enacted them. They went off the ſtage with the Jewiſh polity; and if any parts of them do ſtill remain obligatory, they bind not as judicial laws, but as branches of the law of nature, the reaſon of them being immutable and eternal. I know not whether it may here be uſeful to remark what the Jews ſo frequently tell us of, that the entire body of the Moſaick law conſiſts of ſix hundred and thirteen precepts, intimated (ſay they) in that place where 'tis ſaid, *Moſes commanded us a law*[m], where the numeral letters of the word תורה or law, make up the number of ſix hundred and eleven; and the two that are wanting to make up the compleat number, are the two firſt precepts of the decalogue, which were not given by Moſes to the people, but immediately by God himſelf. Others ſay[n] that there are juſt ſix hundred and thirteen letters in the decalogue, and that every letter anſwers to a law: but ſome that have had the patience to tell them, aſſure us that there are two whole words conſiſting of ſeven letters ſupernumerary, which in my mind quite ſpoils the computation. Theſe ſix hundred and thirteen precepts they divide into two hundred and forty-eight affirmative, according to the number of the parts of man's body (which they make account are juſt ſo many) to put him in mind to ſerve God with his bodily powers, as if every member of his body ſhould ſay to him, עשה בי מצוה "make uſe of me to fulfil the command[o];" and into three hundred and ſixty-five negative, according to the number of the days of the year, that ſo every day may call upon a man, and ſay to him, לא תעשה בי עבירה "Oh, do not in me tranſgreſs the "command[p]:" or, as others will have it, they anſwer to the veins or nerves in the body

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[i] Heb. x. 1.

[k] John i. 17.

[l] Jom. c. 4. fol. 39. ap. Buxtorf. Recenſ. Oper. Talm. p. 218.

[m] Deut. xxxiii. 4.

[n] Anth. Tzeror. Hammor ap. Voyſ. de leg. div. c. 23. p. 338.

[o] R. Moyſes Tract. de Numb. præc. ap. Voyſ. ib.

[p] Vid. Menaſſ. Ben-Iſrael de Reſurr. lib. 2. c. 18.

dy of man; that as the compleat frame and compages of man's body is made up of two hundred and forty-eight members, and three hundred and ſixty-five nerves, and the law of ſo many affirmative, and ſo many negative precepts, it denotes to us, that the whole perfection and accompliſhment of man lies in an accurate and diligent obſervance of the divine law. Each of theſe diviſions they reduce under twelve houſes, anſwerable to the twelve tribes of Iſrael. In the affirmative precepts, the firſt houſe is that of divine worſhip, conſiſting of twenty precepts; the ſecond, the houſe of the ſanctuary, containing nineteen; the third, the houſe of ſacrifices, wherein are fifty-ſeven; the fourth, that of cleanneſs and pollution, containing eighteen; the fifth, of tithes and alms, under which are thirty-two; the ſixth, of meats and drinks, containing ſeven; the ſeventh, of the paſſover, concerning feaſts, containing twenty; the eighth, of judgment, thirteen; the ninth, of doctrine, twenty-five; the tenth, of marriage, and concerning women, twelve; the eleventh, of judgments criminal, eight; the twelfth, of civil judgments, ſeventeen. In the negative precepts, the firſt houſe is concerning the worſhip of the planets, containing forty-ſeven commands; the ſecond, of ſeparation from the heathen, thirteen; the third, concerning the reverence due to holy things, twenty-nine; the fourth, of ſacrifice and prieſthood, eighty-two; the fifth, of meats, thirty-eight; the ſixth, of fields and harveſt, eighteen; the ſeventh, of doctrine, forty-five; the eighth, of juſtice, forty-ſeven; the ninth, of feaſts, ten; the tenth, of purity and chaſtity, twenty-four; the eleventh, of wedlock, eight; the twelfth, concerning the kingdom, four. A method not contemptible, as which might miniſter to a diſtinct and uſeful explication of the whole law of Moſes.

II. THE next thing conſiderable under the Moſaical œconomy, was the methods of the divine revelation, by what ways God communicated his mind to them, either concerning preſent emergences, or future events; and this was done, πολυμερῶς ϗ πολυτρόπως, as the apoſtle tells us, *at ſundry times*, or by ſundry degrees and parcels, and *in divers manners*, by various methods of revelation; whereof three moſt conſiderable, the urim and thummim, the audible voice, and the ſpirit of prophecy, imparted in dreams, viſions, *&c.* We ſhall make ſome brief remarks upon them, referring the reader, who deſires fuller ſatisfaction herein, to thoſe who purpoſely treat about theſe matters. The urim and thummim was a way of revelation peculiar to the high-prieſt; *Thou ſhalt put on the breaſt-plate of judgment, the urim and the thummim, and they ſhall be upon Aaron's heart, when he goeth in before the Lord; and Aaron ſhall bear the judgment of the children of Iſrael upon his heart before the Lord continually.*[q] Thus Eleazar the prieſt is commanded to *aſk counſel after the judgment of urim before the Lord.*[r] What this urim and thummim was, and what the manner of receiving anſwers by it, is difficult, if not impoſſible to tell, there being ſcarce any one difficulty that I know of in the Bible, that hath more exerciſed the thoughts either of Jewiſh or Chriſtian writers. Whether it was ſome addition to the high-prieſt's breaſt-plate made by the hand of ſome curious artiſt, or whether only thoſe two words engraven upon it, or the great name Jehovah carved and put within the foldings of the breaſt-plate, or whether the twelve ſtones reſplendent with light, and compleated to perfection with the tribes names therein, or whether ſome other myſterious piece of artifice immediately fram'd by the hand of heaven, and given to Moſes, when he delivered him the two tables of the law, is vain and endleſs to enquire, becauſe impoſſible to determine. Nor is the manner of its giving anſwers leſs uncertain: whether at ſuch times the freſh and orient luſtre of the ſtones ſignified the anſwer in the affirmative, while their dull and dead colour ſpake the negative; or whether it was by ſome extraordinary protuberancy and thruſting forth of the letters engraven upon the ſtones, from the conjunction whereof the divine oracle was gathered; or whether probably it might be, that when the high-prieſt enquired of God, with his breaſt-plate upon him, God did either by a lively voice, or by immediate ſuggeſtions to his mind, give him a diſtinct and perſpicuous anſwer, illuminating his mind with the urim, or the light of the knowledge of his will in thoſe caſes, and ſatisfying his doubts and ſcruples with the thummim, of a perfect and compleat determination of thoſe difficulties that were propounded to him, thereby enabling him to give a ſatisfactory and infallible anſwer in all the particulars that lay before him. And this ſeveral of the Jews ſeem to intend, when they make this way of revelation one of the degrees of the Holy Ghoſt, and ſay, that no ſooner did the high-prieſt put on the pectoral, and had the caſe propounded to him, but that he was immediately cloathed with the Holy Spirit. But 'tis to little purpoſe to hunt after that, where fancy and conjecture muſt decide the caſe. Indeed, among the various conjectures about this matter, none appears with greater probability, than the opinion of thoſe who conceive the urim and thummim to have been a couple of teraphim[s], or little images (probably formed in human ſhape) put within the hollow foldings of the pontifical breaſt-plate, from whence God by the miniſtry of an angel vocally anſwered thoſe interrogatories which the high-prieſt made: nothing being more common even in the early ages of the world, than ſuch teraphim in thoſe eaſtern countries, uſually placed in their temples, and whence the dæmon was wont oracularly to determine the caſes brought before him. And as God permitted the Jews the uſe of ſacrifices, which had been notoriouſly abuſed to ſuperſtition and idolatry in the heathen world; ſo he might indulge them theſe teraphim (though now converted to a ſacred uſe) that ſo he might by degrees wean them from the rites of the Gentile world, to which they had ſo fond an inclination. And this probably was the reaſon, why when Moſes is ſo particular in deſcribing the other parts of the ſacerdotal ornaments, nothing at all is ſaid of this, becauſe a thing of common uſe among the nations with whom they had converſed, and notoriouſly known among themſelves. And ſuch we may ſuppoſe the prophet intended, when he threatned the Jews, that they *ſhould abide without a ſacrifice, without an image* or altar, *without an ephod, and without a teraphim.*[t] A notion very happily improved by an ingenious pen[u], whoſe acute conjectures and elaborate diſſertations about this matter juſtly deſerve commendation even from thoſe who differ from it. It ſeems to have been a kind of political oracle, and to be conſulted only in great and weighty caſes, as the election of ſupreme magiſtrates, making war, &c. and only by perſons of the higheſt rank, none being permitted (ſay the Jews) to enquire of it, אלא למלך ולבית דין ולמי שהצבור צריך בו unleſs in a caſe wherein the king, or the ſanhedrim, or the whole congregation was concerned.[w]

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[q] Exod. xxviii. 30.

[r] Numb. xxvii. 21.

12. A SECOND way of divine revelation was by an audible voice, accompanied many times with thunder, deſcending as it were from heaven, and directing them in any emergency of affairs. This the Jewiſh writers call בת קול the daughter or echo of a voice, which they confeſs to have been the loweſt kind of revelation, and to have been in uſe only in the times of the ſecond temple, when all other ways of prophecy were ceaſed. But notwithſtanding their common and confident aſſertions, whether ever there was any ſuch ſtanding way of revelation as this, is juſtly queſtionable (nay, it is peremptorily denied by one incomparably verſed in the Talmudick writings[x], who adds, That if there were any ſuch thing at any time, it was done by magick arts, and diabolical deluſions) partly, becauſe it is only deliverrd by Jewiſh writers, whoſe faith and honeſty is too well known to the world to be truſted in ſtories that make ſo much for the honour of their nation, not to mention their extravagant propenſion to lyes and fabulous reports; partly, becauſe by their own confeſſion God had withdrawn all his ſtanding oracles and ordinary ways of revelation, their notorious impieties having cauſed heaven to retire, and therefore much leſs would it correſpond with them by ſuch immediate converſes; partly, becauſe this ſeemed to be a way more accommodate to the evangelical diſpenſation at the appearance of the Son of God in the world. A voice from heaven is the moſt immediate teſtimony, and therefore fitteſt to do honour to him who came down from heaven, and was ſure to meet with an obdurate and incredulous generation, and to give evidence to that doctrine that he publiſhed to the world. Thus by a bath col, or a voice from heaven, God bare witneſs to our Saviour at his baptiſm; and a ſecond time at his transfiguration; and again at the paſſover at Jeruſalem, when there came a voice from heaven, which the people took for thunder, or the communication of an angel; and moſt of St. John's intelligences from above, recorded in his book of revelation, are uſhered in with an, *I heard a voice from heaven.*

13. BUT the moſt frequent and ſtanding method of divine communications was that whereby God was wont to tranſact with the prophets, and in extraordinary caſes with other men, which was either by dreams, viſions, or immediate inſpirations. The way by dreams was, when the perſon being overtaken with a deep ſleep, and all the exterior ſenſes locked up, God preſented the ſpecies and images of things to their underſtandings; and that in ſuch a manner, that they might be able to apprehend the will of God; which they preſently did upon their waking out of ſleep. Theſe divine dreams the Jews diſtinguiſh into two ſorts, monitory, ſuch as were ſent only by way of inſtruction and admonition, to give men notice of what they were to do, or warning of what they ſhould avoid; ſuch were the dreams of Pharaoh, Abimelech, Laban, &c. or elſe they were

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[s] Christoph. Caſtr. de Vaticin. l. 3. c. 3.

[t] Hoſ. iii. 4.

[u] Joan. Spencer. Diſſertat. de Urim & Thum. Edit. Cantabr. 1670. 8.

[w] Cod. Jom. c. 7. §. 5. p. 167.

[x] Dr. Lightf. H. Hebr. in Matth. iii. 17.

prophetical, when God by ſuch a powerful energy acted upon the mind and imagination of the prophet, as carried the ſtrength and force of a divine evidence along with it. This was ſometimes done by a clear and diſtinct impreſſion of the thing upon the mind, without any dark or enigmatical repreſentation of it, ſuch as God made to Samuel, when he firſt revealed himſelf to him in the temple: ſometimes by apparition, yet ſo as the man, though aſleep, was able to diſcern an angel converſing with him. By viſions God uſually communicated himſelf two ways: firſt, when ſomething really appeared to the ſight; thus Moſes beheld the buſh burning, and ſtood there while God converſed with him: Manoah and his wife ſaw the angel, while he took his leave, and in a flaming pyramid went up to heaven; the three angels appeared to Abraham a little before the fatal ruin of Sodom: all which apparitions were unqueſtionably true and real, the angel aſſuming an human ſhape, that he might the freelier converſe with, and deliver his meſſage to thoſe to whom he was ſent. Secondly, by powerful impreſſions upon the imagination, uſually done while the prophet was awake, and had the free and uninterrupted exerciſe of his reaſon; though the viſion oft overpowered, and caſt him into a trance, that the ſoul being more retired from ſenſible objects, might the cloſer intend thoſe divine notices that were repreſented to it. Thus all the prophets had the ideas of thoſe things that they were to deliver to the people, the more ſtrongly impreſſed upon their fancies; and this commonly when they were in the greateſt ſolitude and privacy, and their powers moſt called in, that the prophetical influx might have the greater force upon them. In ſome ſuch way St. Paul was caught up into the third heaven, probably not ſo much by any real ſeparation of his ſoul from his body, or local tranſlation of his ſpirit thither, as by a profound abſtraction of it from his corporeal ſenſes, God, during the time of the trance, entertaining it with an internal and admirable ſcene of the glory and happineſs of that ſtate, as truly and effectually, as if his ſoul had been really conveyed thither.

14. THIRDLY, God was wont to communicate his mind by immediate inſpirations, whereby he immediately tranſacted with the underſtandings of men, without any relation to their fancy or their ſenſes. It was the moſt pacate and ſerene way of prophecy, God imparting his mind to the prophets, not by dreams or viſions, but while they were awake, their powers active, and their minds calm and undiſturbed. This the Jews call רוח הקדש the Holy Spirit, or that kind of revelation that was directly conveyed into the mind by the moſt efficacious irradiation and inſpiration of the Holy Spirit; God by theſe divine illapſes enabling the prophet clearly and immediately to apprehend the things delivered to him. And in this way the כתובים or holy writings[y] were dictated and conveyed to the world; in which reſpect the apoſtle ſays, that *all ſcripture is θεόπνευστος, given by divine inſpiration.* The higheſt pitch of this prophetical revelation was נבואת משה: the *gradus Moſaicus*, or that way of prophecy that God uſed towards Moſes, of whom it is particularly ſaid, that *the Lord ſpake unto Moſes face to face, as a man ſpeaketh unto his friend*[z]: and elſewhere it is evidently diſtinguiſhed from all inferior ways of prophecy. *If there be a prophet among you, I the Lord will make myſelf known unto him in a viſion, and will ſpeak unto him in a dream: my ſervant Moſes is not ſo, with him I will ſpeak mouth to mouth, even apparently, and not in dark ſpeeches, and the ſimilitude of the Lord ſhall he behold.*[a] Clearly implying a mighty pre-eminence in God's way of revelation to *Moſes* above that of other prophets, which the Jewiſh writers make to have lien in four things: firſt, That in all God's communications to Moſes he immediately ſpake to his underſtanding, without any impreſſions upon fancy, any viſible appearances, any dreams or viſions of the night. Secondly, That Moſes had propheeies conveyed to him without any fears or conſternations; whereas the other prophets were aſtoniſhed and weakened at the ſight of God. Thirdly, That Moſes had no previous diſpoſitions or preparations to make him capable of the divine revelation, but could directly go to God and conſult him, as *a man ſpeaketh with his friend*; other prophets being forced many times by ſome preparatory arts to invite the prophetick Spirit to come upon them. Fourthly, That Moſes had a freedom and liberty of ſpirit to propheſy at all times, and could when he pleaſed have recourſe to the ſacred oracle. But as to this the ſcripture intimates no ſuch thing, the ſpirit of prophecy retiring from him at ſome times, as well as from the reſt of the prophets. And indeed the prophetick Spirit did not reſide in the holy men by way of habit, but occaſionally, as God ſaw fitting to pour it out upon them; it was not in them as light is in the ſun, but as light in the air, and conſequently depended upon the immediate irradiations of the Spirit of God.

15. THESE

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[y] Vid. Maimon. Mor. Nevoch. part. 2. c. 45. p. 317.

[z] Exod. xxxiii. 11.

[a] Numb. xii. 6, 7, 8.

15. These divine communications were ſo conveyed to the minds of the prophets and inſpired perſons, that they always knew them to be divine revelations; ſo mighty and perſpicuous was the evidence that came along with them, that there could be no doubt but they were the birth of heaven. It is true, when the prophetick ſpirit at any time ſeized upon wicked men, they underſtood not its effect upon them, nor were in the leaſt improved and bettered by it; the revelation paſſed through them, as a ſound through a trunk, or water through a leaden-pipe, without any particular and diſtinct apprehenſion of the thing, or uſeful impreſſion made upon their minds; as is evident, beſides others, in the caſe of Caiaphas and Balaam; of which laſt the Jews ſay expreſsly נבא בר צין אלהים ולא ידע מנבא that "he propheſied according to the will of God, "but underſtood not what he propheſied." But it was otherwiſe with the true prophets, they always knew who it was that acted them, and what was the meaning of that intelligence that was communicated to them. In the gentile world, when the dæmon entred into the inſpired perſon, he was uſually carried out to the furious tranſports of rage and madneſs. But in the prophets of God, although the impulſe might ſometimes be very ſtrong and violent (whence the prophet Jeremy complains, *Mine heart within me is broken, all my bones ſhake; I am like a drunken man, like a man whom wine hath overcome, becauſe of the Lord, and becauſe of the words of his holineſs)* ſo as a little to ruffle their imagination, yet never ſo as to diſcompoſe their reaſon, or hinder them from a clear perception of the notices conveyed upon their minds; ὁ προφήτης μετὰ καταστάσεως λογισμῶν, καὶ παρακολουθήσεως ἐλάλει, καὶ ἐφθέγγετο ἐκ πνεύματος ἁγίου, τὰ πάντα ἐρρωμένως λέγων, ſays Epiphanius[b]; the prophet had his oracles dictated by the Holy Spirit; which he delivered ſtrenuouſly, and with the moſt firm and unſhaken conſiſtency of his rational powers; and afterwards, γεγόνασι γὰρ ἐν ἐκστάσει οἱ προφῆται, οὐκ ἐν ἐκστάσει λογισμῶν[c], that the prophets were often in a bodily ecſtaſy, but never in an ecſtaſy of mind, their underſtandings never being rendered uſeleſs and unſerviceable to them. Indeed it was abſolutely neceſſary that the prophet ſhould have a full ſatisfaction of mind concerning the truth and divinity of his meſſage; for how elſe ſhould they perſuade others, that the thing was from God, if they were not firſt ſufficiently aſſured themſelves? and therefore even in thoſe methods that were moſt liable to doubts and queſtions, ſuch as communications by dreams, we cannot think but that the ſame Spirit that moved and impreſſed the thing upon them, did alſo by ſome ſecret and inward operations ſettle their minds in the firmeſt belief and perſuaſion of what was revealed and ſuggeſted to them. All theſe ways of immediate revelation ceaſed ſome hundreds of years before the final period of the Jewiſh church. A thing confeſſed not only by Chriſtians, but by Jews themſelves[d], לא חיה: נביא נבית שני, "There was no prophet in the ſecond temple;" indeed they univerſally acknowledge, that there were five things wanting in the ſecond temple, built after their return from the Babyloniſh captivity, which had been in that of Solomon, *viz.* the ark of the covenant, the fire from heaven that lay upon the altar, the ſhekinah or preſence of the Divine Majeſty, the urim and thummim, and the ſpirit of prophecy, which ceaſed (as they tell us) about the ſecond year of Darius; to be ſure at the death of Malachi, the laſt of that order, after whom there aroſe no prophet in Iſrael; whom therefore the Jews call חותם הנביאים "the ſeal of the prophets." Indeed, it is no wonder that prophecy ſhould ceaſe at that time, if we conſider that one of the prime ends of it did then ceaſe, which was to be a ſeal and an aſſurance of the divine inſpiration of the holy volumes: now the canon of the Old Teſtament being conſigned and compleated by Ezra, with the aſſiſtance of Malachi, and ſome of the laſt prophets, God did not think good any longer to continue this divine and miraculous gift among them: but eſpecially if we conſider the great degeneracy in which that church was falling; their horrid and crying ſins having made God reſolve to reject them, the departure of the prophetick ſpirit ſhewed that God had written them a bill of divorce, and would utterly caſt them off; that by this means they might be awakened to a more lively expectation of that new ſtate of things, which the Meſſiah was coming to eſtabliſh in the world, wherein the prophetick ſpirit ſhould revive, and be again reſtored to the church; which accordingly came to paſs, as we ſhall elſewhere obſerve.

16. The third thing propounded, was to conſider the ſtate of religion, and the church under the ſucceſſive periods of this oeconomy. And here we ſhall only make ſome general remarks, a particular ſurvey of theſe matters not conſiſting with the deſign of this diſcourſe. Eccleſiaſtical conſtitutions being made in the wilderneſs, and the place

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[b] Adverſ. Montan. Hæreſ. XLVIII. p. 176.

[c] Ibid. p. 177.

[d] Nizz. p. 159. citante Hotting. Th. Phil. lib. 2. c. 3. p. 564.

for publick worſhip framed and erected, no ſooner did they come into the promiſed land, but the tabernacle was ſet down at Gilgal, where, if the Jewiſh chronology ſay true, it continued fourteen years, till they had ſubdued and divided the land: then fixed at Shiloh, and the prieſts and Levites had cities and territories aſſigned to them; where it is not to be doubted but there were ſynagogues, or places equivalent for prayer and the ordinary ſolemnities of religion, and courts for the deciſion of eccleſiaſtical cauſes. Proſperity and a plentiful country had greatly contributed to the depravation of men's manners, and the corruption of religion, till the times of Samuel, the great reformer of that church, who erected colleges, and inſtituted ſchools of the prophets, reduced the ſocieties of the Levites to their primitive order and purity, forced the prieſts to do their duty, diligently to miniſter in the affairs of God's worſhip, and carefully to teach and inſtruct the people: a piece of reformation no more than neceſſary, *for the word of the Lord was precious in thoſe days, there was no open viſion.* Three hundred ſixty nine years (ſay the Jews) the tabernacle abode at Shiloh, from whence it was tranſlated to Nob a city in the tribe of Benjamin, probably about the time that the ark was taken; thence after thirteen years to Gibeon, where it remained fifty years; and laſtly, by Solomon to Jeruſalem. The ark being taken out to carry along with them for their more proſperous ſucceſs in their war againſt the Philiſtines, was ever after expoſed to an ambulatory and unſettled courſe: for being taken captive by the Philiſtines, it was by them kept priſoner ſeven months, thence removed to Bethſhemeſh, and thence to Kiriath-jearim, where it remained in the houſe of Abinadab twenty years, thence ſolemnly fetched by David, and after three months reſt by the way in the houſe of Obed-Edom, brought up triumphantly to Jeruſalem, and placed under the covert of a tent which he had purpoſely erected for it. David being ſettled in the throne, like a pious prince, took ſpecial care of the affairs of religion, he fixed the High-Prieſt, and his ſecond, augmented the courſes of the prieſts from eight to four and twenty, appointed the levites, and ſingers, and their ſeveral turns and times of waiting, aſſigned them their proper duties and miniſteries, ſettled the Nethinim or Porters, the poſterity of the Gibeonites, made treaſurers of the revenues belonging to holy uſes, and of the vaſt ſums contributed towards the building of a temple, as a more ſolemn and ſtately place for divine worſhip, which he was fully reſolved to have erected, but that God commanded it to be reſerved for the peaceable and proſperous reign of Solomon, who ſuceeding in his father's throne, accompliſhed it, building ſo ſtately and magnificent a temple, that it became one of the greateſt wonders of the world. Under his ſon Rehoboam happened the fatal diviſion of the kingdom, when ten parts of twelve were rent off at once, and brought under the empire of Jeroboam, who knew no better way to ſecure his new-gotten ſovereignty, than to take off the people from hankering after the temple and the worſhip at Jeruſalem, and therefore out of a curſed policy erected two golden calves at Dan and Bethel; perſuading the people there to pay their publick adorations, appointing chaplains like himſelf, prieſts of the loweſt of the people; and from this time religion began viſibly to ebb and decline in that kingdom, and idolatry to get ground amongſt them.

17. The two tribes of Judah and Benjamin were loyal both to God and their prince, continuing obedient to their lawful ſovereign, and firmly adhering to the worſhip of the temple; though even here too impiety in ſome places maintained its ground, having taken root in the reign of Solomon, who through his over-great partiality and fondneſs to his wives, had been betrayed to give too much countenance to idolatry. The extirpation hereof was the deſign and attempt of all the pious and good princes of Judah. Jehoſaphat ſet himſelf in good earneſt to recover religion and the ſtate of the church to its ancient purity and luſtre; he aboliſhed the groves and high places, and appointed itinerant prieſts and levites to go from city to city to expound the law, and inſtruct the people in the knowledge of their duty; nay, he himſelf held a royal viſitation, *going quite through the land, and bringing back the people to the Lord God of their fathers*[e]. But under the ſucceeding kings, religion again loſt its ground, and had been quite extinct during the tyranny and uſurpation of Athaliah, but that good Jehoiada the high-prieſt kept it alive by his admirable zeal and induſtry. While he lived, his pupil Joas (who owed both his crown and his life to him) promoted the deſign, and purged the temple; though after his tutor's death he apoſtatized to profaneneſs and idolatry. Nor indeed was the reformation effectually advanced till the time of Hezekiah, who no ſooner aſcended the throne, but he ſummoned the prieſts and levites, exhorted them to begin at home, and

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[e] 2 Chron. xix. 4.

firſt to reform themſelves, then to cleanſe and repair the temple; he re-ſettled the prieſts and levites in their proper places and offices, and cauſed them to offer all ſorts of ſacrifices; and the paſſover to be univerſally celebrated with great ſtrictneſs and ſolemnity; he deſtroyed the monuments of idolatry, *took away the altars in Jeruſalem*, and having given commiſſion, the people did the like in all parts of the kingdom, breaking the images, cutting down the groves, throwing down the altars and high places, *until they had utterly deſtroyed them all.* But neither greatneſs nor piety can exempt any from the common laws of mortality. Hezekiah dies, and his ſon Manaſſeh ſucceeds; a wicked prince, under whoſe influence, impiety, like a land-flood, broke in upon religion, and laid all waſte before it. But his grand-child Joſiah made ſome amends, he gave ſignal inſtances of an early piety; for in the eighth year of his reign, *while he was yet young*, he began *to ſeek after the God of David his father*, and in the twelfth year he began to purge *Judah and Jeruſalem*;[f] he defaced whatever had been abuſed and proſtituted to idolatry and ſuperſtition throughout the whole kingdom, repaired God's houſe, and ordered its worſhip according to the preſcript of the Moſaic law, a copy whereof they had found in the ruins of the temple; ſolemnly engaged himſelf and his people to be true to religion and the worſhip of God, and cauſed ſo great and ſolemn a paſſover to be held, that *there was no paſſover like to it kept in Iſrael from the days of Samuel.* And more he had done, had not an immature death cut him off in the midſt both of his days, and his pious deſigns and projects. Not many years after God, being highly provoked by the prodigious impieties of that nation, delivered it up to the army of the king of Babylon, who demoliſhed the city, harraſſed the land, and carried the people captive unto Babylon. And no wonder the divine patience could hold no longer, when *all the chief of the prieſts and the people tranſgreſſed very much, after all the abominations of the heathen, and polluted the houſe of the Lord, which he had hallowed in Jeruſalem*[g]. Seventy years they remained under this captivity; during which time the prophet Daniel gave lively and particular accounts of the Meſſiah, that he ſhould come into the world to introduce a law of *everlaſting righteouſneſs*, to die as a ſacrifice and expiation for the ſins of the people, and to put a period to the levitical ſacrifices and oblations. And whereas other prophecies had only in general defined the time of the Meſſiah's coming, he particularly determines the period, that all this ſhould be at the end of ſeventy weeks, that is, at the expiration of four hundred ninety years; which exactly fell in with the time of our Saviour's appearing in the world. The ſeventy years captivity being run out, by the favour of the king of Babylon they were ſet free, and by him permitted and aſſiſted to repair Jeruſalem, and rebuild the temple, which was accordingly done under the government of Nehemiah, and the ſucceeding rulers, and the temple finiſhed by Zorobabel, and things brought into ſome tolerable ſtate of order and decency, and ſo continued till the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes king of Syria, by whom the temple was profaned and violated, and the Jewiſh church miſerably afflicted and diſtreſſed; he thruſt out Onias the high-prieſt, and put his brother Jaſon, a man loſt both to religion and good manners, and who by a vaſt ſum of money had purchaſed the prieſthood of Antiochus. At this time Matthias a prieſt, and the head of the Aſmonæan family, ſtood up for his country; after whom came Judas Maccabæus, ἀνὴρ γενναῖος καὶ μεγαλότολμος, καὶ πάνθ᾽ ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν πολιτῶν ἐλευθερίας καὶ δρᾶσαι καὶ παθεῖν ἕτοιμος, as Joſephus[h] truly characters him, a man of a generous temper, and a valiant mind, ready to do or ſuffer any thing to aſſert the liberties and religion of his country; followed both in his zeal and proſperous ſucceſs by his two brothers, Jonathan and Simon, ſucceſſively high-prieſts and commanders after him. Next him came John, ſirnamed Hyrcanus, then Ariſtobulus, Alexander, Hyrcanus, Ariſtobulus junior, Alexander, Antigonus; in whoſe time Herod the great having by the favour of Antony obtained of the Roman ſenate the ſovereignty over the Jewiſh nation, and being willing that the prieſthood ſhould entirely depend upon his arbitrary diſpoſure, abrogated the ſucceſſion of the Aſmonæan family, and put in one Ananel, ἱερέα τῶν ἀσημοτέρων, as Joſephus[i] calls him, an obſcure prieſt, of the line of thoſe who had been prieſts in Babylon. To him ſucceeded Ariſtobulus, to him Jeſus the ſon of Phabes, to him Simon, who being depoſed, next came Matthias, depoſed alſo by Herod, next him Joazar, who underwent the ſame fate from Archelaus, then Jeſus the ſon of Sie, after whom Joazar was again reſtored to the chair, and under his pontificate (though before his firſt depoſition) Chriſt was born, things every day growing worſe among them, till about ſeventy years after the wrath of God came upon them to the uttermoſt, and brought the Romans, who finally took away their place and nation.

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[f] 2 Chron. xxxiv. 3.

[g] 2 Chron. xxxvi. 14.

[h] Antiq. Jud. lib. 12. c. 19. p. 425.

[i] Lib. 15. cap. 2. p. 512.

18. Before we go off from this part of our diſcourſe, it may not be amiſs to take a more particular view of the ſtate of the Jewiſh church, as it ſtood at the time of our Saviour's appearing in the world, as what may reflect ſome conſiderable light upon the hiſtory of Chriſt and his apoſtles. And if we caſt our eyes upon it at this time, how was the gold become dim, and the moſt fine gold changed! How miſerably deformed was the ſtate of the church, how ſtrangely degenerated from its primitive inſtitution! whereof we ſhall obſerve ſome particular inſtances. Their temple, though lately repaired and rebuilt by Herod, and that with ſo much pomp and grandeur, that Joſephus[h], who yet may juſtly be preſumed partial to the honour of his own nation, ſays of it, that it was the moſt admirable ſtructure that was ever ſeen or heard of, both for the preparation made for it, the greatneſs and magnificence of the thing itſelf, and the infinite expence and coſt beſtowed upon it, as well as for the glory of that divine worſhip that was performed in it, yet was it infinitely ſhort of that of Solomon; beſides that it had been often expoſed to rudeneſs and violence. Not to mention the horrible profanations of Antiochus, it had been of late invaded by Pompey, who boldly ventured into the ſanctum ſanctorum, and without any ſcruple curiouſly contemplated the myſteries of that place, but ſuffered no injury to be offered to it. After him came Craſſus, who to the others boldneſs added ſacrilege, ſeizing what the others piety and modeſty had ſpared, plundering the temple of its vaſt wealth and treaſure. Herod having procured the kingdom, beſieged and took the city and the temple; and though to ingratiate himſelf with the people, he endeavoured what in him lay to ſecure it from rapine and impiety, and afterwards expended incredible ſums in its reparation, yet did he not ſtick to make it truckle under his wicked policies and deſigns. The more to endear himſelf to his patrons at Rome, he ſet up a golden eagle[i], of a vaſt dimenſion (the arms of the Roman empire) over the great gate of the temple; a thing ſo expreſly contrary to the law of Moſes, which forbids all images, and accounted ſo monſtrous a profanation of that holy place, that while Herod lay a dying, the people in a great tumult and uproar gathered together and pulled it down. A great part of it was become an exchange and a market; the place where men were to meet with God, and to trade with heaven, was now turned into a ware-houſe for merchants, and a ſhop for uſurers, and the *houſe of prayer* into *a den of thieves*. The worſhip formerly wont to be performed there with pious and devout affections, was now ſhrunk into a mere ſhell and outſide, *they drew near to God with their mouths, and honoured him with their lips, but their hearts were far from him:* Rites of human invention had juſtled out thoſe of divine inſtitution, and their very prayers were made traps to catch the unwary people, and to devour the widow and the fatherleſs. Their prieſthood was ſo changed and altered, that it retained little but its ancient name; the high-prieſts, who by their original charter were lineally to ſucceed, and to hold their place for life, were become almoſt annual, ſcarce a year paſſing over, wherein one was not thruſt out, and another put in, ὑπὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμόνων ἄλλοτ' ἄλλῳ ἀρχιερωσύνην ἐγχειριζομένης, ὡς πλεῖον ἔτους ἑνὸς ἐπὶ ταύτης διατελεῖν, as Euſebius[m] notes out of their own hiſtorian. Nay, which was far worſe, it was become not only annual, but venal, Herod expoſing it to ſale, and ſcarce admitting any to the ſacerdotal office, who had not firſt ſufficiently paid for his patent; and which was the natural conſequence of that, the place was filled with the refuſe of the people, men of mean abilities, and debauched manners, who had neither parts nor piety to recommend them, he being the beſt and the fitteſt man, that offered moſt. Nay, into ſo ſtrange a degeneracy were they fallen in this matter, that Joſephus[n] reports, That one Phannias was elected high-prieſt, not only a ruſtick and illiterate fellow, not only not of the ſacerdotal line, but ſo intolerably ſtupid and ignorant, that when they came to acquaint him, he knew not what the high-prieſthood meant. And not content to be impoſed upon, and tyrannized over by a foreign power, they fell a quarreling among themſelves, and mutually preyed upon one another; the high-prieſts falling out with inferior orders[o], and both parties going with an armed retinue after them, ready to claſh and fight where-ever they met; the high-prieſt ſending his ſervants to fetch away the tithes due to the inferior prieſts, inſomuch that many of the pooreſt of them were famiſhed for want of neceſſary food.

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[h] De Bell. Jud. lib. 7. κεφ. κζ'. p. 958.

[i] Joſeph. Antiq. Jud. lib. 17. c. 8. p. 596. & de Bell. Jud. l. 1. c. 21. p. 772.

[m] Hiſt. Eccl. l. 1. c. 10. p. 28.

[n] De Bell. Jud. l. 4. κεφ. ιϛ'. p. 872.

[o] Joſeph. Antiq. l. 2. c. 8. p. 698.

19. Their law, which had been delivered with ſo much majeſty and magnificence, and for which they themſelves pretended ſo great a reverence, they had miſerably corrupted and depraved (the moral part of it eſpecially) and that two ways. Firſt, by groſs and abſurd interpretations, which the teachers of thoſe times had put upon it. The ſcribes and phariſees, who ruled the chair in the Jewiſh church, had by falſe and corrupt gloſſes debaſed the majeſty and purity of the law, and made it to ſerve the purpoſes of an evil life: they had taught the people, that the law required no more than external righteouſneſs, that if there was but a viſible conformity of the life, they needed not to be ſolicitous about the government of their minds, or the regular conduct of their thoughts or paſſions; that ſo men did but carry themſelves fair to the eye of the world, it was no great matter how things went in the ſecret and unſeen retirements of the ſoul; nay, that a punctual obſervance of ſome external precepts of the law would compenſate and quit ſcores with God for the neglect or violation of the reſt. They told men, that when the law forbad murder, ſo they did not actually kill another, and ſheath their ſword in their brother's bowels, it was well enough; men were not reſtrained from furious and intemperate paſſions, they might be angry, yea, though by peeviſh and uncomely ſpeeches they betrayed the rancor and malice of their minds. They confeſſed the law made it adultery actually to embrace the boſom of a ſtranger, but would not have it extend to wanton thoughts and unchaſte deſires, or that it was adultery for a man to luſt after a woman, and to commit folly with her in his heart: they told them, that in all oaths and vows, if they did but perform what they had ſworn to God, the law took no further notice of it; whereas every vain and unneceſſary oath, all cuſtomary and trifling uſe of the name of God, was forbidden by it. They made them believe that it was lawful for them to proceed by the rigorous law of retaliation, to exact their own to the utmoſt, and to right and revenge themſelves; whenas the law requires a tender, compaſſionate and benevolent temper of mind, and is ſo far from owning the rigorous punctilio's of revenge, that it obliges to meekneſs and patience, to forgiveneſs and charity, and which is the very height of charity, not only to pardon, but to love and befriend our greateſt enemies; quite contrary to the doctrine which theſe men taught, that though they were to love their neighbours, that is, Jews, yet might they hate their enemies. In theſe and ſuch like inſtances they had notoriouſly abuſed and evacuated the law, and in a manner rendred it of no effect. And therefore when our Lord, as the great prophet ſent from God, came into the world, the firſt thing he did, after the entrance upon his publick miniſtry, was to cleanſe and purify the law, and to remove that rubbiſh which the Jewiſh doctors had caſt upon it. He reſcued it out of the hands of their poiſonous and pernicious expoſitions, reſtored it to its juſt authority, and to its own primitive ſenſe and meaning; he taught them, that the law did not only bind the external act, but preſcribed to the moſt inward motions of the mind, and that whoever tranſgreſſes here, is no leſs obnoxious to the divine juſtice, and the penalties of the law, than he that is guilty of the moſt groſs and palpable violations of it: he ſhewed them how infinitely more pure and ſtrict the command was, than theſe impoſtors had repreſented it, and plainly told them, That if ever they expected to be happy, they muſt look upon the law with an otherguiſe eye, and follow it after another rate, than their blind and deceitful guides did; *For I ſay unto you, except your righteouſneſs exceed the righteouſneſs of the ſcribes and phariſees, you can in no caſe enter into the kingdom of God.*

20. The other way by which they corrupted and diſhonoured the law, and weakned the power and reputation of it, was by preferring before it their oral and unwritten law. For beſides the law conſigned to writing, they had their תורה שבעל פה "their "law delivered by word of mouth," whoſe pedigree they thus deduce: they tell us, that when Moſes waited upon God forty days in the mount, he gave him a double law, one in writing, the other traditionary, containing the ſenſe and explication of the former; being come down into his tent, he repeated it firſt to Aaron, then to Ithamar and Eleazar his ſons, then to the ſeventy elders; and laſtly, to all the people, the ſame perſons being all this while preſent. Aaron, who had now heard it four times recited, Moſes being gone out, again repeated it before them; after his departure out of the tent, his two ſons, who by this time had heard it as oft as their father, made another repetition of it, by which means the ſeventy elders came to hear it four times, and then they alſo repeated it to the congregation, who had now alſo heard it repeated four times together, once from Moſes; then from Aaron; then from his ſons; and laſtly from the ſeventy elders; after which the congregation broke up, and every one went home and taught

it his neighbour. This oral law [p] Moſes upon his death-bed repeated to Joſhua; he delivered it to the elders, they to the prophets, the prophets to the men of the great ſynagogue; the laſt of whom was Simeon the juſt, who delivered it to Antigonus Sochæus, and he to his ſucceſſors, the wiſe men, whoſe buſineſs it was to recite it; and ſo it was handed through ſeveral generations; the names of the perſons who delivered it in the ſeveral ages from its firſt riſe under Moſes till above an hundred years after Chriſt, being particularly enumerated by Maimonides. At laſt it came to R. Jehuda, commonly ſtiled by the Jews רבינו הקדוש our holy maſter [q], the ſon of Rabban Simeon (who flouriſhed a little before the time of the emperor Antoninus) who conſidering the unſettled and tottering condition of his own nation, and how apt theſe traditionary precepts would be to be forgotten or miſtaken, by the weakneſs of men's memories, or the perverſeneſs of their wits, or the diſperſion of the Jews in other countries, collected all theſe laws and expoſitions, and committed them to writing, ſtiling his book Miſhnaioth, or the repetition. This was afterwards illuſtrated and explained by the Rabbins dwelling about Babylon, with infinite caſes and controverſies concerning their law; whoſe reſolutions were at laſt compiled into another volume, which they called Gemara, or doctrine, and both together conſtitute the entire body of the Babyloniſh Talmud, the one being the text, the other the comment. The folly and vanity of this account, though it be ſufficiently evident to need no confutation with any wiſe and diſcerning man, yet have the Jews in all ages made great advantage of it, magnifying and extolling it above the written law with titles and elogies that hyperbolize into blaſphemy. They tell us, that this is עיקר התורה the foundation of the law [r], for whoſe ſake it was that God entred into covenant with the Iſraelites; that without this the whole law would lie in the dark, yea, be mere obſcurity and darkneſs itſelf, as being contrary and repugnant to itſelf, and defective in things neceſſary to be known: that it is joy to the heart, and health to the bones; that the words of it are more lovely and deſirable than the words of the law, and a greater ſin to violate the one than the other; that it is little or no commendation for a man to read the Bible, but to ſtudy the Miſhna is that for which a man ſhall receive the reward of the other world; and that no man can have a peaceable and quiet conſcience, who leaves the ſtudy of the Talmud to go to that of the Bible; that the Bible is like water, the Miſhna like wine, the Talmud like ſpiced wine; that all the words of the rabbins are the very words of the living God, from which a man might not depart, though they ſhould tell him his right hand were his left, and his left his right; nay, they bluſh not, nor tremble to aſſert, טבם העסק במקרא היא אבוד הזמן, that "to ſtudy in the holy Bible is nothing elſe but to "loſe our time." I will mention but one bold and blaſphemous ſentence more, that we may ſee how far theſe deſperate wretches are given over to a ſpirit of impiety and infatuation; they tell us, "That he that diſſents from his rabbin or teacher, על השכינה "והמאמין בדברי חכמים כמאמין בשכינה בחולק, diſſents from the divine Majeſty; but "he that believes the words of the wiſe men, believes God himſelf."

21. STRANGE! that men ſhould ſo far offer violence to their reaſon, ſo far conquer and ſubdue their conſcience, as to be able to talk at this wild and prodigious rate: and ſtranger it would ſeem, but that we know a generation of men, great patrons of tradition too, in another church, who mainly endeavour to debaſe and ſuppreſs the Scriptures, and value their unwritten traditions at little leſs rate than this. But I let them paſs. This is no novel and upſtart humour of the Jews; they were notoriouſly guilty of it in our Saviour's days, whom we find frequently charging them with their ſuperſtitious obſervances of many little rites and uſages derived from the traditions of the elders, wherein they placed the main of religion, and for which they had a far more ſacred regard, than for the plain and poſitive commands of God. Such were their frequent waſhing of their [s] pots and cups, their brazen veſſels and tables, the purifying themſelves after they came from market (as if the touching of others had defiled them) the waſhing their hands before every meal, and *many other things which they had received to hold.* In all which they were infinitely nice and ſcrupulous, making the neglect of them of equal guilt with the greateſt immorality [t]; not ſticking to affirm, That he who eats bread with unwaſhen hands, כאילו בא על אשה זונה: is as if he lay with an harlot.[u] This, it is plain, they thought a ſufficient charge againſt our Lord's diſciples, that they were not zealous obſervers of theſe things. *When they ſaw ſome of his diſciples eat bread with defiled*

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[p] Pirk. Aboth. cap. 1. ſect. 1, 2, 3. p. 1.

[q] Jad Chazak ex quo locum ſatis prolixum citat Joſ. Voyſ. de leg. div. c. 9. & ſeq. ubi varias Judæorum de legis hujus origine & ſucceſſione ſententias videre eſt.

[r] Vide Buxtorf. de Abbrev. p. 222. & de ſynag. Jud. c. 3. Hotting. Theſ. Phil. l. 2. c. 3.

[s] Mark vii. 2, 3, & ſeq.

[t] Matth. xv. 1.

[u] Tal. Tr. Sota. c. 1. vide Buxtorf. Syn. Jud. c. 11. p. 236.

(that is to ſay, with unwaſhen) hands, they found fault; *and aſked him, Why walk not thy diſciples according to the tradition of the elders, but eat bread with unwaſhen hands*[x]? To whom our Saviour ſmartly anſwered, That they were the perſons of whom the prophet had ſpoken, who *honoured God with their lips, but their hearts were far from him*; that *in vain did they worſhip him, while for doctrines they taught the commandments of men, laying aſide and rejecting the commandments of God, that they might hold the tradition of men.* For they were not content to make them of equal value and authority with the word of God, but made them a means wholly to evacuate and ſuperſede it. Whereof our Lord gives a notorious inſtance in the caſe of parents. They could not ſay but that the law obliged children to honour and revere their parents, and to adminiſter to their neceſſities in all ſtraits and exigences; but they had found out a fine way to evade the force of the command, and that under a pious and plauſible pretence. *Moſes ſaid, Honour thy father and thy mother: and whoſo curſeth father or mother, let him die the death. But ye ſay, If a man ſhall ſay to his father or mother, It is corban, that is to ſay, a gift, by whatſoever thou mighteſt be profited by me, he ſhall be free: and ye ſuffer him no more to do ought for his father or mother.* By which is commonly underſtood, that when their parents required relief and aſſiſtance from their children, they put them off with this excuſe, that they had conſecrated their eſtate to God, and might not divert it to any other uſe.[y] Though this ſeems a ſpecious and plauſible pretence, yet it is not reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that either they had, or would pretend that they had entirely devoted whatever they had to God, and muſt therefore refer to ſome other cuſtom. Now among the many kinds of oaths and vows that were among the Jews, they had one which they called נדר איסר, “ the vow of interdict;” whereby a man might reſtrain himſelf as to this or that particular perſon, and this or that particular thing; as, he might vow not to accept of ſuch a courteſy from this friend or that neighbour, or that he would not part with this or that thing of his own to ſuch a man, to lend him his horſe, or give him any thing towards his maintenance, *&c.* and then the thing became utterly unlawful, and might not be done upon any conſideration whatſoever, leſt the man became guilty of the violation of his vow. The form of this vow frequently occurs in the Jewiſh writings, and even in the very ſame words wherein our Lord expreſſes it, קרבן פאני נהנה לך *Be it corban or a gift* (that is, a thing ſacred) *whereby I may be any ways profitable to thee*, that is, be that thing unlawful or prohibited to me, wherein I may be helpful and aſſiſtant to thee. And nothing more common than this way of vowing in the particular caſe of parents, whereof there are abundant inſtances in the writings of the Jewiſh maſters, who thus explain the forementioned vow, הקודש יחא כל מה שאני עושה מלבו על פי אבא, “ Whatever I ſhall gain hereafter ſhall be ſacred, as to the maintenance of my “ father;” or, as Maimonides expreſſes it, “ That what I provide, my father ſhall eat “ nothing of it;” that is, ſays he, “ he ſhall receive no profit by it;” and then as they tell us, יקונם אינו יכול להפר “ He that had thus vowed, might not tranſgreſs or “ make void his vow.” So that when indigent parents craved relief and aſſiſtance from their children, and probably wearied them with importunity, it was but vowing in a paſſionate reſentment, that they ſhould not be better for what they had, and then they were ſafe, and might no more diſpoſe any part of their eſtate to that uſe, than they might touch the Corban, that which was moſt ſolemnly conſecrated to God. By which means they were taught to be unnatural, under a pretence of religion, and to ſuffer their parents to ſtarve, leſt themſelves ſhould violate a ſenſeleſs and unlawful vow. So that though they were under the precedent obligations of a natural duty; a duty as clearly commanded by God, as words could expreſs it, yet a blind tradition, a raſh and impious vow, made for the moſt part out of paſſion or covetouſneſs, ſhould cancel and ſuperſede all theſe obligations, it being unlawful henceforth to give them one penny to relieve them: *Ye ſuffer him no more* (ſays our Lord) *to do ought for his father or his mother, making the word of God of none effect through your tradition, which ye have delivered.*

22. THE laſt inſtance that I ſhall note of the corruption and degeneracy of this church, is the many ſects and diviſions that were in it, a thing which the Jews themſelves, in their writings, confeſs would happen in the days of the Meſſiah, whoſe kingdom ſhould be over-run with heretical opinions. That church which heretofore, like Jeruſalem, had been at *unity within itſelf*, was now miſerably broken into ſects and factions, whereof three moſt conſiderable, Phariſees, Sadducees, and the Eſſenes. The

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[x] Mark vii. 2,—5.
[y] Vide Lud. Capel. diatrib. de Corban. Grot. Annot. in Mat. 15. 5. Coccei in excerpt. Gemar. Sanhed. p. 273. Hotting. Th. Phil. l. 1. c. 1. ſect. 5. p. 31.

Phariſees derive their name from פרש which may admit of a double ſignification, and either not unſuitable to them: it may refer to them as פירשים, explainers or interpreters of the law, which was a peculiar part of their work, and for which they were famous and venerable among the Jews; or more probably to their ſeparation (the moſt proper and natural importance of the word) ſo called, διὰ τὸ ἀφωρισμένους εἶναι αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων, as Epiphanius[z] obſerved of old, becauſe ſeparated from all others in their extraordinary pretences of piety; the very Jews themſelves thus deſcribing a phariſee, he is one שפירש עצמו מכל טימאה, "that ſeparates himſelf from all uncleanneſs, and "from all unclean meats, and from the people of the earth (the common rout) who "accurately obſerve not the difference of meats[a]." It is not certain when this ſect firſt thruſt up its head into the world, probably not long after the times of the Maccabees; it is certain they were of conſiderable ſtanding, and great account in the time of our Saviour: to be ſure ſtrangely wide of the mark are thoſe Jewiſh chronologiſts who ſay[b], That the ſect of the Phariſees aroſe in the times of Tiberius Cæſar and Ptolemy the Ægyptian, under whom the Septuagint tranſlation was accompliſhed; as if Ptolemy Philadelphus and Tiberius Cæſar had been contemporaries, between whom there is the diſtance of no leſs than two hundred and ſixty years. But whenever it began, a bold and daring ſect it was, not fearing to affront princes, and perſons of the greateſt quality; crafty and inſinuative; and who, by a ſhew of great zeal, and infinite ſtrictneſs in religion, beyond the rate of other men, had procured themſelves a mighty reverence from the people; ſo ſtrict, that (as a learned man obſerves[c]) phariſee is uſed in the Talmudick writings to denote a pious and holy man; and Benjamin the Jew, ſpeaking of R. Aſcher, ſays, he was הפרוש שנפרש "a truly devout man, ſeparate from the "affairs of this world." And yet, under all this ſeeming ſeverity, they were but religious villains, ſpiteful and malicious; griping and covetous; great oppreſſors; mercileſs dealers; heady and ſeditious, proud and ſcornful; indeed guilty of moſt kinds of immorality; of whoſe temper and manners I ſay the leſs in this place, having elſewhere given an account of them. They held that the oral law was of infinitely greater moment and value than the written word; that the traditions of their fore-fathers[d] were above all things to be embraced and followed, the ſtrict obſervance whereof would entitle a man to eternal life; that the ſouls of men are immortal, and had their dooms awarded in the ſubterraneous regions; that there is a metempſychoſis or tranſmigration of pious ſouls out of one body into another; that things come to paſs by fate, and an inevitable neceſſity, and yet that man's will is free, that by this means men might be rewarded and puniſhed according to their works. I add no more concerning them, than that ſome great men of the church of Rome ſay, with ſome kind of boaſting, that ſuch as were the phariſees among the Jews, ſuch are the religious (they mean the monaſtical Orders of their church) among Chriſtians. Much good may it do them with the compariſon; I confeſs myſelf ſo far of their mind, that there is too great a conformity between them.

23. NEXT the Phariſees come the Sadduces, as oppoſite to them in their temper, as their principles; ſo called (as Epiphanius and ſome others will have it) from צדק, juſtice, as pretending themſelves to be very juſt and righteous men, but this agrees not with the account given of their lives. They are generally thought to have been denominated from Sadock the ſcholar of Antigonus Sochæus, who flouriſhed about the year of the world three thouſand ſeven hundred and twenty, two hundred eighty four years before the nativity of our Saviour. They paſs under a very ill character even among the writers of their own nation, רשעים ובעלי מדות רעות, "impious men, and of very looſe and debauched manners:" which is no more than what might be expected as the natural conſequence of their principles; this being one of their main dogmata or opinions, that the ſoul is not immortal, and that there is no future ſtate after this life. The occaſion of which deſperate principle is ſaid to have been a miſtake of the doctrine of their maſter Antigonus[e], who was wont to preſs his ſcholars not to be like mercenary ſervants, who ſerve their maſters merely for what they can get by them; but to ſerve God for himſelf, without expectation of rewards. This Sadock and Baithos, two of his diſciples, miſunderſtanding, thought their maſter had peremptorily denied any ſtate of future rewards; and having laid this dangerous foundation, theſe unhappy ſuperſtru-

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[z] Hæreſ. 16. p. 21.

[a] Baal Aruch in voc. פרוש.

[b] K. Ged. Schal. Kabb. p. 104. citante Hotting. Th. Phil. l. 1. c. 1. p. 27.

[c] L 'Emper. Not. in Benjam. Itiner. p. 147. Itiner. p. 6.

[d] Vide Joſeph. Antiq. Jud. l. 18. c. 2. p. 617. & de Bell. Jud. l. 2. κεφ. ιβ. p. 788.

[e] Pirk. Aboth. cap. 1. ſect. 3. p. m. 1.

ctures were built upon it; that there is no reſurrection; for if there be no reward, what need that the body ſhould riſe again? that the ſoul is not immortal, nor exiſts in the ſeparate ſtate, for if it did, it muſt be either rewarded or puniſhed; and if not the ſoul, then by the ſame proportion of reaſon, no ſpiritual ſubſtance, neither angel nor ſpirit; that there is no divine providence[f], but that God is perfectly placed as beyond the commiſſion, ſo beyond the inſpection and regard of what ſins or evils are done or happen in the world; as indeed what great reaſon to believe a wiſe and righteous providence, if there be no reward or puniſhment for virtue and vice in another life? Theſe pernicious and atheiſtical opinions juſtly expoſed them to the reproach and hatred of the people; who were wont eminently to ſtile them מינים, "the Hereticks, Infidels, Epicureans," no words being thought bad enough to beſtow upon them. They rejected the traditions ſo vehemently aſſerted by the Phariſees, and taught, that men were to keep to the letter of the law; and that nothing was to be impoſed either upon their belief or practice, but what was expreſly owned and contained in it. Joſephus obſerves[g], that they were the feweſt of all the ſects, πρῶτοι δὲ τοῖς ἀξιώμασι, but uſually men of the better rank and quality; as what wonder, if rich and great men, who tumble in the pleaſures and advantages of a proſperous fortune, be willing to take ſanctuary in thoſe opinions that afford the greateſt patronage to looſeneſs and debauchery, and care not to hear of being called to account in another world, for what they have done in this? For this reaſon the Sadducees ever appeared the greateſt ſticklers to preſerve the peace, and were the moſt ſevere and implacable juſticers againſt the authors or fomenters of tumults and ſeditions, leſt they ſhould diſturb and interrupt their ſoft and eaſy courſe of life, the only happineſs their principles allowed them to expect.

24. The Eſſenes ſucceed, a ſect probably diſtinct from either of the former. Paſſing by the various conjectures concerning the derivation of their name, which when dreſſed up with all advantages ſtill are but bare conjectures; they began about the times of the Maccabees, when the violent perſecutions of Antiochus forced the Jews for their own ſafety to retire to the woods and mountains. And though in time the ſtorm blew over, yet many of them were too well pleaſed with theſe undiſturbed ſolitudes to return, and therefore combined themſelves into religious ſocieties, leading a ſolitary and contemplative courſe of life, and that in very great numbers, there being uſually above four thouſand of them, as both Philo and Joſephus tell us. Pliny[h] takes notice of them, and deſcribes them to be a ſolitary generation; remarkable above all others in this, that they live without women, without any embraces, without money, converſing with nothing but woods and palm-trees; that their number increaſed every day as faſt as any died, perſons flocking to them from all quarters, to ſeek repoſe here, after they had been wearied with the inquietudes of an improſperous fortune. They paid a due reverence to the temple[i], by ſending gifts and preſents thither; but yet worſhipped God at home, and uſed their own rites and ceremonies. Every ſeventh day they publickly met in their ſynagogues[k], where the younger ſeating themſelves at the feet of the elder; one reads ſome portions out of a book, which another, eminently ſkilled in the principles of their ſect, expounds to the reſt, (their dogmata, like the Philoſophy of the ancients, being obſcurely and enigmatically delivered to them) inſtructing them in the rules of piety and righteouſneſs, and all the duties that concerned God, others, or themſelves. They induſtriouſly tilled and cultivated the ground, and lived upon the fruits of their own labours; had all their revenues in common; there being neither rich, nor poor among them: their manners were very harmleſs and innocent, exact obſervers of the rules of juſtice, ſomewhat beyond the practice of other men. As for that branch of them that lived in Egypt, whoſe excellent manners and inſtitutions are ſo particularly deſcribed and commended by Philo; and whom Euſebius and others will needs have to have been Chriſtians converted by St. Mark, we have taken notice of elſewhere in St. Mark's life. We find no mention of them in the hiſtory of the goſpel, probably becauſe living remote from cities and all places of publick concourſe, they never concerned themſelves in the actions of Chriſt or his apoſtles. What their principles were in matters of ſpeculation, is not much material to enquire, their inſtitutions mainly referring to practice. Out of a great regard to wiſdom and virtue they neglected all care of the body; renounced all conjugal embraces, abſtained very much from meats and drinks; ſome of them not eating or drinking for three, others

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[f] Joſeph. de Bell. Jud. l. 2. κεφ. ιβ. p. 788.
[g] Antiq. Jud. l. 18. c. 2. p. 617.
[h] Hiſt. Nat. lib. 5. c. 17. p. 8.
[i] Vide Phil. lib. quod omnis probus liber. p. 876, 877.
[k] Joſeph. Antiq. Jud. l. 18. c. 2. p. 617. præcipuè de Bell. Jud. l. 2. κεφ. ιβ. p. 785. & ſeq.

for five or ſix days together, accounting it unbecoming men of ſuch a philoſophical temper and genius, to ſpend any part of the day upon the neceſſities of the body: their way they called θρησκείαν, worſhip; and their rules σοφίας δόγματα, doctrines of wiſdom; their contemplations were ſublime and ſpeculative, and of things beyond the ordinary notions of other ſects; they traded in the names and myſteries of angels, and in all their carriage bore a great ſhew of modeſty and humility. And therefore theſe in all likelihood were the very perſons, whom St. Paul primarily deſigned (though not excluding others who eſpouſed the ſame principles) when he charges the Coloſſians to *let no man beguile them of their reward in a voluntary humility, and worſhipping of angels, intruding into thoſe things which he hath not ſeen, vainly puffed up by his fleſhly mind*; that *being dead to the rudiments of the world*, they ſhould no longer δογματίζεσθαι, *be ſubject* to theſe dogmata or *ordinances*; ſuch as, *touch not*, *taſte not*, *handle not*, (the main principles of the Eſſenian inſtitution) *being the commandments and doctrines of men*; *which things have indeed a ſhew of wiſdom in will-worſhip and humility, and neglecting of the body, not in any honour to the ſatisfying of the fleſh*[l]. Beſides theſe three greater, there were ſeveral other leſſer ſects in the Jewiſh church: ſuch as the Herodians, ſuppoſed to have been either part of Herod's guard; or a combination of men, who, to ingratiate themſelves with the prince, maintained Herod to be the Meſſiah; and at their own charge celebrated his coronation days, as alſo the ſabbath, when they uſed to ſet lighted candles crowned with violets in their windows; an opinion which St. Hierom[m] laughs at as trifling and ridiculous. Probably they were a party that had eſpouſed Herod's intereſt, and endeavoured to ſupport his new-gotten ſovereignty. For Herod being a ſtranger, and having by the Roman power uſurped the kingdom, was generally hateful and burthenſome to the people; and therefore, beſide the aſſiſtance of a foreign power, needed ſome to ſtand by him at home. They were peculiarly active in preſſing people to pay tribute to Cæſar; Herod being obliged (as St. Hierom obſerves[n]) by the charter of his ſovereignty to look after the tribute due to Cæſar; and they could not do him a more acceptable ſervice, by this means endearing him to his great Patrons at Rome. In matters of opinion they ſeem to have ſided with the Sadducees: what St. Matthew calls *the leaven of the Sadducees*[o], St. Mark ſtiles *the leaven of Herod*[p]. Probable it is, that they had drawn Herod to be of their principles; that as they aſſerted his right to the kingdom, he might favour and maintain their impious opinions. And it is likely enough, that a man of ſo debauched manners might be eaſily tempted to take ſhelter under principles that ſo directly ſerved the purpoſes of a bad life. Another ſect in that church were the Samaritans; the poſterity of thoſe who ſucceeded in the room of the ten captivated tribes, a mixture of Jews and Gentiles; they held, That nothing but the Pentateuch was the word of God; that mount Gerizim was the true place of publick and ſolemn worſhip; that they were the deſcendants of Joſeph, and heirs of the Aaronical prieſthood, and that no dealing or correſpondence was to be maintained with ſtrangers, nor any unclean thing to be touched. The Karræans were a branch of the Sadducees, but rejected afterwards their abominable and unſound opinions; they are the true Textualiſts, adhering only to the writings of Moſes and the prophets, and expounding the ſcripture by itſelf; peremptorily diſowning the abſurd gloſſes of the Talmud, and the idle traditions of the Rabbins; inſomuch that they admit not ſo much as the Hebrew points into their bibles, accounting them part of the oral and traditionary law; for which reaſon, they are greatly hated by the reſt of the Jews. They are in great numbers about Conſtantinople, and in other places at this day. There was alſo the ſect of the Zealots, frequently mentioned by Joſephus, a generation of men inſolent and ungovernable, fierce and ſavage; who, under a pretence of extraordinary zeal for God and the honour of his law, committed the moſt enormous outrages againſt God and man; but of them we have given an account in the life of St. Simon the Zealot. And yet, as if all this had not been enough to render their church miſerable within it ſelf, their ſins and inteſtine diviſions had brought in the Roman power upon them; who ſet magiſtrates and taſk-maſters over them, depreſſed their great Sanhedrim; put in and out ſenators at pleaſure, made the temple pay tribute, and placed a gariſon at hand to command it; abrogated a great part of their laws, and ſtript them ſo naked both of civil and eccleſiaſtical order and authority, that they had not power left ſo much as to put a man to death. All evident demonſtrations that Shiloh was come, and the *ſceptre departed*,

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[l] Col. ii. 18,—20, 21, 22, 23.

[m] Comment. in Matth. 22. p. 66. Tom. 9.

[n] Loc. citat.

[o] Matth. xvi. 6.

[p] Mark viii. 15.

departed; that *ſacrifice and oblation was to ceaſe*; the *Meſſiah being cut off, who came to finiſh tranſgreſſion, to make an end of ſins, to make reconciliation for iniquity, and to bring in everlaſting righteouſneſs*.

SECT. III.

Of the EVANGELICAL Diſpenſation.

The gradual revelations concerning the Meſſiah. John the Baptiſt Chriſt's fore-runner. His extraordinary Birth. His auſtere education and way of life. His preaching, what. His initiating Proſelytes by baptiſm. Baptiſm in uſe in the Jewiſh church. Its original, whence. His reſolution and impartiality. His martyrdom. The character given him by Joſephus, and the Jews. The Evangelical Diſpenſation wherein it exceeds that of Moſes. Its perſpicuity and perfection. Its agreeableneſs to human nature. The Evangelical promiſes better than thoſe of the law, and in what reſpects. The aids of the Spirit plentifully afforded under the Goſpel. The admirable confirmation of this Oeconomy. The great extent and latitude of it. Judaiſm not capable of being communicated to all mankind. The comprehenſiveneſs of the Goſpel. The duration of the Evangelical covenant. The Moſaical Statutes in what ſenſe ſaid to be for ever. The typical and tranſient nature of that ſtate. The great happineſs of Chriſtians under the oeconomy of the Goſpel.

1. GOD having from the very infancy of the world promiſed the Meſſiah, as the great redeemer of mankind, was accordingly pleaſed in all ages to make gradual diſcoveries and manifeſtations of him; the revelations concerning him in every diſpenſation of the church ſtill ſhining with a bigger and more particular light, the nearer this *Sun of righteouſneſs* was to his riſing. The firſt Goſpel and glad tidings of him commenced with the fall of Adam; God out of infinite tenderneſs and commiſeration promiſing to ſend a perſon who ſhould triumphantly vindicate and reſcue mankind from the power and tyranny of their enemies, and that he ſhould do this by taking the human nature upon him, and being born of *the ſeed of the woman*. No further account is given of him till the times of Abraham, to whom it was revealed, that he ſhould proceed out of his loins, and ariſe out of the Jewiſh nation, tho' both Jew and Gentile ſhould be made happy by him. To his grandchild Jacob, God made known out of what tribe of that nation he ſhould riſe, the tribe of Judah; and what would be the time of his appearing, *viz.* the *departure of the ſceptre from Judah*, the abrogation of the civil and legiſlative power of that tribe and people (accompliſhed in Herod the Idumæan, ſet over them by the Roman power.) And this is all we find concerning him under that oeconomy. Under the legal diſpenſation we find Moſes foretelling one main errand of his coming, which was to be the great prophet[q] of the church, to whom all were to hearken as an extraordinary perſon ſent from God to acquaint the world with the counſels and the laws of heaven. The next news we hear of him is from David; who was told that he ſhould ſpring out of his houſe and family: and who frequently ſpeaks of his ſufferings, and the particular manner of his death, by *piercing his hands and his feet*[r]; of his powerful reſurrection, that *God would not leave his ſoul in hell, nor ſuffer his holy one to ſee corruption*[s]; of his triumphant aſcenſion into heaven, and glorious *ſeſſion at God's right hand*[t]. From the prophet Iſaiah we have an account of the extraordinary and miraculous manner of his birth; that he ſhould *be born of a virgin*, and his name be *Emanuel*[u]; of his incomparable furniture of gifts and graces for the execution of his office[w]; of the entertainment he was to meet with in the world, and the nature and deſign of thoſe ſufferings[x] which he was to undergo. The place of his birth was foretold by Micah; which was to be Bethlehem-Ephratah, the leaſt of the cities of Judah, but honoured above all the reſt with the nativity of a prince, who was to be a *ruler in Iſrael, whoſe going forth had been from everlaſting*[y]. Laſtly, the prophet Daniel fixes the particular period of his coming, expreſly

expreſly

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[q] Deut. xviii. 15,—18, 19.
[r] Pſalm xxii. 16.
[s] Pſalm xvi. 10.
[t] Pſalm lxviii. 18. Ibid. cx. 1.
[u] Iſai. vii. 14.
[w] Iſai. lxi. 1, 2.
[x] Iſai. liii. 1, 2, 3.
[y] Micah v. 2.

preſly affirming, that the Meſſiah ſhould appear in the world, and be cut off as a victim and expiation for the ſins of the people at the expiration of ſeventy prophetical *weeks*[z], or four hundred and ninety years; which accordingly punctually came to paſs.

2. For the date of the prophetick ſcriptures concerning the time of the Meſſiah's coming being now run out; *In the fulneſs of time God ſent his ſon made of a woman; made under the law, to redeem them that were under the law*: this being the truth of which *God ſpake by the mouth of all his holy prophets, which have been ſince the world began*. But becauſe it was not fit that ſo great a perſon ſhould come into the world, without an eminent harbinger[a] to introduce and uſher in his arrival; God had promiſed that he would *ſend his meſſenger, who ſhould prepare his way before him, even Elijah the prophet*, whom he would ſend *before the coming of that great day of the Lord, who ſhould turn the hearts of the fathers to the children*, &c[b]. This was particularly accompliſhed in John the Baptiſt, who *came in the power and ſpirit of Elias*[c]. He was the morning-ſtar to the ſun of righteouſneſs μέγας καὶ οὐκ ἄγνωστος ὁ πρόδρομος, as St. Cyril ſays of him, the great and eminent fore-runner, a perſon remarkable upon ſeveral accounts: Firſt, for the extraordinary circumſtances of his nativity; his birth foretold by an angel, ſent on purpoſe to deliver this joyful meſſage; a ſign God intended him for great undertakings; this being never done but where God deſigned the perſon for ſome uncommon ſervices: his parents aged, and though *both righteous before God*, yet hitherto childleſs; heaven does not diſpenſe all its bounty to the ſame perſon; children, though great and deſirable bleſſings, are yet often denied to thoſe for whom God has otherwiſe very dear regards. *Elizabeth was barren, and they were both well-ſtricken in years*: But, *Is any thing too hard for the Lord?* ſaid God to Abraham in the ſame caſe. God has the key of the womb in his own keeping; it is one of the divine prerogatives, that *he makes the barren woman to keep houſe, and to be a joyful mother of children*. A ſon is promiſed, and mighty things ſaid of him: a promiſe which old Zachary had ſcarce faith enough to digeſt, and therefore had the aſſurance of it ſealed to him by a miraculous dumbneſs impoſed upon him till it was made good; the ſame miracle at once confirming his faith, and puniſhing his infidelity. Accordingly his mother conceived with child, and as if he would do part of his errand before he was born, he *leaped in her womb* at her ſalutation of the virgin Mary, then newly conceived with child of our Bleſſed Saviour; a piece of homage paid by one, to one yet unborn.

3. These Preſages were not vain and fallible, but produced a perſon no leſs memorable for the admirable ſtrictneſs and auſterity of his life. For having eſcaped Herod's butcherly and merciles Executioners (the divine providence being a ſhelter and cover to him) and been educated among the rudeneſſes and ſolitudes of the wilderneſs, his manners and way of life were very agreeable to his education. His garments borrowed from no other wardrobe than the backs of his neighbour-creatures, the ſkins of beaſts, *camels hair, and a leathern girdle*; and herein he literally made good the character of Elias, who is deſcribed as *an hairy man, girt with a leathern girdle about his loins*[d]. His diet ſuitable to his garb; *his meat was locuſts and wild honey*: locuſts, accounted by all nations amongſt the meaneſt and vileſt ſorts of food; wild honey, ſuch as the natural artifice and labour of the bees had ſtored up in caverns and hollow trees, without any elaborate curioſity to prepare and dreſs it up. Indeed his abſtinence was ſo great, and his food ſo unlike other mens, that the evangeliſt ſays of him, that *he came neither eating nor drinking*; as if he had eaten nothing, or at leaſt what was worth nothing. But *meat commends us not to God*; it is the devout mind and the honeſt life that makes us valuable in the eye of heaven. The place of his abode was not in king's houſes, in ſtately and delicate palaces, but where he was born and bred, *the wilderneſs of Judæa*; *he was in the deſarts until the time of his ſhewing unto Iſrael*[e]. Divine grace is not confined to particular places; it is not the holy city, or the temple at mount Sion makes us nearer unto heaven; God can, when he pleaſes, conſecrate a deſart into a church, make us gather *grapes* among *thorns*, and religion become fruitful in a barren wilderneſs.

4. Prepared by ſo ſingular an education, and furniſhed with an immediate commiſſion from God, he entred upon the actual adminiſtration of his office: *In thoſe days came John the Baptiſt, preaching in the wilderneſs of Judea, and ſaying, Repent ye, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand*. He was Χριστοῦ τῆς πρώτης φανερώσεως κήρυξ, as Juſtin[f] Martyr calls him, the herald to proclaim the firſt approach of the holy Jeſus; his whole miniſtry tending to prepare the way to his entertainment, accompliſhing herein what was of old foretold concerning him; *for this is he that was ſpoken of by the prophet*

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[z] Dan. ix. 24,—26.
[a] Mal. iii. 1.
[b] Mal. iv. 5, 6.
[c] Comment. in Joan. i. 15.
[d] 2 Kings i. 8.
[e] Luke i. 80.
[f] Dial. cum Tryph. p. 268.

Eſaias, ſaying, The voice of one crying in the wilderneſs, prepare ye the way of the Lord, make his paths ſtraight. He told the Jews, that the Meſſiah, whom they had ſo long expected, was now at hand, and his kingdom ready to appear; that the Son of God was come down from heaven, a perſon as far beyond him in dignity, as in time and exiſtence, to whom he was not worthy to miniſter in the meaneſt offices; that he came to introduce a new and better ſtate of things; to enlighten the world with the cleareſt revelations of the divine will, and to acquaint them with counſels brought from the boſom of the Father; to put a period to all the types and umbrages of the Moſaick diſpenſation; and bring in the truth and ſubſtance of all thoſe ſhadows, and to open a fountain of grace and fulneſs to mankind; to remove that ſtate of guilt into which human nature was ſo deeply ſunk, and as the lamb of God, by the expiatory ſacrifice of himſelf, to take away the ſin of the world; not like the continual burnt-offering, the lamb offered morning and evening only for the ſins of the houſe of Iſrael; but for Jew and Gentile, Barbarian and Scythian, bond and free; he told them, that God had a long time born with the ſins of men, and would now bring things to a quicker iſſue; and that therefore they ſhould do well to break off their ſins by repentance, and by a ſerious amendment and reformation of life diſpoſe themſelves for the glad tidings of the goſpel; that they ſhould no longer bear up themſelves upon their external privileges, the *fatherhood of Abraham*, and their being God's ſelect and peculiar people; that God would raiſe up to himſelf another generation, a poſterity of Abraham from among the Gentiles, who ſhould walk in his ſteps, in the way of his unſhaken faith, and ſincere obedience; and that if all this did not move them to *bring forth fruits meet for repentance*, the *ax was laid to the root of the tree*, to extirpate their church, and to hew them down as fuel for the unquenchable fire. His free and reſolute preaching, together with the great ſeverity of his life, procured him a vaſt auditory, and numerous proſelytes; for *there went out to him from Jeruſalem, and all Judæa, and the region round about Jordan*, perſons of all ranks and orders, of all ſects and opinions, Phariſees and Sadducees, ſoldiers and publicans, whoſe vices he impartially cenſured and condemned, and preſſed upon them the duties of their particular places and relations. Thoſe whom he gained over to be proſelytes to his doctrine, he entred into this new inſtitution of life by baptiſm; (and hence he derived his title of the Baptiſt) a ſolemn and uſual way of initiating proſelytes, no leſs than circumciſion, of great antiquity in the Jewiſh church. “In “all times (ſays Maimonides[g]) if any Gentile would enter into covenant, remain under the wings of the Shechinah, or divine majeſty, and take upon him the “yoke of the law, he is bound to have מילה׃ וטבילה׃ והרצאת קרבן, circumciſion, “baptiſm, and a peace-offering; and if a woman, baptiſm and an oblation; becauſe it “is ſaid, *as ye are, ſo ſhall the ſtranger be*[h]; as ye yourſelves entred into covenant by “circumciſion, baptiſm and a peace-offering, ſo ought the proſelyte alſo in all ages to “enter in.” Though this laſt, he confeſſes, is to be omitted during their preſent ſtate of deſolation, and to be made when their temple ſhall be rebuilt. This rite they generally make contemporary with the giving of the law. So Maimonides, “by three “things (ſays he) the Iſraelites entred into covenant (he means the national covenant at “mount Sinai) by circumciſion, baptiſm, and an oblation; baptiſm being uſed ſome little time before the law[i];” which he proves from that place, *ſanctify the people to day and to morrow, and let them waſh their cloaths*[k]. This the Rabbins[l] unanimouſly expound concerning baptiſm, and expreſly affirm, that “where-ever we read of the waſh“ing of cloaths, there an obligation to baptiſm is intended.” Thus they entred into the firſt covenant, upon the frequent violations whereof God having promiſed to make a new and ſolemn covenant with them in the times of the Meſſiah, they expected a ſecond baptiſm, as that which ſhould be the rite of their initiation into it. And this probably is the reaſon, why the apoſtle to the Hebrews ſpeaks of the *doctrine of baptiſms*[m] (in the plural number) as one of the primary and elementary principles of the faith wherein the Catechumens were to be inſtructed; meaning, that beſides the baptiſm whereby they had been initiated into the Moſaick covenant, there was another by which they were to enter into this new oeconomy that was come upon the world. Hence the Sanhedrim (to whom the cognizance of ſuch caſes did peculiarly appertain) when told of John's baptiſm, never expreſſed any wonder at it, as a new upſtart ceremony, it being a thing daily practiſed in their church, nor found fault with the thing itſelf, which they ſuppoſed would be a fœderal rite under the diſpenſation of the Meſſiah, but only quareled with him for taking upon him to adminiſter it, when yet he denied himſelf to be one of the prime miniſters of this new ſtate. *They ſaid unto him, why baptizeſt thou*

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[g] Maimon. Iſſur. Biab. cap. 13. vid. Jac. Alting. Diſſer. Philol. vii. de proſelyt. ſect. 25. p. 249.

[h] Numb. xv. 16.

[i] Ibid. ſect. 24. p. 248.

[k] Exod. xix. 10.

[l] Vid. R. Bechai, fol. 87. col. 2. ibid.

[m] Heb. vi. 2.

thou then, if thou be not that Chriſt, nor Elias, neither that prophet[n]? either of which had he owned himſelf, they had not queſtioned his right to enter proſelytes by this way of baptiſm. It is called the *baptiſm of repentance*, this being the main qualification that he required of thoſe who took it upon them, as the fitteſt means to diſpoſe them to receive the doctrine and diſcipline of the Meſſiah; and to entitle them to that pardon of ſin which the goſpel brought along with it; whence he is ſaid *to baptize in the wilderneſs*, and to *preach the baptiſm of repentance, for the remiſſion of ſins*[o]. And the ſucceſs was anſwerable, infinite multitudes flocking to it, and *were baptized of him in Jordan, confeſſing their ſins*. Nor is it the leaſt part of his happineſs, that he had the honour to baptize his Saviour; which though modeſtly declined, our Lord put upon him, and was accompanied with the moſt ſignal and miraculous atteſtations which heaven could beſtow upon it.

5. After his preparatory preachings in the wilderneſs, he was called to court by Herod, at leaſt he was his frequent auditor, was much delighted with his plain and impartial ſermons, and had a mighty reverence for him; the gravity of his perſon, the ſtrictneſs of his manners, the freedom of his preaching, commanding an awe and veneration from his conſcience, and making him willing in many things to reform: but the bluntneſs of the holy man came nearer, and touched the king in the tendereſt part; ſmartly reproving his adultery and inceſtuous embraces, for that prince kept Herodias his brother Philip's wife. And now all corrupt intereſts were awakened to conſpire his ruin. Extravagant luſts love not to be controlled and checked; Herodias reſents the affront, cannot brook diſturbance in the pleaſures of her bed, or the open challenging of her honour, and therefore by all the arts of feminine ſubtilty meditates revenge. The iſſue was, the Baptiſt is caſt into priſon, as the præludium to a ſadder fate. For among other pleaſures and ſcenes of mirth performed on the king's birth day, Herod being infinitely pleaſed with the dancing of a young lady, daughter of this Herodias, promiſed to give her her requeſt, and ſolemnly ratified his promiſe with an oath. She, prompted by her mother, aſked the head of John the Baptiſt; which the king, partly out of a pretended reverence to his oath, partly out of a deſire not to be interrupted in his unlawful pleaſures, preſently granted; and it was as quickly accompliſhed. Thus died the holy man; a man ſtrict in his converſation beyond the ordinary meaſures of an anchoret, bold and reſolute, faithful and impartial in his office, endued with the *power and ſpirit of Elias, a burning and ſhining light*, under whoſe light the *Jews rejoiced to ſit*, exceedingly taken with his temper and principles. He was the happy meſſenger of the evangelical tidings, and in that reſpect *more than a prophet, a greater not ariſing among them that were born of women.* In ſhort, he was a man loved of his friends, revered and honoured by his enemies. Joſephus gives this character of him[p], that "he was a good man, and preſſed the Jews to the ſtudy of virtue, to the practice of piety towards God, and juſtice and righteouſneſs towards men, and to join themſelves to his baptiſm, which he told them, would then become effectual and acceptable to God, when they did not only cleanſe the body, but purify the mind by goodneſs and virtue. And though he gives ſomewhat a different account of Herod's condemning him to die, from what is aſſigned in the ſacred hiſtory; yet he confeſſes, that the Jews univerſally looked upon the putting him to death as the cauſe of the miſcarriage of Herod's army, and an evident effect of the divine vengeance and diſpleaſure. The Jews[q], in their writings, make an honourable mention of his being put to death by Herod, becauſe reproving him for the company of his brother Philip's wife, ſtiling him Rabbi Johanan the high-prieſt, and reckoning him one מחכמי ישראל of the wiſe men of Iſrael. Where he is called high-prieſt, probably with reſpect to his being the ſon of Zachariah, head or chief of one of the twenty four families or courſes of the prieſts, who are many times called chief or high-prieſts in ſcripture.

6. The Evangelical ſtate being thus proclaimed and uſhered in by the preaching and miniſtry of the Baptiſt; our Lord himſelf appeared next, more fully to publiſh and confirm it; concerning whoſe birth, life, death and reſurrection; the doctrine he delivered; the perſons he deputed to preach and convey it to the world; and its ſucceſs by the miniſtry of the apoſtles, large and particular accounts are given in the following work. That which may be proper and material to obſerve in this place, is, what the ſcripture ſo frequently takes notice of, the excellency of this above the preceding diſpenſation, eſpecially that brought in by Moſes, ſo much magnified in the old teſtament, and ſo paſſionately admired and adhered to by the Jews at this day. *Jeſus is the mediator*, κρείττονος διαθήκης, as the apoſtle calls it, *of a better covenant*[r]. And better it is in ſeveral regards; beſides the infinite difference between the perſons, who were em-

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[n] John i. 24.
[o] Mark i. 4.
[p] Antiq. Jud. lib. 8. cap. 7. p. 626.
[q] Zemach David part 1. ad An, 770. Millen. 4. & Chron. Templi ſecund. fol. 54. col. 4.
[r] Heb. viii. 6.

ployed to introduce and ſettle them, Moſes and our Lord. The preeminence eminently appears in many inſtances, whereof we ſhall remark the moſt conſiderable. And firſt, the Moſaick diſpenſation was almoſt wholly made up of types and ſhadows; the Evangelical has brought in the truth and ſubſtance. *The law was given by Moſes, but grace and truth came by Jeſus Chriſt.*[f] Their ordinances were but *ſhadows of good things to come*; ſenſible repreſentations of what was to follow after; *the body is Chriſt*, the perfection and accompliſhment of their whole ritual miniſtration. Their ceremonies were *figures of thoſe things that are true*; the land of Canaan typified heaven; Moſes and Joſhua were types of the bleſſed Jeſus; and the Iſraelites *after the fleſh*, of the *true Iſrael, which is after the ſpirit*; and all their expiatory ſacrifices did but repreſent that great ſacrifice whereby Chriſt offered up himſelf, and by his own blood purged away the ſins of mankind; indeed the moſt minute and inconſiderable circumſtances of the legal oeconomy were intended as lights that might uſher in the ſtate of the goſpel. A curious artiſt that deſigns a famous and excellent piece, is not wont to compleat and finiſh it all at once, but firſt, with his pencil, draw ſome rude lines and rough draughts before he puts his laſt hand to it. By ſuch a method the wiſe God ſeems to have delivered the firſt draughts and images of thoſe things by Moſes to the church, the ſubſtance and perfection whereof, he deſigned ſhould be brought in by Chriſt. And how admirably did God herein condeſcend to the temper and humour of that people; for being of a more rough and childiſh diſpoſition, apt to be taken with gaudy and ſenſible objects, by the external and pompous inſtitutions of the ceremonial diſpenſation he prepared them for better things, as children are brought on by things accommodate to their weak capacities. The church was then an *heir under age*, and was to be trained up in ſuch a way as agreed beſt with its infant temper, till it came to be of a more ripe and manly age, able to digeſt evangelical myſteries, and then the cover and the veil was taken off, and things made to appear in their own form and ſhape.

7. Hence, in the next place, appears our happineſs above them, that we are redeemed from thoſe many ſevere and burthenſome impoſitions wherewith they were clogged, and are now obliged only to a more eaſy and reaſonable ſervice. That the law was a very grievous and ſervile diſpenſation, is evident to any that conſiders how much it conſiſted of carnal ordinances, coſtly duties, chargeable ſacrifices, and innumerable little rites and ceremonies. Under that ſtate they were bound to undergo (yea, even new-born infants) the bloody and painful ceremony of circumciſion; to abſtain from many ſorts of food, uſeful and pleaſant to man's life; to keep multitudes of ſolemn and ſtated times, new moons and ceremonial ſabbaths; to take long and tedious journies to Jeruſalem to offer their ſacrifices at the temple; to obſerve daily waſhings and purifications; to uſe infinite care and caution in every place; for if by chance they did but touch an unclean thing, beſides their preſent confinement, it put them to the expences of a ſacrifice; with hundreds more troubleſome and coſtly obſervances required of them. A cruel bondage, *heavy burdens and grievous to be born*; under the weight where of good men did then groan, and earneſtly breathe after the time of reformation; the very apoſtles complained, that it was *a yoke upon their necks, which neither their fathers nor they were able to bear*[t]. But this yoke is taken off from our ſhoulders, and the way opened into the liberties of the children of God. The law bore a heavy hand over them, as children in their minority; we are got from under the rod and laſh of its tutorage and pedagoguy, and are no more ſubject to the ſeverity of its commands, to the exact punctilio's and numerouſneſs of its impoſitions. Our Lord has removed that low and troubleſome religion, and has brought in a more manly and rational way of worſhip, more ſuitable to the perfections of God, and more accommodate to the reaſons and underſtandings of men. A Religion incomparably the wiſeſt and the beſt that ever took place in the world. God did not ſettle the religion of the Jews, and their way of worſhip, becauſe good and excellent in itſelf, but for its ſuitableneſs to the temper of that people. Happy we, whom the goſpel has freed from thoſe intolerable obſervances to which they were obliged, and has taught us to ſerve God in a better way, more eaſy and acceptable, more human and natural, and in which we are helped forwards by greater aids of divine aſſiſtance than were afforded under that diſpenſation. All which conſpire to render our way ſmooth and plain; *take my yoke upon you, for my yoke is eaſy, and my burden is light.*

8. Thirdly, The diſpenſation of the goſpel is founded upon more noble and excellent promiſes: *a better covenant eſtabliſhed upon better promiſes*[u]. And better promiſes they are both for the nature and clearneſs of their revelation. They are of a more ſublime and excellent nature, as being promiſes of ſpiritual and eternal things, ſuch as immediately concern the

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[f] John i. 17.

[t] Acts xv. 10.

[u] Heb. viii. 6.

perfection and happineſs of mankind, grace, peace, pardon and eternal life. The law, ſtrictly conſidered as a particular covenant with the Jews at mount Sinai, had no other promiſes but of temporal bleſſings, plenty and proſperity, and the happineſs of this life. This was all that appeared above ground, and that was expreſly held forth in that tranſaction, whatever might otherwiſe by due inferences, and proportions of reaſon be deduced from it. Now this was a great defect in that diſpenſation; it being by this means, conſidering the nature and diſpoſition of that people, and the uſe they would make of it, apt to entangle and debaſe the minds of men, and to arreſt their thoughts and deſires in the purſuit of more ſublime and better things. I do not ſay but that under the old teſtament there were promiſes of ſpiritual things, and of eternal happineſs, as appears from David's pſalms, and paſſages in the books of the prophets: but then theſe, though they were *under* the law, yet they were not *of* the law, that is, did not properly belong to it as a legal covenant; God in every age of the Jewiſh church raiſing up ſome extraordinary perſons, who preached notions to the people above the common ſtandard of that diſpenſation, and who ſpoke things more plainly, by how much nearer they approached the times of the Meſſiah. But under the Chriſtian oeconomy the promiſes are evidently more pure and ſpiritual; not a temporal Canaan, external proſperity, or pardon of ceremonial uncleanneſs, but remiſſion of ſins, reconciliation with God, and everlaſting life are propoſed and offered to us. Not but that in ſome meaſure temporal bleſſings are promiſed to us as well as them, only with this difference, to them earthly bleſſings were pledges of ſpiritual; to us ſpiritual bleſſings are inſurances of temporal, ſo far as the divine wiſdom ſees fit for us. Nor are they better in themſelves, than they are clearly diſcovered and revealed to us. Whatever ſpiritual bleſſings were propoſed under the former ſtate, were obſcure and dark, and very few of the people underſtood them: but to us *the veil is taken off*, and *we behold the glory of the Lord with open face*, eſpecially the things that relate to another world; for *this is the promiſe that he hath promiſed us, even eternal life*[w]. Hence our Lord is ſaid to *have brought life and immortality to light through the goſpel*[x]. Which he may be juſtly ſaid to have done, inaſmuch as he has given the greateſt certainty, and the cleareſt account of that ſtate. He hath given us the greateſt aſſurance and certainty of the thing, that there is ſuch a ſtate. The happineſs of the other world was a notion not ſo firmly agreed upon, either amongſt Jews or Gentiles. Among the Jews it was peremptorily denied by the Sadducees, a conſiderable ſect in that church, which we can hardly ſuppoſe they would have done, had it been clearly propounded in the law of Moſes. And among the Heathens the moſt ſober and conſidering perſons did at ſome times at leaſt doubt of it, witneſs that confeſſion of Socrates[y] himſelf, the wiſeſt and beſt man that ever was in the heathen world, who, when he came to plead his cauſe before his judges, and had bravely diſcourſed of the happy ſtate of good men in the other life, plainly confeſſed, that he could be content πολλάκις τεθνάναι, to die a thouſand times over, were he but aſſured that thoſe things were true; and being condemned, concludes his apology with this farewel: "And now, gentlemen, I am going off the ſtage: it is your lot to live, and mine to die; but whether "of us two ſhall fare better, is ἄδηλον παντὶ πλὴν ἢ τῷ Θεῷ, unknown to any but to "God alone[z]." But our bleſſed Saviour has put the caſe paſt all peradventure, having plainly publiſhed this doctrine to the world, and ſealed the truth of it; and that by raiſing others from the dead, and eſpecially by his own reſurrection and aſcenſion, which were the higheſt pledge and aſſurance of a future immortality. But beſides the ſecurity, he hath given the cleareſt account of the nature of it. It is very probable that the Jews generally had of old, as it is certain they have at this day, the moſt groſs and carnal apprehenſions concerning the ſtate of another life. But to us the goſpel has perſpicuouſly revealed the inviſible things of the other world; told us what that heaven is, which is promiſed to good men; a ſtate of ſpiritual joys, of chaſte and rational delights; a conformity of ours to the divine nature; a being made like to God, and an endleſs and uninterrupted communion with him.

9. **But** becauſe in our lapſed and degenerate ſtate we are very unable, without ſome foreign aſſiſtance, to attain the promiſed rewards; hence ariſes, in the next place, another great privilege of the evangelical oeconomy, that it is bleſſed with larger and more abundant communications of the divine Spirit, than was afforded under the Jewiſh ſtate. Under the one it was given by drops, under the other it was poured forth. The law laid heavy and hard commands, but gave little ſtrength to do them; it did not aſſiſt human nature with thoſe powerful aids that are neceſſary for us in our preſent ſtate; it could *do nothing in that it was weak through the fleſh*[a], and *by reaſon of the weakneſs and unprofitableneſs thereof it could make nothing perfect*[b]: it was this made it an *heavy yoke*, when the commands of it were uncouth and troubleſome, and the aſſiſtances ſo ſmall and inconſiderable. Whereas now the goſpel does not only preſcribe ſuch laws as are happily accommodate to the true temper of human nature, and adapted to the reaſon of mankind,

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[w] 1 John ii. 25.
[x] 2 Tim. i. 10.
[y] Apol. Socrat. ap. Platon. ſect. 32. p. m. 45.
[z] Ib. ſect. 23. ad fin. Apol.
[a] Rom. viii. 3.
[b] Heb. vii. 18.

ſuch as every wiſe and prudent man muſt have pitched upon, but it affords the influences of the ſpirit of God, by whoſe aſſiſtance our vitiated faculties are repaired, and we enabled under ſo much weakneſs, and in the midſt of ſo many temptations, to hold on in the paths of piety and virtue. Hence it is, that the plentiful effuſions of the Spirit were reſerved as the great bleſſing of the evangelical ſtate, that God would then *pour water upon him that is thirſty; and floods upon the dry ground*[c]; that he *would pour out his ſpirit upon their ſeed, and his bleſſing upon their off-ſpring*, whereby they ſhould *ſpring up as among the graſs, as willows by the water-courſes:* that he would *give them a new heart, and put his Spirit within them, and cauſe them to walk in his ſtatutes, and keep his judgments to do them*[d]: and this is the meaning of thoſe branches of the covenant, ſo oft repeated, *I will put my law into their minds, and write it in their hearts*, that is, by the help of my grace and ſpirit I will enable them to live according to my laws, as readily and willingly, as if they were written in their hearts. For this reaſon the law is compared to a *dead letter*, the goſpel to the *ſpirit that giveth life*[e], thence ſtiled the *miniſtration of the Spirit*, and as ſuch ſaid to *exceed in glory*, and that to ſuch a degree, that what glory the legal diſpenſation had in this caſe, is eclipſed into nothing. *For even that which was made glorious had no glory in this reſpect, by reaſon of the glory that excelleth; for if that which was done away was glorious, much more that which remaineth is glorious*[f]. Hence the Spirit is ſaid to be Chriſt's peculiar miſſion; *I will pray the father, and he will ſend you another comforter, even the Spirit of truth*[g], which was done immediately after his aſcenſion, when he *aſcended up on high, and gave gifts to men*[h], even the *Holy Ghoſt, which he ſhed on them abundantly through Jeſus Chriſt our Saviour*[i]: for *the Holy Ghoſt was not yet given, becauſe that Jeſus was not yet glorified*[k]. Not but that he was given before, even under the old oeconomy, but not in thoſe large and diffuſive meaſures wherein he was afterwards communicated to the world.

10. FIFTHLY, The diſpenſation of the goſpel had a better eſtabliſhment and confirmation than that of the law; for though the law was introduced with great ſcenes of pomp and majeſty, yet was the goſpel uſhered in by more kindly and rational methods; ratified by more and greater miracles, whereby our Lord unqueſtionably evinced his divine commiſſion, and ſhewed that he came from God, doing more miracles in three years than were done through all the periods of the Jewiſh church, and many of them ſuch as were peculiar to him alone. He often raiſed the dead, which Moſes never did; commanded the winds and waves of the ſea; expelled devils out of lunaticks and poſſeſſed perſons, who fled as ſoon as ever he commanded them to be gone; cured many inveterate and chronical diſtempers with the ſpeaking of a word, and ſome without a word ſpoken; virtue ſilently going out from him. He ſearched men's hearts, and revealed the moſt ſecret tranſactions of their minds; had this miraculous power always reſiding in him, and could exert it when, and upon what occaſions he pleaſed, and impart it to others, communicating it to his apoſtles and followers, and to the primitive Chriſtians for the three firſt ages of the church; he never exerted it in methods of dread and terror, but in doing ſuch miracles as were highly uſeful and beneficial to the world. And as if all this had not been enough, he laid down his life after all to give teſtimony to it. Covenants were ever wont to be ratified with blood, and the death of ſacrifices. But when our Lord came to introduce the covenant of the goſpel, he did not conſecrate it with the blood of bulls and goats, but with his own moſt precious blood, as of a lamb without ſpot and blemiſh. And could he give a greater teſtimony to the truth of his doctrine, and thoſe great things he had promiſed to the world, than to ſeal it with his blood? Had not theſe things been ſo, it were infinitely unreaſonable to ſuppoſe, that a perſon of ſo much wiſdom and goodneſs as our Saviour was, ſhould have made the world believe ſo; and much leſs would he have choſen to die for it, and that the moſt acute and ignominious death. But he died and roſe again for us, and appeared after his reſurrection: his enemies had taken him away by a moſt bitter and cruel death, and guarded and ſecured his ſepulchre with all the care, power and diligence which they could invent. And yet he roſe again the third day in triumph, viſibly converſed with his diſciples for forty days together, and then went to heaven. By which he gave the moſt ſolemn and undeniable aſſurance to the world, that he was the Son of God (for *he was declared to be the Son of God with power by the reſurrection from the dead*[l]) and the Saviour of mankind, and thoſe doctrines which he had taught were moſt true, and did really contain the terms of that ſolemn tranſaction, which God by him had offered to men in order to their eternal happineſs in another world.

11. THE laſt inſtance I ſhall note of the excellency of this above the Moſaical diſpenſation, is the univerſal extent and latitude of it, and that both in reſpect of place and time. Firſt, it is more univerſally extenſive as to place; not confined, as the former was, to a

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[c] Iſa. xliv. 3, 4. [d] Ezek. xxxvi. 26, 27. [e] 2 Cor. iii. 6, 7. [f] 2 Cor. iii. 10, 11. [g] John xiv. 16, 17.
[h] Eph. iv. 8. [i] Tit. iii. 6. [k] John vii. 39. [l] Rom. i. 4.

ſmall part of mankind, but common unto all. Heretofore *in Judah only was God known, and his name was great in Iſrael*[m]; *he ſhewed his word unto Jacob, his ſtatutes and his judgments unto Iſrael; but he did not deal ſo with any other nation, neither had the Heathen knowledge of his laws*[n]. In thoſe times *ſalvation was only of the Jews*, a few acres of land, like Gideon's fleece, were watered with the dew of heaven, while all the reſt of the world for many ages lay dry and barren round about it, God *ſuffering all nations in times paſt to walk in their own ways*[o], the ways of their own ſuperſtition and idolatry, being *aliens from the commonwealth of Iſrael, ſtrangers from the covenants of promiſe, having no hope, and without God in the world*[p], that is, they were without thoſe promiſes, diſcoveries and declarations which God made to Abraham and his ſeed, and are therefore peculiarly deſcribed under this character, *the Gentiles which know not God*[q]. Indeed the religion of the Jews was in itſelf incapable to be extended over the world, many conſiderable parts of it, as ſacrifices, firſt-fruits, oblations, &c. (called by the Jews themſelves מצות תלויות בארץ, *ſtatutes belonging to that land)* being to be performed at Jeruſalem and the temple, which could not be done by thoſe nations that lay a conſiderable diſtance from the land of promiſe. They had, it is true, now and then ſome few proſelytes of the Gentiles, who came over and embodied themſelves into their way of worſhip; but then they either reſided among the Jews, or by reaſon of their vicinity to Judæa were capable to make their perſonal appearance, and to comply with the publick inſtitutions of the divine law. Other proſelytes they had, called proſelytes of the gate, who lived diſperſed in all countries, whom the Jews call חסידי אומות, the pious of the nations, men of devout minds, and religious lives; but theſe were obliged to no more than the obſervation of the *ſeven precepts of the ſons of Noah*, that is, in effect, to the precepts of the natural law. But now the goſpel has a much wider ſphere to move in, as vaſt and large as the whole world itſelf, it is communicable to all countries, and may be exerciſed in any part or corner of the earth. Our Lord gave commiſſion to his apoſtles to *go into all nations*, and *to preach the goſpel to every creature*[r]; and ſo they did, *their ſound went into all the earth, and their words unto the ends of the world*[s], by which means, *the grace of God that brings ſalvation, appeared unto all men*[t], and *the goſpel was preached to every creature under heaven*[u]. So that now *there is neither Jew nor Greek, neither bond nor free, neither male nor female, but we are all one in Chriſt Jeſus*[w], and *in every nation he that feareth God and worketh righteouſneſs, is accepted with him*[x]. The prophet had long ſince foretold it of the times of Chriſt, that the *houſe of God*, that is, his church, *ſhould be called an houſe of prayer for all people*[y]; the doors ſhould be open, and none excluded that would enter in. And the divine providence was ſingularly remarkable in this affair, that after our Lord's aſcenſion, when the apoſtles were going upon their commiſſion, and were firſt ſolemnly to proclaim it at Jeruſalem, there were dwelling there at that time Parthians, Medes, Elamites, &c. perſons out of *every nation under heaven*, that they might be as the firſt-fruits of thoſe ſeveral countries, which were to be gathered in by the preaching of the goſpel, which was accordingly done with great ſucceſs; the Chriſtian religion in a few years ſpreading its triumphant banners over the greateſt part of the then known world.

12. And as the true religion was in thoſe days pent up within one particular country, ſo the more publick and ordinary worſhip of God was confined only to one particular place of it, viz. Jeruſalem, hence called the holy city. Here was the temple, here the prieſts that miniſtred at the altar; here all the more publick ſolemnities of divine adoration, *thither the tribes go up, the tribes of the Lord unto the teſtimony of Iſrael, to give thanks unto the name of the Lord*[z]. Now this was not the leaſt part of the bondage of that diſpenſation, to be obliged thrice every year to take ſuch long and tedious journeys, many of the Jews living ſome hundreds of miles diſtance from Jeruſalem, and ſo ſtrictly were they limited to this place, that to build an altar, and offer ſacrifices in any other place (unleſs in a caſe or two wherein God did extraordinarily diſpenſe) although it were to the true God, was, though not falſe, yet unwarrantable worſhip; for which reaſon the Jews at this day abſtain from ſacrifices, becauſe baniſhed from Jeruſalem and the temple, the only legal place of offering. But behold the liberty of the goſpel in this caſe! we are not tied to preſent our devotions at Jeruſalem, a pious and ſincere mind is the beſt ſacrifice that we can offer up to God; and this may be done in any part of the world no leſs acceptably, than they of old ſacrificed in the temple. *The hour cometh, when ye ſhall neither in this mountain*, (mount Gerizim) *nor yet at Jeruſalem worſhip the Father*, when *the true worſhippers ſhall worſhip the Father in ſpirit and in truth*[a], as our Lord told the woman of Samaria: [in *ſpirit* and in *truth*] in *ſpirit*, in oppoſition to that carnal and idolatrous worſhip

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[m] Pſal. lxxvi. 1,2. [n] Ib. cxlvii. 19, 20. [o] Acts. xiv. 16. [p] Epheſ. ii. 13. [q] 1 Theſ. iv. 5. [r] Mark xvi. 15. [s] Rom. x. 18. [t] Tit. ii. 11. [u] Col. i. 13. [w] Gal. iii. 28. [x] Acts x. 35. [y] Iſa. lvi. 7. [z] Pſ. cxxii. 4. [a] Joh. iv. 21—23.

that was in uſe among the Samaritans, who worſhipped God under the repreſentation of a dove[b]: in *truth*, in oppoſition to the typical and figurative worſhip of the Jews, which was but a ſhadow of the true worſhip of the goſpel. The great ſacrifice required in the Chriſtian religion, is not the fat of beaſts, or the firſt-fruits of the ground; but an honeſt heart, and a pious life, and a grateful acknowledgment of our dependance upon God in the publick ſolemnities of his praiſe and worſhip. For the law and the goſpel did not differ in this, that the one commanded publick worſhip, the other not; but that under the one, publick worſhip was fixed to one only place; under the other, it is free to any where the providence of God has placed us, it being part of the duty bound upon us by natural and unalterable obligations, that we ſhould publickly meet together, for the ſolemn celebration of the divine honour and ſervice.

13. NOR is the oeconomy of the goſpel leſs extenſive in time than place; the old teſtament was only a temporary diſpenſation; that of the goſpel is to laſt to the end of the world; the law was to continue only for a little time, the goſpel is an everlaſting covenant; the one to be quickly antiquated and aboliſhed, the other never to be done away by any other to ſucceed it. The Jews indeed ſtickle hard for the perpetual and immutable obligation of the law of Moſes, and frequently urge us with thoſe places, where the covenant of circumciſion is called an *everlaſting covenant*[c], and God ſaid to chuſe the temple at Jeruſalem to *place his name there for ever*[d], to give the land of Canaan to Abraham and his ſeed for *an everlaſting poſſeſſion*[e]; thus the law of the *paſſover* is called an *ordinance for ever*[f], the command of the firſt-fruits a *ſtatute for ever*[g], and the like in other places, which ſeem to intimate a perpetual and unalterable diſpenſation. But the anſwer is ſhort and plain, that this phraſe לעולם for ever (though when it is applied to God it always denotes eternity) yet when it is attributed to other things, it implies no more than a periodical duration, limited according to the will of the law-giver, or the nature of the thing; thus the Hebrew ſervant was to ſerve his maſter *for ever*[h], that is, but for ſeven years, till the next year of Jubilee: *He ſhall walk before mine anointed for ever*[i], ſays God concerning Samuel, that is, be a prieſt all his days. Thus when the ritual ſervices of the Moſaic law are called *ſtatutes for ever*, the meaning is, that they ſhould continue a long time obligatory, until the time of the Meſſiah, in whoſe days *the ſacrifice and oblation was to ceaſe*, and thoſe carnal ceremonies to give way to the more ſpiritual ſervices of the goſpel. Indeed the very typical nature of that diſpenſation evidently argued it to be but for a time, the ſhadow being to ceaſe, that the ſubſtance might take place; and tho' many of them continued ſome conſiderable time after Chriſt's death, yet they loſt their poſitive and obligatory power, and were uſed only as things indifferent in compliance with the inveterate prejudices of new converts lately brought over from Judaiſm, and who could not quickly lay aſide that great veneration which they had for the rites of the Moſaic inſtitution. Tho' even in this reſpect it was not long before all Jewiſh ceremonies were thrown off, and Moſes quite turned out of doors. Whereas the evangelical ſtate is to run parallel with the age and duration of the world, it is the *everlaſting covenant*[k], the *everlaſting goſpel*[l]; the laſt diſpenſation that God will make to the world: *God who at ſundry times, and in divers manners ſpake in time paſt by the prophets, hath in theſe laſt days ſpoken to us by his Son*[m], in which reſpect the goſpel, in oppoſition to the law, is ſtiled *a kingdom that cannot be moved*. The apoſtle in the foregoing verſes ſpeaking concerning the Moſaical ſtate, *whoſe voice* (ſays he) *then ſhook the earth, but now he hath promiſed, ſaying, Yet once more I ſhake not the earth only, but alſo the heaven*[n] (a phraſe peculiar to the ſcripture, to note the introducing a new ſcene and ſtate of things) *and this word, yet once more, ſignifieth the removing of thoſe things that are ſhaken, as of things that are made, that thoſe things which cannot be ſhaken may remain*, that is, that the ſtate of the goſpel may endure for ever. Hence Chriſt is ſaid to have an *unchangeable prieſthood*, to be *a prieſt for ever*, to be *conſecrated for evermore*. From all which it appears, how incomparably happy we Chriſtians are under the goſpel, above what the Jews were in the time of the law; God having placed us under the beſt diſpenſations, freed us from thoſe many nice and troubleſome obſervances to which they were tied, put us under the cleareſt diſcoveries and revelations, and given us the moſt noble, rational, and maſculine religion, a religion the moſt perfective of our natures, and the moſt conducive to our happineſs; while their covenant at beſt was faulty, and after all could not *make him that did the ſervice perfect in things pertaining to the conſcience. Bleſſed are the eyes which ſee the things which ye ſee: for I tell you, that many prophets and kings have deſired to ſee thoſe things which ye ſee, and have not ſeen them; and to hear thoſe things which ye hear, and have not heard them*[o].

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[b] Οὐ [illegible] χαίρει ὁ Θεὸς, ἀλλ' [illegible] διαθέσει. Philo de Spec. Leg. p. 755.

[c] Gen. xvii. 7.

[d] 1 Kings ix. 3.

[e] Gen. xvii. 8.

[f] Exod. xii. 14.

[g] Levit. xxiii. 14.

[h] Exod. xxi. 6.

[i] 1 Sam. ii. 36.

[k] Heb. xiii. 20.

[l] Rev. xiv. 6.

[m] Heb. i. 1, 2.

[n] Heb. xii. 28.

[o] Luke x. 23, 24.

The End of the APPARATUS.

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Front the 2d Title. II

John *answered, saying unto them all, I indeed baptize you with Water; but* one *mightier than I cometh, the Latchet of whose Shoes I am not worthy to unloose:* he *shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost, and with Fire.* *St. Luke, Chap. 3d. Ver. 16.*

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TO THE

RIGHT HONOURABLE

And moſt truly Noble LORD,

CHRISTOPHER

LORD *HATTON*,

Baron HATTON of *KIRBY*, &c.

My LORD,

WHEN intereſt divides the church, and the calentures of men breathe out in problems and unactive diſcourſes, each part in purſuance of its own portion follows that propoſition which complies with and bends in all the flexures of its temporal ends; and while all ſtrive for truth, they hug their own opinions dreſſed up in her imagery, and they diſpute for ever, and either the queſtion is indeterminable, or, which is worſe, men will never be convinced. For ſuch is the nature of diſputings, that they begin commonly in miſtakes, they proceed with zeal and fancy, and end not at all but in ſchiſms and uncharitable names, and too often dip their feet in blood. In the mean time, he that gets the better of his adverſary, oftentimes gets no good to himſelf; becauſe, although he hath faſt hold upon the right ſide of the problem, he may be an ill man in the midſt of his triumphant diſputations. And therefore it was not here that God would have man's felicity to grow. For our condition had been extremely miſerable, if our final ſtate had been placed upon an uncertain hill, and the way to it had been upon the waters, upon which no ſpirit but that of contradiction and diſcord did ever move. For the man ſhould have tended to an end of uncertain dwelling, and walked to it by ways not diſcernible, and arrived thither by chance; which, becauſe it is irregular, would have diſcompoſed the pleaſures of a Chriſtian hope, as the very diſputing hath already deſtroyed charity, and diſunited the continuity of faith; and in the conſequent there would be no virtue, and no felicity. But God, who never loved that man ſhould be too ambitiouſly buſy in imitating his wiſdom, (and man loſt paradiſe for it) is moſt deſirous we ſhould imitate his goodneſs, and tranſcribe copies of thoſe excellent emanations from his Holineſs, whereby as he communicates himſelf to us in mercies, ſo he propounds himſelf imitable by us in graces. And in order to this, God hath deſcribed our way plain, certain, and determined: and although he was pleaſed to leave us indetermined in the queſtions of exterior communion, yet he put it paſt all queſtion that we are bound to be charitable. He hath placed the queſtion of the ſtate of *ſeparation* in the dark, in hidden and undiſcerned regions: but he hath opened the windows of heaven, and given great light to us, teaching how we are to demean ourſelves in the ſtate of conjunction. Concerning the ſalvation of the heathens, he was not pleaſed to give us account: but he hath clearly deſcribed the duty of Chriſtians, and tells upon what terms alone we ſhall be ſaved. And although the not enquiring into the ways of God, and the ſtrict rules of practice, have been inſtrumental to the preſerving them free from the ſerpentine enfoldings and labyrinths of diſpute: yet God alſo with a great deſign of mercy hath writ his commandments in ſo large characters, and engraven them in ſuch tables, that no man can want the records, nor yet ſkill to read *the hand-wri-*

ting upon this *wall,* if he underſtands what he underſtands, that is, what is placed in his own ſpirit. For God was therefore deſirous that human nature ſhould be perfected with moral, not intellectual excellencies, becauſe theſe only are of uſe and compliance with our preſent ſtate and conjunction. If God had given to eagles an appetite to ſwim, or to the elephant ſtrong deſires to fly, he would have ordered that an abode in the ſea and the air reſpectively ſhould have been proportionable to their manner of living: for ſo God hath done to man, fitting him with ſuch excellencies which are uſeful to him in his ways and progreſs to perfection. A man hath great uſe and need of juſtice, and all the inſtances of morality ſerve his natural and political ends; he cannot live without them, and be happy: but the filling the rooms of the underſtanding with airy and ineffective notions, is juſt ſuch an excellency as it is in a man to imitate the voice of birds; at his very beſt the nightingale ſhall excel him, and it is of no uſe to that end which God deſigned him in the firſt intentions of creation.

In purſuance of this conſideration, I have choſen to ſerve the purpoſes of religion, by doing aſſiſtance to that part of theology which is wholly practical, that which makes us wiſer, therefore, becauſe it makes us better. And truly (my Lord) it is enough to weary the ſpirit of a diſputer, that he ſhall argue till he hath loſt his voice, and his time, and ſometimes the queſtion too, and yet no man ſhall be of his mind more than was before. How few turn *Lutherans,* or *Calviniſts,* or *Roman Catholicks,* from the religion either of their country or intereſt? Poſſibly two or three weak or intereſted, fantaſtick and eaſy, prejudicate and effeminate underſtandings paſs from church to church, upon grounds as weak as thoſe for which formerly they did diſſent; and the ſame arguments are good or bad, as exterior accidents or interior appetites ſhall determine. I deny not but for great cauſes ſome opinions are to

be

be quitted: but when I conſider how few do forſake any, and when any do, oftentimes they chuſe the wrong ſide, and they that take the righter do it ſo by contingency, and the advantage alſo is ſo little; I believe that the triumphant perſons have but ſmall reaſon to pleaſe themſelves in gaining proſelytes, ſince their purchaſe is ſo ſmall, and as inconſiderable to their triumph, as it is unprofitable to them who change for the worſe, or for the better upon unworthy motives. In all this there is nothing certain, nothing noble. But he that follows the work of God, that is, labours to gain ſouls, not to a ſect and a ſubdiviſion, but to the Chriſtian religion, that is, to the faith and obedience of the Lord JESUS, hath a promiſe to be aſſiſted and rewarded: and all thoſe that go to Heaven are the purchaſe of ſuch undertakings, the fruit of ſuch culture and labours; for it is only a holy life that lands us there.

AND now (my Lord) I have told you my reaſons, I ſhall not be aſhamed to ſay that I am weary and toiled with rowing up and down in the ſeas of queſtions which the intereſts of *Chriſtendom* have commenced; and in many propoſitions of which (I am heartily perſuaded) I am not certain that I am not deceived: and I find that men are moſt confident of thoſe articles which they can ſo little prove, that they never made queſtions of them. But I am moſt certain, that by living in the religion and fear of God, in obedience to the king, in the charities and duties of communion with my ſpiritual guides, in juſtice and love with all the world in their ſeveral proportions, I ſhall not fail of that end which is perfective of human nature, and which will never be obtained by diſputing.

HERE, therefore, when I had fixed my thoughts upon ſad apprehenſions that God was removing our candleſtick, (for why ſhould he not, when men themſelves put the light out, and pull the ſtars from their orbs, ſo haſtening the day of God's judgment?)

I was deſirous to put a portion of the holy fire into a repoſitory, which might help to re-inkindle the incenſe, when it ſhall pleaſe God religion ſhall return, and all his ſervants ſing [*In convertendo captivitatem Sion*] with a voice of euchariſt.

BUT now (my Lord) although the reſults and iſſues of my retirements and ſtudy do naturally run towards you, and carry no excuſe for their forwardneſs, but the confidence that your goodneſs rejects no emanation of a great affection; yet in this addreſs I am apt to promiſe to myſelf a fair interpretation, becauſe I bring you an inſtrument and auxiliaries to that devotion whereby we believe you are dear to God, and know that you are to good men. And if theſe little ſparks of holy fire, which I have heaped together, do not give life to your prepared and already-enkindled ſpirit; yet they will ſometimes help to entertain a thought, to actuate a paſſion, to employ and hallow a fancy, and put the body of your piety into fermentation, by preſenting you with the circumſtances and parts of ſuch meditations which are ſymbolical to thoſe of your daily office, and which are the *paſſe-temps* of your ſevereſt hours. My Lord, I am not ſo vain to think, that in the matter of devotion, and the rules of juſtice and religion, (which is the buſineſs of our life) I can add any thing to your heap of excellent things: but I have known and felt comfort by reading, or hearing from other perſons, what I knew myſelf; and it was unactive upon my ſpirit, till it was made vigorous and effective from without. And in this ſenſe I thought I might not be uſeleſs and impertinent.

MY Lord, I deſigned to be inſtrumental to the ſalvation of all perſons that ſhall read my book: but unleſs (becauſe ſouls are equal in their ſubſtance, and equally redeemed) we are obliged to wiſh the ſalvation of all men, with the greateſt, that is, with equal deſires, I did intend in the higheſt manner I could to expreſs how much I am to pay to you, by doing the offices of that duty which, although you leſs need, yet I was moſt bound to pay, even the duties and charities of religion; having this deſign, that when poſterity (for certainly they will learn to diſtinguiſh things and perſons) ſhall ſee your honoured name employed to ſeparate and reſcue theſe papers from contempt, they may with the more confidence expect in them ſomething fit to be offered to ſuch a perſonage. My Lord, I have my end, if I ſerve God and you, and the needs and intereſts of ſouls; but ſhall think my return full of reward, if you ſhall give me pardon, and put me into your litanies, and account me in the number of your relatives and ſervants: for indeed (my Lord) I am moſt heartily,

Your Lordſhip's moſt affectionate

and moſt obliged ſervant,

JER. TAYLOR.

THE

PREFACE.

CHRISTIAN religion hath ſo many exterior advantages to its reputation and advancement, from the author and from the miniſters, from the fountain of its origination, and the chanels of conveyance, (GOD being the author, the Word Incarnate being the great doctor and preacher of it, his Life and Death being its conſignation, the Holy Spirit being the great argument and demonſtration of it, and the Apoſtles the organs and conduits of its diſſemination) that it were glorious beyond all oppoſition and diſparagement, though we ſhould not conſider the excellency of its matter, and the certainty of its probation, and the efficacy of its power, and the perfection and rare accompliſhment of its deſign. But I conſider that Chriſtianity is therefore very little underſtood, becauſe it is reproached upon that pretence which its very being and deſign does infinitely confute. It is eſteemed to be a religion contrary in its principles, or in its precepts, to that wiſdom [a] whereby the world is governed, and commonwealths increaſe, and greatneſs is acquired, and kings go to war, and our ends of intereſt are ſerved and promoted; and that it is an inſtitution ſo wholly in order to another world, that it does not at all communicate with this, neither in its end nor in its diſcourſes, neither in the policy nor in the philoſophy. And therefore as the doctrine of the croſs was entertained at firſt in ſcorn by the Greeks, in offence and indignation by the Jews; ſo is the whole ſyſtem and collective body of Chriſtian philoſophy eſteemed imprudent by the politicks of the world, and flat and irrational by ſome men of excellent wit, and ſublime diſcourſe; who, becauſe the permiſſions and dictates of natural, true and eſſential reaſon are at no hand to be contradicted by any ſuperinduced diſcipline, think, that whatſoever ſeems contrary to their reaſon is alſo violent to our nature, and offers indeed a good to us, but by ways unnatural and unreaſonable. And I think they are very great ſtrangers to the preſent affairs and perſuaſions of the world, who know not that Chriſtianity is very much undervalued upon this principle, men inſenſibly becoming unchriſtian, becauſe they are perſuaded that much of the greatneſs of the world is contra-

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[a] ———————Fatis accede Deíſque,
Et cole felices, miſeros fuge. Sidera terrâ
Ut diſtant, & flamma mari, ſic utile recto.
Sceptrorum vis tota perit, ſi pendere juſta
Incipit; evertítque arces reſpectus honeſti.
Libertas ſcelerum eſt quæ regna inviſa tuetur,
Sublatúſque modus gladiis. Facere omnia ſævè
Non impunè licet, niſi dum facis. Exeat aulâ
Qui volet eſſe pius: virtus & ſumma poteſtas
Non coëunt. Semper metuet quem ſæva pudebunt.

LUCAN. l. 8.

dicted by the religion. But certainly no miſtake can be greater. For the Holy Jeſus, by his doctrine, did inſtruct the underſtandings of men, made their appetites more obedient, their reaſon better principled, and argumentative with leſs deception, their wills apter for noble choices, their governments more prudent, their preſent felicities greater, their hopes more excellent, and that duration which was intended to them by their Creator he made manifeſt to be a ſtate of glory. And all this was to be done and obtained reſpectively by the ways of reaſon and nature, ſuch as God gave to man then when at firſt he deſigned him to a noble and immortal condition; the Chriſtian law being, for the ſubſtance of it, nothing but the [b] reſtitution and perfection of the law of nature. And this I ſhall repreſent in all the parts of its natural progreſſion; and I intend it not only as a preface to the following books, but for an introduction and invitation to the whole religion.

2. FOR God,[c] when he made the firſt emanations of his eternal Being, and created man as the end of all his productions here below, deſigned him to an end, ſuch as himſelf was pleaſed to chuſe for him, and gave him abilities proportionable to attain that End. God gave Man a reaſonable and an intelligent nature. And to this noble nature he deſigned as noble an end; he intended man ſhould live well and happily, in proportion to his appetites, and in the reaſonable doing and enjoying thoſe good things which God made him naturally to deſire. For ſince God gave him proper and peculiar appetites with proportion to their own objects, and gave him reaſon and abilities, not only to perceive the ſapidneſs and reliſh of thoſe objects, but alſo to make reflex acts upon ſuch perceptions, and to perceive that he did perceive, which was a rare inſtrument of pleaſure and pain reſpectively; it is but reaſonable to think, that God, who created him in mercy, did not only proportion a being to his nature, but did alſo provide ſatiſfaction for all thoſe appetites and deſires which himſelf had created and put into him. For if he had not, then the being of a man had been nothing but a ſtate of perpetual affliction, and the creation of men had been the greateſt unmercifulneſs in the world; diſproportionate objects being mere inſtances of affliction, and thoſe unſatiſfied appetites nothing elſe but inſtruments of torment.

3. THEREFORE, that this intendment of God and nature ſhould be effected, that is, that man ſhould become happy, it is naturally neceſſary that all his regular appetites ſhould have an object appointed them, in the fruition of which, felicity muſt conſiſt. Becauſe nothing is felicity, but when what was reaſonably or orderly deſired is poſſeſſed: for the having what is not deſired, or the wanting of what we deſired, or the deſiring what we ſhould not, are the ſeveral conſtituent parts of infelicity; and it can have no other conſtruction.

4. NOW the firſt appetite man had in order to his great end, was, to be as perfect as he could; that is, to be as like [d] the beſt thing he knew, as

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[b] Οὐκ Ἰουδαϊσμὸς, οὐχ αἵρεσις τις ἑτέρα, (ſcil. ante diluvium) ἀλλ', ὡς εἰπεῖν, ἡ νῦν πίστις ἐμπολιτευομένη ἐν τῇ ἁγίᾳ τοῦ Θεοῦ καθολικῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, ἀπ' ἀρχῆς οὖσα, καὶ ὕστερον πάλιν ἀποκαλυφθεῖσα. Epiph. Panar. l. 1. tom. num. 5.

Nihil autem magis congruit cum hominis natura quam Chriſti Philoſophia, quæ penè nihil aliud agit quàm ut naturam collapſam ſuæ reſtituat innocentiæ. ERASM. in 11. cap. Matth.

[c] Ratio Dei Deus eſt humanis rebus conſulens, quæ cauſa eſt hominibus bene beatéque vivendi, ſi non conceſſum ſibi munus à ſummo Deo negligant. CHALCID. ad Timæ. 16.

[d] Ἐν τοῖς φύσει δεῖ τὸ βέλτιστον, ἐὰν ἐνδέχηται, ὑπάρχειν μᾶλλον· ἡ φύσις ἀεὶ ποιεῖ τῶν ἐνδεχομένων τὸ βέλτιστον. ARIST. de Cœlo.

his nature and condition would permit. And although by Adam's ſancy and affection to his wiſe, and by God's appointing fruit for him, we ſee the lower appetites were firſt provided for: yet the firſt appetite which man had as he diſtinguiſhes from lower creatures, was to be like God; (for by that the devil tempted him;) and in order to that, he had naturally ſufficient inſtruments and abilities. For although by being abuſed with the devil's ſophiſtry he choſe an incompetent inſtrument; yet becauſe it is naturally certain, that love is the greateſt aſſimilation of the object and the faculty, Adam, by loving God, might very well approach nearer him according as he could. And it was natural to Adam to love God, who was his Father, his Creator, the Fountain of all good to him, and of excellency in himſelf: and whatſoever is underſtood to be ſuch, it is as natural for us to love, and we do it for the ſame reaſons for which we love any thing elſe; and we cannot love for any other reaſon, but for one or both theſe in their proportion apprehended.

5. But becauſe God is not only excellent and good, but by being Supreme Lord hath power to give us what laws he pleaſes; obedience to his laws therefore becomes naturally, but conſequently, neceſſary, when God decrees them, becauſe he does make himſelf an enemy to all rebels and diſobedient ſons, by affixing penalties to the tranſgreſſors. And thereſore diſobedience is naturally inconſiſtent, not only with love to ourſelves, becauſe it brings afflictions upon us; but with love to our Supreme Lawgiver: it is contrary to the natural love we bear to God ſo underſtood, becauſe it makes him our enemy, whom naturally and reaſonably we cannot but love; and therefore alſo oppoſite to the firſt appetite of man, which is to be like God, in order to which we have naturally no inſtrument but love, and the conſequents of love.

6. And this is not at all to be contradicted by a pretence that a man does not naturally know there is a God. Becauſe by the ſame inſtrument by which we know that the world began, or that there was a firſt man, by the ſame we know that there is a God, and that he alſo knew it too, and converſed with that God, and received laws from him. For if we diſcourſe of man, and the law of nature, and the firſt appetites, and the firſt reaſons, abſtractedly, and in their own complexions, and without all their relations and proviſions, we diſcourſe jejunely, and falſly, and unprofitably. For as man did not come by chance, nor by himſelf, but from the univerſal Cauſe; ſo we know that this univerſal Cauſe did do all that was neceſſary for him in order to the end he appointed him. And therefore to begin the hiſtory of a man's reaſon, and the philoſophy of his nature, it is not neceſſary for us to place him there, where without the conſideration of a [d] God, or ſociety, or law, or order, he is to be placed, that is, in the ſtate of a thing rather than a perſon: but God by revelations and ſcriptures having helped us with propoſitions and parts of ſtory relating man's firſt and real condition, from thence we can take the ſureſt account, and make the moſt perfect derivation of propoſitions.

7. From this firſt appetite of man to be like God, and the firſt natural inſtrument of it, love, deſcend all the firſt obligations of religion. In

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[d] Οὐ γάρ ἐστιν εὑρεῖν τῆς δικαιοσύνης ἄλλην ἀρχὴν, οὐδὲ ἄλλην γένεσιν, ἢ τὴν ἐκ τοῦ Διός, καὶ τὴν ἐκ τῆς κοινῆς φύσεως· ἐντεῦθεν γὰρ δεῖ πᾶν τὸ τοιοῦτον ἀρχὴν ἔχειν, εἰ μέλλομέν τι ἐρεῖν περὶ ἀγαθῶν καὶ κακῶν. Chrysip. de Diis, 3.

which there are ſome parts more immediately and naturally expreſſive, others by ſuperinduction and poſitive command. Natural religion I call ſuch actions, which either are proper to the nature of the thing we worſhip; ſuch as are giving praiſes to him, and ſpeaking excellent things of him, and praying to him for ſuch things as we need, and a readineſs to obey him in whatſoever he commands: or elſe ſuch as are expreſſions proportionate to our natures that make them; that is, giving to God the beſt things we have, and by which we can declare our eſteem of his honour and excellency; aſſigning ſome portion of our time, of our eſtate, the labours of our perſons, the increaſe of our ſtore, [e] firſt-fruits, ſacrifices, oblations, and tithes; which therefore God rewards, becauſe he hath allowed to our natures no other inſtruments of doing him honour, but by giving to him in ſome manner, which we believe honourable and apt, the beſt things we have.

8. The next appetite a man hath, is, to beget one like himſelf; God having implanted that appetite into man for the propagation of mankind, and given it as his firſt bleſſing and permiſſion, *It is not good for man to be alone*; and, *Increaſe and multiply*. And [f] Artemidorus had ſomething of this doctrine, when he reckons theſe two laws of nature, *Deum colere, mulieribus vinci*; to worſhip God, and to be overcome by women, in proportion to his two firſt appetites of nature, to be like God, and to have another like himſelf. This appetite God only made regular by his firſt proviſions of ſatisfaction. He gave to man a woman for a wife, for the companion of his ſorrows, for the inſtrument of multiplication; and yet provided him but of one, and intimated he ſhould have no more. Which we do not only know by an after-revelation, the holy Jeſus having declared it to have been God's purpoſe; but Adam himſelf underſtood it, as appears by his firſt diſcourſes at the entertainment of his new bride. And although there were permiſſions afterward of polygamy, yet there might have been a greater pretence of neceſſity at firſt, becauſe of enlarging and multiplying fountains rather than chanels; and three or four at firſt would have enlarged mankind by greater proportion than many more afterwards: little diſtances near the centre make greater and larger figures than when they part near the fringes of the circle. And therefore thoſe after-permiſſions were to avoid a greater evil; not a hallowing of the licenſe, but a reproach of their infirmity. And certainly the multiplication of wives is contrariant to that deſign of love and endearment which God intended at firſt between man and wife.

[h] - - - - - *Connubia mille:*
Non illis generis nexus, non pignora curæ,
Sed numero languet pietas - - - -

And amongſt them that have many wives, [i] "the relation and neceſſi-
"tude is trifling and looſe, and they are all equally contemptible; becauſe
"the mind entertains no loves or union, where the object is multiplied,
"and

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[e] Σπένδειν, καὶ θύειν, καὶ ἀπάρχεσθαι κατὰ τὰ πάτρια, ἑκάστοις προσήκει καθαρῶς, καὶ μὴ ἐπισεσυρμένως, μηδὲ ἀμελῶς, μηδὲ γλισχρῶς, μηδὲ ὑπὲρ δύναμιν. Epict. c. 38.

[f] De Somn. ſign.

[g] Gen. ii. 24. [h] Claud. bell. Gildon. [i] Saluſt. Jugurth.
—οὐδὲ γὰρ καλὸν δυοῖν γυναικοῖν ἄνδρ' ἕνα ἡνίας ἔχειν
'Αλλ' εἰς μίαν βλέποντες εὐναίαν κύπειν Στέργουσιν, ὅστις μὴ κακῶς οἰκεῖν θέλει. Eurip. Andr.

“ and the act unfixed and diſtracted.” So that this having a great commodity in order to man’s great end, that is, of living well and happily, ſeems to be intended by God in the nature of things and inſtruments natural and reaſonable towards man’s end; and therefore to be a law, if not natural, yet at leaſt poſitive, and ſuper-induced at firſt in order to man’s proper end. However, by the proviſion which God made for ſatisfaction of this appetite of nature, all thoſe actions which deflect and err from the order of this end are unnatural and inordinate, and not permitted by the conceſſion of God, nor the order of the thing; but ſuch actions only which naturally produce the end of this proviſion and ſatisfaction, are natural, regular, and good.

9. But by this means man grew into a ſociety and a family, and having productions of his own kind, which he naturally deſired, and therefore loved, he was conſequently obliged to aſſiſt them in order to their end, that they might become like him, that is, perfect men, and brought up to the ſame ſtate. And they alſo by being at firſt impotent, and for ever after [k] beneficiaries and obliged perſons, are for the preſent ſubject to their parents, and for ever after bound to duty; becauſe there is nothing which they can do, that can directly produce ſo great a benefit to the parents, as they have to the children. From hence naturally deſcend all thoſe mutual obligations between parents and children, which are inſtruments of protection and benefit on the one ſide, and duty and obedience on the other: and all theſe to be expreſſed according as either of their neceſſities ſhall require, or any ſtipulation or contract ſhall appoint, or ſhall be ſuperinduced by any poſitive laws of God or man.

10. In natural deſcent of the generations of man, this one firſt family was multiplied ſo much, that for conveniency they were forced to divide their dwellings: and this they did by families eſpecially, the great father being the major-domo to all his minors. And this diviſion of dwellings, altho’ it kept the ſame form and power in the ſeveral families which were in the original, yet it introduced ſome new neceſſities, which, although they varied in the inſtance, yet were to be determined by ſuch inſtruments of reaſon which were given to us at firſt upon foreſight of the publick neceſſities of the world. And when the families came to be divided, that their common parent being extinct, no maſter of a family had power over another maſter; the rights of ſuch men and their natural power became equal, becauſe there was nothing to diſtinguiſh them, and becauſe they might do equal injury, and invade each other’s poſſeſſions, and diſturb their peace, and ſurprize their liberty. And ſo alſo was their power of doing benefit equal, though not the ſame in kind. But God, who made man a ſociable creature, becauſe he knew it *was not good for him to be alone*, ſo diſpenſed the abilities and poſſibilities of doing good, that in ſomething or other every man might need or be benefited by [l] every man. Therefore that they might purſue the end of nature, and their own appetites of living well and happily, they were forced to conſent to ſuch contracts

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[k] Nihil enim eſt liberis proprium, quod non parentum ſit prius, qui aut de ſuo dederant, aut acquirendi præbuerant cauſas. Philo.

[l] Animus inveniet liberalitatis materiam, etiam inter anguſtias paupertatis. Senec. de Benefic. c. 1.

which might ſecure and ſupply to every one thoſe good things, without which he could not live happily. Both the appetites, the iraſcible and the concupiſcible, fear of evil, and deſire of benefit, were the ſufficient endearments of contracts, of ſocieties, and republicks.[m] And upon this ſtock were decreed and hallowed all thoſe propoſitions, without which bodies politick and ſocieties of men cannot be happy. And in the tranſaction of theſe, many accidents daily happening, it grew ſtill reaſonable, that is, neceſſary to the end of living happily, that all thoſe after-obligations ſhould be obſerved with the proportion of the ſame faith and endearment which bound the firſt contracts. For though the natural law be always the ſame, yet ſome parts of it are primely neceſſary, others by ſuppoſition and accident; and both are of the ſame neceſſity, that is, equally neceſſary in the ſeveral caſes. Thus, to obey a king is as neceſſary and naturally reaſonable, as to obey a father, that is, ſuppoſing there be a king, as it is certain naturally a man cannot be; but a father muſt be ſuppoſed. If it be made neceſſary that I promiſe, it is alſo neceſſary that I perform it; for elſe I ſhall return to that inconvenience which I ſought to avoid when I made the promiſe. And though the inſtance be very far removed from the firſt neceſſities and accidents of our prime being and production; yet the reaſon ſtill purſues us, and natural reaſon reaches up to the very laſt minutes, and orders the moſt remote particulars of our well-being.

11. THUS, Not to ſteal, Not to commit adultery, Not to kill, are very reaſonable proſecutions of the great end of nature, of living well and happily. But when a man is ſaid to ſteal, when to be a murderer, when to be inceſtuous, the natural law doth not teach in all caſes: but when the ſuper-induced conſtitution hath determined the particular law, by natural reaſon we are obliged to obſerve it; becauſe though the civil power makes the inſtance, and determines the particular, yet right reaſon makes the ſanction, and paſſes the obligation. The law of nature makes the major propoſition; but the civil conſtitution, or any ſuper-induced law, makes the aſſumption in a practical ſyllogiſm. To kill is not murther; but to kill ſuch perſons whom I ought not. It was not murther, among the Jews, to kill a man-ſlayer before he entred a city of refuge: to kill the ſame man after his entry, was. Among the Romans,[n] to kill an adultereſs or a raviſher in the act was lawful; with us it is murther. Murther, and inceſt, and theft, always were unlawful; but the ſame actions were not always the ſame crimes. And it is juſt with theſe as with diſobedience, which was ever criminal; but the ſame thing was not eſtimated to be diſobedience, nor indeed could any thing be ſo, till the ſanction of a ſuperior had given the inſtance of obedience. So for theft: To catch fiſh in rivers, or deer or pigeons, when they were eſteemed *feræ naturæ*, of a wild condition, and ſo *primò occupantis*, was lawful; juſt as to take or kill badgers or foxes, and bevers and lions: but when the laws had appropriated rivers, and divided ſhoars, and imparked deer, and houſed pigeons, it became theft to take them without leave. To deſpoil the Egyptians was not theft, when God, who is the Lord of all poſſeſſions, had bidden the Iſraelites; but to do ſo now were the breach of the natural law, and of a

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[m] Commoda præterea patriæ tibi prima putare. LUCIL.

[n] A Gellius, l. 10. 23.

divine commandment. For the natural law (I ſaid) is eternal in the ſanction, but variable in the inſtance and the expreſſion. And indeed the laws of nature are very few: they were but two at firſt, and but two at laſt, when the great change was made from families to kingdoms. The firſt is, "to do duty to God:" the ſecond is, "to do to ourſelves and our "neighbours," that is, to our neighbours as to ourſelves, all thoſe actions which naturally, reaſonably, or by inſtitution or emergent neceſſity are in order to a happy life. Our bleſſed Saviour reduces all the law to theſe two; 1. *Love the Lord with all thy heart:* 2. *Love thy neighbour as thyſelf.* In which I obſerve, in verification of my former[°] diſcourſe, that love is the firſt natural bond of duty to God, and ſo alſo it is to our neighbour. And therefore all intercourſe with our neighbour was founded in, and derived from, the two greateſt endearments of love in the world: a man came to have a neighbour by being a huſband, and a father.

12. So that ſtill there are but two great natural laws binding us in our relations to God and man; we remaining eſſentially, and by the very deſign of creation, obliged to God in all, and to our neighbours in the proportions of equality, [as thyſelf;] that is, that he be permitted and promoted in the order to his living well and happily, as thou art. For love being there not an affection, but the duty that reſults from the firſt natural bonds of love, which began neighbourhood, ſignifies juſtice, equality, and ſuch reaſonable proceedings which are in order to our common end of a happy life, and is the ſame with that other, *Whatſoever ye would that men ſhould do to you, do you to them:* and that is certainly the greateſt and moſt effective love, becauſe it beſt promotes that excellent end which God deſigned for our natural perfection. All other particulars are but proſecutions of theſe two, that is, of the order of nature: ſave only that there is a third law, which is a part of love too, it is ſelf-love, and therefore is rather ſuppoſed than at the firſt expreſſed, becauſe a man is reaſonably to be preſumed to have in him a ſufficient ſtock of ſelf-love, to ſerve the ends of his nature and creation: and that is, that man demean and uſe his own body in that decorum which is moſt orderly and proportionate to his perfective end of a happy life; which Chriſtian religion calls [ſobriety.] And it is a prohibition of thoſe uncharitable, ſelf-deſtroying ſins of drunkenneſs, gluttony, and inordinate and unreaſonable manners of luſt, deſtructive of nature's intendments, or at leaſt no ways promoting them. For it is naturally lawful to ſatisfie any of theſe deſires, when the deſire does not carry the ſatisfaction beyond the deſign of nature, that is, to the violation of health, or that happy living which conſiſts in obſerving thoſe contracts which mankind thought neceſſary to be made in order to the ſame great end; unleſs where God hath ſuperinduced a reſtraint, making an inſtance of ſobriety to become an act of religion, or to paſs into an expreſſion of duty to him. But then it is not a natural, but a religious ſobriety; and may be inſtanced in faſting or abſtinence from ſome kinds of meat, or ſome times or manners of conjugation. Theſe are the three natural laws deſcribed in the Chriſtian doctrine, that *we live,* 1. *godly,* 2. *ſoberly,* 3. *righteouſly.* And the particulars of the firſt are ordinarily to be determined by God immediately, or his vicegerents, and by reaſon obſerving and complying with the accidents of the world, and diſpoſitions of things

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[°] Numb. iv.

and perſons: the ſecond by the natural order of nature, by ſenſe and by experience: and the third by human contracts and civil laws.

13. The reſult of the preceding diſcourſe is this: man, who was deſigned by God to a happy life, was fitted with ſufficient means to attain that end, ſo that he might, if he would, be happy; but he was a free agent, and ſo might chuſe. And it is poſſible that man may fail of his end, and be made miſerable, by God, by himſelf, or by his neighbour; or by the ſame perſons he may be made happy in the ſame proportions as they relate to him. If God be angry or diſobeyed, he becomes our enemy, and ſo we fail: if our neighbour be injured or impeded in the direct order to his happy living, he hath equal right againſt us as we againſt him, and ſo we fail that way: and if I be intemperate, I grow ſick and worſted in ſome faculty, and ſo I am unhappy in myſelf. But if I obey God, and do right to my neighbour, and confine myſelf within the order and deſign of nature, I am ſecured in all ends of bleſſing in which I can be aſſiſted by theſe three, that is, by all my relatives; there being no end of man deſigned by God in order to his happineſs, to which theſe are not proper and ſufficient inſtruments. Man can have no other relations, no other diſcourſes, no other regular appetites, but what are ſerved and ſatisfied by religion, by ſobriety, and by juſtice. There is nothing whereby we can relate to any perſon, who can hurt us, or do us benefit, but is provided for in theſe three. Theſe therefore are all, and theſe are ſufficient.

14. But now it is to be enquired, how theſe become laws obliging us to ſin if we tranſgreſs, even before any poſitive law of God be ſuperinduced: for elſe, how can it be a natural law, that is, a law obliging all nations and all perſons, even ſuch who have had no intercourſe with God by way of ſpecial revelation, and have loſt all memory of tradition; for either ſuch perſons, whatſoever they do, ſhall obtain that end which God deſigned for them in their nature, that is, a happy life according to the duration of an immortal nature; or elſe they ſhall periſh for prevaricating of theſe laws. And yet if they were no laws to them, nor decreed and made ſacred by ſanction, promulgation, and appendent penalties, they could not ſo oblige them as to become the rule of virtue or vice.

15. When God gave us natural reaſon, that is, ſufficient ability to do all that ſhould be neceſſary to live well and happily, he alſo knew that ſome appetites might be irregular, juſt as ſome ſtomachs would be ſick, and ſome eyes blind; and a man being a voluntary agent, might chuſe an ill with as little reaſon as the angels of darkneſs did, that is, they might do unreaſonably becauſe they would do ſo: and then a man's underſtanding ſhould ſerve him but as an inſtrument of miſchief, and his will carry him on to it with a blind and impotent deſire; and then the beauteous order of creatures would be diſcompoſed by unreaſonable and unconſidering or evil perſons. And therefore it was moſt neceſſary that man ſhould have his appetites confined within the deſigns of nature, and the order to his end: for a will without the reſtraint of a ſuperior power, or a perfect underſtanding, is like a knife in a child's hand, as apt for miſchief as for uſe. Therefore it pleaſed God to bind man by the ſignature of laws, to obſerve thoſe great natural reaſons, without which man could not arrive at the great End of God's deſigning, that is, he could not live well and hap-

pily. God therefore made it the firſt law to love him, and, which is all one, to worſhip him, to ſpeak honourably of him, and to expreſs it in all our ways, the chief whereof is obedience. And this we find in the inſtance of that poſitive precept which God gave to Adam, and which was nothing but a particular of the great general. But in this there is little ſcruple; becauſe it is not imaginable that God would in any period of time not take care that himſelf be honoured, his glory being the very end why he made man: and therefore it muſt be certain, that this did at the very firſt paſs into a law.

16. BUT concerning this and other things, which are uſually called natural laws, I conſider, that the things themſelves were ſuch, that the doing them was therefore declared to be a law, becauſe the not doing them did certainly bring a puniſhment proportionable to the crime; that is, 1. a juſt deficiency from the end of creation, from a good and happy life; 2. and alſo a puniſhment of a guilty conſcience: which I do not underſtand to be a fear of hell, or of any ſupervening penalty, unleſs the conſcience be accidentally inſtructed into ſuch fears by experience or revelation; but it is a *malum in genere rationis*, a diſeaſe or evil of the reaſonable faculty: that, as there is a rare content in the diſcourſes of reaſon, there is a ſatisfaction, an acquieſcency, like that of creatures in their proper place, and definite actions, and competent perfections; ſo in prevaricating the natural law there is a diſſatisfaction, a diſeaſe, a removing out of the place, an unquietneſs of ſpirit, even when there is no monitor or obſerver. *Adeò facinora atque flagitia ſua ipſi quoque in ſupplicium verterant. Neque fruſtrà præſtantiſſimus* [Plato] *ſapientiæ firmare ſolitus eſt, ſi recludantur tyrannorum mentes, poſſe aſpici laniatus & ictus, quandò ut corpora verberibus, ità ſævitiâ, libidine, malis conſultis animus dilaceretur*, ſaid [p] Tacitus out of [q] Plato, whoſe words are; Ἀλλὰ πολλάκις τοῦ μεγάλου βασιλέως ἐπιλαβόμενος, ἢ ἄλλου ὁτιοῦν βασιλέως ἢ δυνάστου, κατεῖδεν οὐδὲν ὑγιὲς ὂν τῆς ψυχῆς, ἀλλὰ διαμεμαστιγωμένην, καὶ οὐλῶν μεστήν, ὑπὸ ἐπιορκιῶν καὶ ἀδικίας. It is naturally certain, that the cruelty of tyrants torments themſelves, and is a hook in their noſtrils, and a [r] ſcourge to their ſpirit; and the pungency of forbidden luſt is truly a thorn in the fleſh, full of anguiſh and ſecret vexation.

> *Quid, demens, manifeſta negas? En, pectus inuſtæ*
> *Deformant maculæ, vitiiſque inolevit imago*,

ſaid Claudian of Rufinus. And it is certain to us, and verified by the experience and obſervation of all wiſe nations, though not naturally demonſtrable, that this ſecret puniſhment is ſharpned and promoted in degrees by the hand of heaven, the finger of the ſame hand that writ the law in our underſtandings.

17. BUT the prevarications of the natural law have alſo their portion of a ſpecial puniſhment, beſides the ſcourge of an unquiet ſpirit. The man that diſturbs his neighbour's reſt meets with diſturbances himſelf: and ſince I have naturally no more power over my neighbour than he hath over me, (unleſs he deſcended naturally from me,) he hath an equal privilege to de-

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[p] Annal. 6.

[q] In Gorgia, ſub finem.

[r] Lucian. in Catapl. " Rhadamanthus, Ὁπόσα ἄν τις ὑμῶν πονηρὰ ἐργάσ-" ηται παρὰ τὸν βίον, καθ' ἕκαστον αὐτῶν ἀφανῆ στίγματα ἐπὶ τῆς ψυχῆς περιφέρει.

fend himſelf, and to ſecure his quiet, by diſturbing the order of my happy living, as I do his. And this equal permiſſion is certainly ſo great a ſanction and ſignature of the law of juſtice, that in the juſt proportion of my receding from the reaſonable proſecution of my end, in the ſame proportion and degree my own infelicity is become certain; and this in ſeveral degrees up to the loſs of all, that is, of life it ſelf. For where no farther duration or differing ſtate is known, there death is ordinarily eſteemed the greateſt infelicity: where ſomething beyond it is known, there alſo it is known that ſuch prevarication makes that farther duration to be unhappy. So that an affront is naturally puniſhed by an affront, the loſs of a tooth with the loſs of a tooth, of an eye with an eye, the violent taking away of another man's goods by the loſing my own. For I am liable to as great an evil as I infer, and naturally he is not unjuſt that inflicts it. And he that is drunk is a fool or a mad-man for the time, and that is his puniſhment, and declares the law and the ſin: and ſo in proportions to the tranſgreſſions of ſobriety. But when the firſt of the natural laws is violated, that is, God is diſobeyed or diſhonoured; or when the greateſt of natural evils is done to our neighbour, then death became the penalty: to the firſt, in the firſt period of the world; to the ſecond, at the reſtitution of the world, that is, at the beginning of the ſecond period. He that did attempt to kill, from the beginning of ages might have been reſiſted and killed, if the aſſaulted could not elſe be ſafe: but he that killed actually, as Cain did, could not be killed himſelf, till the law was made in Noah's time; becauſe there was no perſon living that had equal power on him, and had been naturally injured. While the thing was doing, the aſſailant and the aſſailed had equal power: but when it was done, and one was killed, he that had the power or right of killing his murtherer is now dead, and his power is extinguiſhed with the man. But after the flood, the power was put into the hand of ſome truſted perſon, who was to take the forfeiture. And thus I conceive theſe natural reaſons, in order to their proper end, became laws, and bound faſt by the band of annexed and conſequent penalties: *Metum prorſus & noxam conſcientiæ pro fœdere habere*, ſaid Tacitus. And that fully explains my ſenſe.

18. AND thus death was brought into the world; not by every prevarication of any of the laws, by any inſtance of unreaſonableneſs: for in proportion to the evil of the action would be the evil of the ſuffering, which in all caſes would not arrive at death; as every injury, every intemperance ſhould not have been capital. But ſome things were made evil by a ſuperinduced prohibition, as eating one kind of fruit; ſome things were evil by inordination: the firſt was morally evil, the ſecond was evil naturally. Now the firſt ſort brought in death by a prime ſanction; the ſecond, by degrees and variety of accidents. For every diſobedience and tranſgreſſion of that law which God made as the inſtance of our doing him honour and obedience, is an integral violation of all the band between him and us; it does not grow in degrees according to the inſtance and ſubject-matter; for it is as great a diſobedience to eat when he hath forbidden us, as to offer to climb to heaven with an ambitious tower. And therefore it is but reaſonable for us to fear, and juſt in him to make us at once to ſuffer death, which is the greateſt of natural evils, for diſobeying him. To which

death we may arrive by degrees, in doing actions againſt the reaſonableneſs of ſobriety and juſtice, but cannot arrive by degrees of diſobedience to God, or irreligion: becauſe every ſuch act deſerves the worſt of things; but the other naturally deſerves no greater evil than the proportion of their own inordination, till God, by a ſuperinduced law, hath made them alſo to become acts of diſobedience as well as inordination; that is, morally evil, as well as naturally. For, *By the law* (ſaith St. Paul) *ſin became exceeding ſinful*,[s] that is, had a new degree of obliquity added to it. But this was not at firſt. For therefore ſaith St. Paul, *Before* (or, *until*) *the law, ſin was in the world; but ſin is not imputed when there is no law:*[t] meaning, that thoſe ſins which were forbidden by Moſes's law, were actually in the manners of men, and the cuſtoms of the world; but they were not imputed, that is, to ſuch perſonal puniſhments and conſequent evils which afterwards thoſe ſins did introduce: becauſe thoſe ſins which were only evil by inordination, and diſcompoſure of the order of man's end of living happily, were made unlawful upon no other ſtock, but that God would have man to live happily, and therefore gave him reaſon to effect that end; and if a man became unreaſonable, and did things contrary to his end, it was impoſſible for him to be happy, that is, he ſhould be miſerable in proportion. But in that degree and manner of evil they were imputed; and that was ſanction enough to raiſe natural reaſon up to the conſtitution of a law.

19. Thirdly, the law of nature being thus decreed and made obligatory, was a ſufficient inſtrument of making man happy, that is, in producing the end of his creation. But as Adam had evil diſcourſes and irregular appetites before he fell, (for they made him fall,) and as the angels, who had no original ſin, yet they choſe evil at the firſt, when it was wholly arbitrary in them to do ſo or otherwiſe; ſo did man. *God made man upright, and he ſought out many inventions.* Some men were ambitious, and by incompetent means would make their brethren to be their ſervants; ſome were covetous, and would uſurp that which by an earlier diſtinction had paſſed into private poſſeſſion: and then they made new principles, and new diſcourſes, ſuch which were reaſonable in order to their private indirect ends, but not to the publick benefit, and therefore would prove unreaſonable and miſchievous to themſelves at laſt.

20. And when once they broke the order of creation, it is eaſy to underſtand by what neceſſities of conſequence they ran into many ſins and irrational proceedings. Ælian[u] tells us of a nation who had a law binding them to beat their parents to death with clubs, when they lived to a decrepit and unprofitable age. The Perſian magi mingled with their mothers and all their neareſt relatives. And by a law of the Venetians, (ſays Bodinus[w]) a ſon in baniſhment was redeemed from the ſentence, if he killed his baniſhed father. And in Homer's[x] time there were a ſort of pirates who profeſſed robbing, and did account it honourable. But the great prevarications of the laws of nature were in the firſt commandment.[y] When the

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[s] Rom. vii. 13.

[t] Rom. v. 13.

[u] Τινὰ τῶν ἐθνῶν ἐξηγεῖται, dixit Porphyrius.

[w] De Rep. l. 1. c. 4.

[x] Οὐκ ἄδοξον ἦν παρὰ τοῖς παλαιοῖς τὸ λῃστεύειν, ἀλλ' ἔνδοξον, Scholiaſt. in Hom. Odyſ. γ. Vide etiam A. Gel. l. 11. c. 18.

[y] Ὅσοι ἀπὸ ἀκαθάρτου πνεύματος ἐμπεφορημένοι, καὶ ὑπὸ φαύλης ἀναστροφῆς καὶ ἐθῶν φαύλων καὶ νόμων πονηρῶν διαφθαρέντες, τὰς φυσικὰς ἐννοίας ἀπώλεσαν. Just. Mart. Dial. Tryph.

tradition concerning God was derived by a long line, and there were no viſible remonſtrances of an extraordinary power, they were quickly brought to believe that he whom they ſaw not was not at all, eſpecially being prompted to it by pride, tyranny, and a looſe imperious ſpirit. Others fell to low opinions concerning God, and made ſuch as they liſt of their own; and they were like to be ſtrange gods which were of man's making. When man either maliciouſly or careleſly became unreaſonable in the things that concerned God, God was pleaſed to *give him over to a reprobate mind*, that is, an unreaſonable underſtanding, and falſe principles concerning himſelf and his neighbour, that his ſin againſt the natural law might become its own puniſhment, by diſcompoſing his natural happineſs. Atheiſm and idolatry brought in all unnatural luſts, and many unreaſonable injuſtices. And this we learn from St. Paul: *As they did not like to retain God in their knowledge, God gave them over to a reprobate mind, to do thoſe things which are not convenient,*[z] that is, incongruities towards the end of their creation; and ſo they became *full of unrighteouſneſs, luſt, covetouſneſs, malice, envy, ſtrife, and murther, diſobedient to parents, breakers of covenants, unnatural in their affections*, and in their paſſions: and all this was the conſequent of breaking the firſt natural law; *They changed the truth of God into a lye: For this cauſe God gave them up unto vile affections.*[a]

21. Now God, who takes more care for the good of man, than man does for his own, did not only imprint theſe laws in the hearts and underſtandings of man, but did alſo take care to make this light ſhine clear enough to walk by, by adopting ſome inſtances of the natural laws into religion. Thus the law againſt murther became a part of religion in the time of Noah; and ſome other things were then added concerning worſhipping God, againſt idolatry, and againſt unnatural and impure mixtures. Sometimes God ſuperadded judgments, as to the 23000 Iſraelites for fornication. For although theſe puniſhments were not threatned to the crime in the ſanction and expreſſion of any definite law, and it could not naturally arrive to it by its inordination; yet it was as agreeable to the divine juſtice to inflict it, as to inflict the pains of hell upon evil livers, who yet had not any revelation of ſuch intolerable danger. For it was ſufficient that God had made ſuch crimes to be againſt their very nature; and they who will do violence to their nature, to do themſelves hurt, and to diſpleaſe God, deſerve to loſe the title to all thoſe good things which God was pleaſed to deſign for man's final condition. And becauſe it grew habitual, cuſtomary, and of innocent reputation, it pleaſed God to call this precept out of the darkneſs, whither their evil cuſtoms and falſe diſcourſes had put it; and by ſuch an extraregular, but very ſignal, puniſhment to remind them, that the natural permiſſions of concubinate were only confined to the ends of mankind, and were hallowed only by the faith and the deſign of marriage. And this was ſignified by St. Paul in theſe words, *They that ſin without the law, ſhall alſo periſh without the law;*[b] that is, by ſuch judgments which God hath inflicted on evil livers in ſeveral periods of the world, irregularly indeed, not ſignified in kind, but yet ſent into the world with deſigns of a great mercy, that the ignorances and prevaricati-

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[z] Rom. i. 28, &c.

[a] Ver. 25, 26.

[b] Rom. ii. 12.

ons and partial abolitions of the natural law might be cured and reſtored, and by the diſperſion of prejudices the ſtate of natural reaſon be redintegrate.

22. Whatsoever was beſides this, was accidental and emergent. Such as were the diſcourſes of wiſe men, which God raiſed up in ſeveral countries and ages, as Job, and Eliphaz, and Bildad; and thoſe of the families of the patriarchs diſperſed into ſeveral countries; and conſtant tradition in ſome noble and more eminent deſcents. And yet all this was ſo little and imperfect, not in it ſelf, but in reſpect of the thick cloud man had drawn before his underſtanding, that darkneſs covered the face of the earth in a great proportion. Almoſt all the world were idolaters: and when they had broken the firſt of the natural laws, the breach of the other was not only naturally conſequent, but alſo by divine judgment it deſcended infallibly. And yet God, pitying mankind, did not only ſtill continue the former remedies, and added bleſſings, *giving them fruitful ſeaſons, and filling their hearts with food and gladneſs*, ſo leaving the nations without excuſe; but alſo made a very noble change in the world. For having choſen an excellent family, the fathers of which lived exactly according to the natural law, and with obſervation of thoſe few ſuperadded precepts, in which God did ſpecificate their prime duty; and having ſwelled that family to a great nation, and given them poſſeſſion of an excellent land, which God took from ſeven nations, becauſe they were egregious violators of the natural law; he was pleaſed to make a very great reſtitution and declaration of the natural law in many inſtances of religion and juſtice, which he framed into poſitive precepts, and adopted them into the family of the firſt original inſtances, making them as neceſſary in the particulars as they were in the primary obligation. But the inſtances were ſuch, whereof ſome did relate only to the preſent conſtitution of the commonwealth; others to ſuch univerſal contracts which obliged all the world, by reaſon of the equal neceſſity of all mankind, to admit them. And theſe himſelf writ on tables of ſtone, and dreſſed up their nation into a body politick by an excellent ſyſtem of politick laws, and adorned it with a rare religion; and left this nation as a piece of leven in a maſs of dough, not only to do honour to God, and happineſs to themſelves, by thoſe inſtruments which he had now very much explicated, but alſo to tranſmit the ſame reaſonable propoſitions into other nations. And he therefore multiplied them to a great neceſſity of a diſperſion, that they might ſerve the ends of God and of the natural law by their ambulatory life, and their numerous diſſeminations. And this was it which St. Paul affirms, *The law was added becauſe of tranſgreſſion*;[c] meaning, that becauſe men did tranſgreſs the natural, God brought Moſes's law into the world, to be as a ſtrand to the inundation of impiety. And thus the world ſtood, till the fulneſs of time was come: for ſo we are taught by the apoſtle, [*The law was added becauſe of tranſgreſſion*;] but the date of this was to expire at a certain period, it was added to ſerve but [*till the ſeed ſhould come to whom the promiſe was made.*]

23. For becauſe Moſes's law was but an imperfect explication of the natural; there being divers parts of the three laws of nature not at all explicated by that covenant, not the religion of prayers, not the reaſonableneſs of temperance and ſobriety in opinion and diet, and in the more no-

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[c] Gal. iii. 19.

ble inſtances of humanity and doing benefit, it was ſo ſhort, that, as St. *Paul* ſays, *The law could not make the comers thereunto perfect*; and, which was moſt of all conſiderable, it was confined to a nation, and the other parts of mankind had made ſo little uſe of the records of that nation, that all the world was placed in *darkneſs, and ſate in the ſhadow of death:* therefore it was that in great mercy God ſent his Son, *a light to lighten the gentiles, and the glory of the people Iſrael*; to inſtruct thoſe, and conſummate theſe; that the imperfection of the one, and the mere darkneſs of the other, might be illuſtrated by the Sun of Righteouſneſs. And this was by reſtoring the light of nature, (which they by evil cuſtoms and falſe principles and evil laws had obſcured) by reſtoring man to the liberty of his ſpirit, by freeing him from the ſlavery of ſin; under which they were ſo loſt and oppreſſed, that all their diſcourſes and concluſions, ſome of their moral philoſophy, and all their habitual practices, were but ſervants of ſin, and made to co-operate to that end, not which God intended as perfective of human nature, but which the devil and vicious perſons ſuperinduced to ſerve little ends and irregular, and to deſtroy the greater.

24. For certain it is, Chriſtianity is nothing elſe but the moſt perfect deſign that ever was to make a man be happy in his whole capacity: and as the law was to the Jews, ſo was philoſophy to the Gentiles, a ſchoolmaſter to bring them to Chriſt, to teach them the rudiments of happineſs, and the firſt and loweſt things of reaſon; that when Chriſt was come, all mankind might become perfect, that is, be made regular in their appetites, wiſe in their underſtandings, aſſiſted in their duties, directed to and inſtructed in their great ends. And this is that which the apoſtle calls [*being perfect men in Chriſt Jeſus*] perfect in all the intendments of nature, and in all the deſigns of God. And this was brought to paſs by diſcovering, and reſtoring, and improving the law of nature, and by turning it all into religion.

25. For the natural law being a ſufficient and a proportionate inſtrument and means to bring a man to the end deſigned in his creation, and this law being eternal and unalterable, (for it ought to be as laſting and as unchangeable as nature itſelf, ſo long as it was capable of a law) it was not imaginable that the body of any law ſhould make a new morality, new rules, and general proportions, either of juſtice, or religion, or temperance, or felicity; the eſſential parts of all theſe conſiſting in natural proportions and means toward the conſummation of man's laſt end, which was firſt intended, and is always the ſame. It is as if there were a new truth in an eſſential and a neceſſary propoſition. For although the inſtances may vary, there can be no new juſtice, no new temperance, no new relations, proper and natural relations and intercourſes between God and us, but what always were in praiſes and prayers, in adoration and honour, and in the ſymbolical expreſſions of God's glory, and our needs.

26. Hence it comes that that which is the moſt obvious and notorious appellative of the law of nature, (that is, *a law written in our hearts)* was alſo recounted as one of the glories and excellencies of Chriſtianity. Plutarch ſaying, that "kings ought to be governed by laws," explains himſelf, that this law muſt be "[d] a word, not written in books and tables,

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[d] Οὐκ ἐν βιβλίοις ἔξω γεγραμμένος, οὐδ' ἐν ξύλοις, ἀλλ' ἔμψυχος ὢν ἑαυτῷ λόγος, ἀεὶ συνοικῶν, καὶ μηδέποτε τὴν ψυχὴν ἐῶν ἔρημον ἡγεμονίας.

“ but dwelling in the mind, a living rule, the interior guide of their manners, and monitor of their life.” And this was the ſame which St. Paul expreſſes to be the guide of the Gentiles, that is, of all men naturally: [e] *The gentiles, which have not the law, do by nature the things contained in the law; which ſhews the work of the law written in their hearts.* And that we may ſee it was the law of nature that returned in the ſanctions of Chriſtianity; God declares that in the conſtitution of this law he would take no other courſe than at firſt, that is, he would write them in the hearts of men: indeed with a new ſtyle, with a quill taken from the wings of the Holy Dove; the Spirit of God was to be the great engraver and the ſcribe of the new covenant, but the hearts of men ſhould be the tables. For, [f] *This is the covenant that I will make with them after thoſe days, ſaith the Lord; I will put my laws into their hearts, and into their minds I will write them: and their ſins and their iniquities will I remember no more*: that is, I will provide a means to expiate all the iniquities of man, and reſtore him to the condition of his firſt creation, putting him into the ſame order towards felicity which I firſt deſigned to him, and that alſo by the ſame inſtruments. Now I conſider, that the Spirit of God took very great care, that all the records of the law of Jeſus ſhould be carefully kept and tranſmitted to poſterity in books and ſermons; which being an act of providence and mercy, was a proviſion leſt they ſhould be loſt or miſtaken, as they were formerly, when God writ ſome of them in tables of ſtone for the uſe of the ſons of Iſrael, and all of them in the firſt tables of nature with the finger of creation, as now he did in the new creature by the finger of the Spirit. But then writing them in the tables of our minds, (beſides the other) can mean nothing but placing them there where they were before, and from whence we blotted them by the mixtures of impure principles and diſcourſes. But I deſcend to particular and more minute conſiderations.

27. THE laws of nature either are bands of religion, juſtice, or ſobriety. Now I conſider concerning religion, that whenever God hath made any particular precepts to a family, as to Abraham's, or to a ſingle perſon, as to the man of Judah propheſying againſt the altar of Bethel, or to a nation, as to the Jews at Sinai, or to all mankind, as to the world deſcending from Noah; it was nothing elſe but a trial or an inſtance of our obedience, a particular proſecution of the law of nature, whereby we are obliged to do honour to God, which was to be done by ſuch expreſſions which are natural intercourſes between God and us, or ſuch as he hath made to be ſo. Now in Chriſtianity we are wholly left to that manner of proſecuting this firſt natural law which is natural and proportionable to the nature of the thing, which the holy Jeſus calls *worſhipping God in ſpirit and truth*: [*In ſpirit*,] that is, with our ſouls heartily and devoutly, ſo as to exclude hypocriſy and indifferency; and [*In truth*] that is, without a lye, without vain imaginations and fantaſtick reſemblances of him, which were introduced by the evil cuſtoms of the Gentiles; and without ſuch falſe guiſes and abſurd undecencies, which as they are contrary to man's reaſon, ſo are they contrary to the glory and reputation of God; ſuch as was that univerſal cuſtom of all nations of ſacrificing in man's blood,[g] and offering feſtival luſts and impurities in the ſolemnities of their religion: for theſe being

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[e] Rom. ii. 14, 15.

[f] Heb. x. 16, 17.

[g] Polyd. Vir. de Invent. l. 5. c. 8.

againſt the purpoſe and deſign of God, and againſt right reaſon, are a lye, and enemies to the truth of a natural and proper religion. The holy Jeſus only commanded us to pray often, and to praiſe God, to ſpeak honour of his name, not to uſe it lightly and vainly, to believe him, to revere the inſtruments and miniſters of religion, to aſk for what we need, to put our truſt in God, to worſhip him, to obey him, and to love him: for all theſe are but the expreſſions of love. And this is all Chriſt ſpake concerning the firſt natural law, the law of religion. For concerning the ceremonies or ſacraments which he inſtituted, they are but few; and they become matter of duty but by accident, as being inſtruments and rites of conſigning thoſe effects and mercies which God ſent to the world by the means of this law, and relate rather to the contract and ſtipulation which Chriſt made for us, than to the natural order between duty and felicity.

28. Now all theſe are nothing but what we are taught by natural reaſon, that is, what God enabled us to underſtand to be fit inſtruments of intercourſe between God and us, and what was practiſed and taught by ſober men in all ages and all nations, whoſe records we have received, (as I ſhall remark at the margin of the ſeveral precepts.) For to make theſe appear certainly and naturally neceſſary, there was no more requiſite, but that man ſhould know there was a God, that is, an Eternal Being, which gave him all that he had or was; and to know what himſelf was, that is, indigent and neceſſitous of himſelf, needing help of all the creatures, expoſed to accidents and calamity, and defenſible no ways but by the ſame hand that made him; creation and conſervation, in the philoſophy of all the world, being but the ſame act continuing and flowing on him from an inſtant to duration, as a line from its mathematical point. And for this God took ſufficient care; for he converſed with man in the very firſt in ſuch clear and certain perceptible tranſaction, that a man could as certainly know that God was, as that man was. And in all ages of the world he hath not left himſelf without witneſs, but gave ſuch teſtimonies of himſelf that were ſufficient: for they did actually perſuade all nations, barbarous and civil, into the belief of a God.[h] And it is but a nicety to conſider whether or no that propoſition can be naturally demonſtrated. For it was ſufficient to all God's purpoſes and to all man's, that the propoſition was actually believed; the inſtances were therefore ſufficient to make faith, becauſe they did it. And a man may remove himſelf ſo far from all the degrees of aptneſs to believe a propoſition, that nothing ſhall make them join. For if there were a ſect of witty men, that durſt not believe their ſenſes, becauſe they thought them fallible; it is no wonder if ſome men ſhould think every reaſon reprovable. But in ſuch caſes demonſtration is a relative term, and ſignifies every probation, greater or leſſer, which does actually make faith in any propoſition. And in this God hath never been deficient, but hath to all men, that believe him, given ſufficient to confirm them; to thoſe few that believed not, ſufficient to reprove them.

29. Now in all theſe actions of religion which are naturally conſequent to this belief, there is no ſcruple, but in the inſtance of faith, which is preſented to be an infuſed grace, an immiſſion from God, and

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[h] Maxim. Tyr. Diſſert. Ταῦτα ὁ Ἕλλην λέγει, καὶ ὁ βάρβαρος λέγει, καὶ ὁ ἠπειρώτης, καὶ ὁ θαλάττιος, καὶ ὁ σοφὸς, καὶ ὁ ἄσοφος.

that for its object it hath principles ſupernatural, that is, naturally incredible; and therefore Faith is ſuppoſed a Grace above the greateſt ſtrength of Reaſon.[i] But in this I conſider, that if we look into all the Sermons of Chriſt, we ſhall not eaſily find any Doctrine that in any ſenſe troubles natural philoſophy, but only that of the reſurrection. (For I do not think thoſe myſtical expreſſions of plain truths, ſuch as are, [*being born again*, *eating the fleſh of the ſon of man*, *being in the father, and the father in him*] to be exceptions in this aſſertion.) And although ſome Gentiles did believe and deliver that article, and particularly Chryſippus, and the Thracians, (as Mela and Solinus report of them;) yet they could not naturally diſcourſe themſelves into it, but had it from the imperfect report and opinion of ſome Jews that dwelt among them. And it was certainly a revelation or a propoſition ſent into the world by God. But then the believing it, is ſo far from being above or againſt nature, that there is nothing in the world more reaſonable than to believe any thing which God tells us, or which is told us by a man ſent from God with mighty demonſtration of his power and veracity. Naturally our bodies cannot riſe, that is, there is no natural agent or natural cauſe ſufficient to produce that effect; but this is an effect of a divine power: and he hath but a little ſtock of natural reaſon, who cannot conclude that the ſame power which made us out of nothing, can alſo reſtore us to the ſame condition as well and eaſily from duſt and aſhes certainly, as from mere nothing. And in this, and in all the like caſes, faith is a ſubmiſſion of the underſtanding to the word of God, and is nothing elſe but a confeſſing that God is truth, and that he is Omnipotent, that is, he can do what he will, and he will when he hath once ſaid it. And we are now as ignorant of the eſſence and nature of forms, and of that which ſubſtantially diſtinguiſhes man from man, or an angel from an angel, as we were of the greateſt article of our religion before it was revealed; and we ſhall remain ignorant for ever of many natural things, unleſs they be revealed: and unleſs we know all the ſecrets of philoſophy, the myſteries of nature, and the rules and propoſitions of all things and all creatures, we are fools, if we ſay that what we call an article of faith, I mean truly ſuch, is againſt natural reaſon. It may be indeed as much againſt our natural reaſonings, as thoſe reaſonings are againſt truth. But if we remember how great an ignorance dwells upon us all, it will be found the moſt reaſonable thing in the world, only to enquire whether God hath revealed any ſuch propoſition? and then, not to ſay, It is againſt narural reaſon, and therefore an article of faith; but, I am told a truth which I knew not till now, and ſo my reaſon is become inſtructed into a new propoſition. And although Chriſt hath given us no new moral precepts, but ſuch which were eſſentially and naturally reaſonable in order to the end of man's creation: yet we may eaſily ſuppoſe him to teach us many a new truth which we knew not, and to explicate to us many particulars of that eſtate which God deſigned for man in his firſt production, but yet did not then declare to him, and to furniſh him with new revelations, and to ſignify the greatneſs of the deſigned end, to become ſo many arguments of indearment to ſecure his duty, that is, indeed, to ſecure his happineſs by the infallible uſing the inſtruments of attaining it.

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[i] Apud Lactant. l. 7. c. 23.

30. This is all I am to ſay concerning the precepts of religion Jeſus taught us: he took off thoſe many ſuper-induced rites which God injoined to the Jews, and reduced us to the natural religion, that is, to ſuch expreſſions of duty which all wiſe men and nations uſed; ſave only that he took away the rite of ſacrificing beaſts, becauſe it was now determined in the great ſacrifice of himſelf, which ſufficiently and eternally reconciled all the world to God.[k] All the other things, as prayers, and adoration, and eucharist, and faith in God, are of a natural order, and an unalterable expreſſion: And in the nature of the thing there is no other way of addreſs to God than theſe, no other expreſſion of his glories and our needs; both which muſt for ever be ſignified.

31. Secondly, concerning the ſecond natural precept, Chriſtian religion hath alſo added nothing beyond the firſt obligation, but explained it all. [l] *Whatſoever ye would that men ſhould do to you, do ye ſo to them*, that is the eternal rule of juſtice; and that binds contracts, keeps promiſes, affirms truth, makes ſubjects obedient, and princes juſt; it gives ſecurity to marts and banks, and introduces an equality of condition upon all the world: ſave only when an inequality is neceſſary, that is, in the relations of government, for the preſervation of the [m] common rights of equal titles and poſſeſſions, that there be ſome common term endued with power, who is to be the father of all men by an equal proviſion, that every man's rights be ſecured by that fear which naturally we ſhall bear to him, who can and will puniſh all unreaſonable and unjuſt violations of property. And concerning this alſo the holy Jeſus hath added an expreſs precept, of paying tribute, and all Cæſar's dues, to Cæſar. In all other particulars it is neceſſary that the inſtances and minutes of juſtice be appointed by the laws and cuſtoms of the ſeveral kingdoms and republicks. [n] And therefore it was that Chriſtianity ſo well combined with the government of heathen princes, becauſe whatſoever was naturally juſt, or declared ſo by the political power, their religion bound them to obſerve, making obedience to be a double duty, a duty both of juſtice and religion. And the ſocieties of Chriſtians growing up from conventicles to aſſemblies, from aſſemblies to ſocieties, introduced no change in the government, but by little and little turned the commonwealth into a church; till the world being Chriſtian, and juſtice alſo being religion, obedience to princes, obſervation of laws, honeſty in contracts, faithfulneſs in promiſes, gratitude to benefactors, ſimplicity in diſcourſe, and ingenuity in all pretences and tranſactions, became the characteriſms of Chriſtian men, and the word of a Chriſtian the greateſt ſolemnity of ſtipulation in the world.

32. But concerning the general, I conſider, that in two very great inſtances it was remonſtrated, that Chriſtianity was the greateſt proſecution of natural juſtice and equality in the whole world. The one was in an election of an apoſtle into the place of Judas. When there were two equal candidates of the ſame pretenſion and capacity, the queſtion was determined by lots, which naturally was the arbitration in queſtions whoſe parts

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[k] Juſt. Mart. Reſp. ad Orthodox. ad qu. 83. Tert. adverſ. Marcion. 2. 2. Maim. More Nevoch. l. 3. c. 32.

[l] Hæc ſententia ſæpiſſime à Severo Imperatore prolata. Ὃ μισεῖς, μηδενὶ ποιήσεις, Tob. iv. 15. Dixit Mimus, "Ab alio expectes, alteri quod feceris."

[m] Singulorum intereſt, ſi univerſi regantur.

[n] Nec natura poteſt juſto ſecernere iniquum,
Dividit ut bona diverſis, fugienda petendis.
Hor. lib. 1. ſat. 3.

were wholly indifferent: and as it was uſed in all times, ſo it is to this day uſed with us in many places, where, leſt there be a diſagreement concerning the manner of tithing ſome creatures, and to prevent unequal arts and unjuſt practices, they are tithed by lot, and their fortuitous paſſing through the door of their fold. The other is in the cœnobitick life of the firſt Chriſtians and apoſtles: they had all things in common; which was that ſtate of nature in which men lived charitably and without injuſtice, before the diſtinction of dominions and private rights. But from this manner of life they were ſoon driven by the publick neceſſity and conſtitution of affairs.

33. THIRDLY, Whatſoever elſe is in the Chriſtian law concerns the natural precept of ſobriety, in which there is ſome variety and ſome difficulty. In the matter of carnality the holy Jeſus did clearly reduce us to the firſt inſtitution of marriage in paradiſe, allowing no other mixture but what was firſt intended in the creation and firſt ſacramental union: and in the inſtance he ſo permitted us to the natural law, that he was pleaſed to mention no inſtance of forbidden luſt, but in general and comprehenſive terms of adultery and fornication: in the other, which are ſtill more unnatural, as their names are concealed and hidden in ſhame and ſecrecy, we are to have no inſtructor but the modeſty and order of nature.

34. AS an inſtance of this law of ſobriety, Chriſt ſuperadded the whole doctrine of humility, which Moſes did not, and which ſeemed almoſt to be extinguiſhed in the world: and it is called by St. Paul, *ſapere ad ſobrietatem*, the reaſonableneſs or wiſdom of ſobriety. And it is all the reaſon in the world, that a man ſhould think of himſelf but juſt as he is. He is deceived that thinks otherwiſe, and is a fool. And when we conſider that pride makes wars, and cauſes affronts, and no man loves a proud man, and he loves no man but himſelf and his flatterers, we ſhall underſtand that the precept of humility is an excellent art, and a happy inſtrument towards human felicity. And it is no way contradicted by a natural deſire of honour; it only appoints juſt and reaſonable ways of obtaining it. We are not forbidden to receive honour; but to ſeek it for deſigns of pride and complacency, or to make it reſt in our hearts. But when the hand of virtue receives the honour, and tranſmits it to God from our own head, the deſires of nature are ſufficiently ſatisfied, and nothing of religion contradicted. And it is certain by all the experience of the world, that in every ſtate and order of men, he that is moſt humble in proportion to that ſtate, is (if all things elſe be ſymbolical) the moſt honoured perſon. For it is very obſervable, that when God deſigned man to a good and happy life, as the natural end of his creation, to verify this, God was pleaſed to give him objects ſufficient and apt to ſatisfy every appetite[o]: I ſay, to ſatisfy it naturally, not to ſatisfy thoſe extravagancies which might be accidental, and procured by the irregularity either of will or underſtanding; not to anſwer him in all that his deſires could extend to, but to ſatisfy the neceſſity of every appetite: all the deſires that God made, not all that man ſhould make. For we ſee even in thoſe appetites which are common to men and beaſts, all the needs of nature and all the ends of creation are ſerved by the

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[o] Vina ſitim ſedent, natis Venus alma creandis
Serviat: hos fines tranſiliiſſe nocet. VIRG.

Ὁ μὲν τὰς ὑπερβολὰς διώκων τῶν ἡδέων, ἢ καθ' ὑπερβολὰς, ἢ διὰ προαίρεσιν, καὶ μὴ δι' αὐτὰς, καὶ μὴ δι' ἕτερον ἀποβαῖνον, ἀκόλαστος. ARISTOT. Ethic. l. 7. c. 7.

taking ſuch proportions of their objects which are ordinate to their end, and which in man we call temperance; (not as much as they naturally can:) ſuch as are mixtures of ſexes merely for production of their kind, eating and drinking for needs and hunger. And yet God permitted our appetites to be able to extend beyond the limits of the mere natural deſign, that God, by reſtraining them, and putting the fetters of laws upon them, might turn natural deſires into ſobriety, and ſobriety into religion, they becoming ſervants of the commandment. And now we muſt not call all thoſe ſwellings of appetites, natural inclination, nor the ſatisfaction of ſuch tumours and excreſcences any part of natural felicities: but that which does juſt co-operate to thoſe ends which perfect human nature in order to its proper end. For the appetites of meat, and drink, and pleaſures, are but intermedial and inſtrumental to that end, and are not made for themſelves, but firſt for the end, and then to ſerve God in the inſtances of obedience. And juſt ſo is the natural deſire of honour intended to be a ſpur to virtue: (for to virtue only it is naturally conſequent, or to natural and political ſuperiority:) but to deſire it beyond or beſides the limit, is the ſwelling and the diſeaſe of the deſire. And we can take no rule for its perfect value, but by the ſtrict limits of the natural end, or the ſuperinduced end of religion in poſitive reſtraints.

35. According to this diſcourſe we may beſt underſtand, that even the ſevereſt precepts of the Chriſtian law are very conſonant to nature and the firſt laws of mankind. Such as the precept of ſelf-denial, which is nothing elſe but a confining the appetites within the limits of nature: for there they are permitted, (except when ſome greater purpoſe is to be ſerved than the preſent anſwering the particular deſire:) and whatſoever is beyond it is not in the natural order to felicity; it is no better than an itch, which muſt be ſcratched and ſatisfied, but it is unnatural. But for martyrdom it ſelf, quitting our goods, loſing lands, or any temporal intereſt, they are now become as reaſonable in the preſent conſtitution of the world, as taking unpleaſant potions, and ſuffering a member to be cauterized, in ſickneſs or diſeaſe. And we ſee that death is naturally a leſs evil than a continual torment, and by ſome not ſo reſented as a great diſgrace; and ſome perſons have choſen it for ſanctuary and remedy. And therefore much rather ſhall it be accounted prudent and reaſonable, and agreeable to the moſt perfect deſires of nature, to exchange an houſe for an hundred, a friend for a patron, a ſhort affliction for a laſting joy, and a temporal death for an eternal life. For ſo the queſtion is ſtated to us by him that underſtands it beſt. True it is, that the ſuffering of loſſes, afflictions, and death, is naturally an evil, and therefore no part of a natural precept, or prime injunction. But when God having commanded inſtances of religion, man will not ſuffer us to obey God, or will not ſuffer us to live; then the queſtion is, Which is moſt agreeable to the moſt perfect and reaſonable deſires of nature, to obey God, or to obey man? to fear God, or to fear man? to preſerve our bodies, or to preſerve our ſouls? to ſecure a few years of uncertain and troubleſome duration, or an eternity of a very glorious condition? Some men reaſonably enough chuſe to die for conſiderations lower than that of a happy eternity: therefore death is not ſuch an evil, but that it may in ſome caſes be deſired and reaſonably choſen, and

in ſome be recompenſed at the higheſt rate of a natural value. And if by accident we happen into an eſtate in which of neceſſity one evil or another muſt be ſuffered, certainly nothing is more naturally reaſonable and eligible than to chuſe the leaſt evil: and when there are two good things propounded to our choice, both which cannot be poſſeſſed, nothing is more certainly the object of a prudent choice than the greater good. And therefore when once we underſtand the queſtion of ſuffering, and ſelf-denial, and martyrdom, to this ſenſe, as all Chriſtians do, and all wiſe men do, and all ſects of men do in their ſeveral perſuaſions, it is but remembring, that to live happily after this life is more intended to us by God, and is more perfective of human nature, than to live here with all the proſperity which this ſtate affords: and it will evidently follow, that when violent men will not let us enter into that condition by the ways of nature and prime intendment, that is, of natural religion, juſtice and ſobriety, it is made in that caſe, and upon that ſuppoſition, certainly, naturally and infallibly reaſonable to ſecure the perfective and principal deſign of our felicity, though it be by ſuch inſtruments which are as unpleaſant to our ſenſes as are the inſtruments of our reſtitution to health; ſince both one and the other in the preſent conjunction and ſtate of affairs are moſt proportionable to reaſon, becauſe they are ſo to the preſent neceſſity; not primarily intended to us by God, but ſuperinduced by evil accidents and the violence of men. And we not only find that Socrates ſuffered death in atteſtation of a God, though he flattered and diſcourſed himſelf into the belief of an immortal reward, *De induſtria conſultæ æquanimitatis, non de fiducia compertæ veritatis,* (as Tertullian ſays of him:) but we alſo find, that all men that believed the immortality of the ſoul firmly and unmovably, made no ſcruple of exchanging their life for the preſervation of virtue with the intereſt of their great hope, for honour ſometimes, and oftentimes for their country.

36. Thus the holy Jeſus perfected and reſtored the natural law, and drew it into a ſyſtem of propoſitions, and made them to become of the family of religion. For God is ſo zealous to have man attain to the end to which he firſt deſigned him, that thoſe things which he hath put in the natural order to attain that end, he hath bound faſt upon us, not only by the order of things, by which it was that he that prevaricated did naturally fall ſhort of felicity, but alſo by bands of religion: he hath now made himſelf a party and an enemy to thoſe that will be not-happy. Of old, religion was but one of the natural laws, and the inſtances of religion were diſtinct from the diſcourſes of philoſophy. Now all the law of nature is adopted into religion, and by our love and duty to God we are tied to do all that is reaſon: and the parts of our religion are but purſuances of the natural relation between God and us: and beyond all this, our natural condition is in all ſenſes improved by the conſequents and adherences of this religion. For although nature and grace are oppoſite, that is, nature depraved by evil habits, by ignorance and ungodly cuſtoms, is contrary to grace, that is, to nature reſtored by the goſpel, engaged to regular living by new revelations, and aſſiſted by the Spirit: yet it is obſervable, that the law of nature and the law of grace are never oppoſed. *There is a law of our members,* (ſaith St. Paul[p]) that is, an evil neceſſity introduced into our appe-

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[p] Rom. vii. 23.

tites by perpetual evil cuſtoms, examples and traditions of vanity; and there is a law of ſin, that anſwers to this: and they differ only as inclination and habit, vicious deſires and vicious practices. But then contrary to theſe are, firſt, *a law of my mind*,[q] which is the law of nature and right reaſon; and then the law of grace, that is, of Jeſus Chriſt, who perfected and reſtored the firſt law, and by aſſiſtances reduced it into a law of holy living. And theſe two differ as the other, the one is in order to the other, as imperfection and growing degrees and capacities are to perfection and conſummation. The law of the mind had been ſo raſed and obliterate, and we by ſome means or other ſo diſabled from obſerving it exactly, that until it was turned into the law of grace, (which is a law of pardoning infirmities, and aſſiſting us in our choices and elections) we were in a ſtate of deficiency from the perfective ſtate of man, to which God intended us.

37. Now although God always deſigned man to the ſame ſtate which he hath now revealed by Jeſus Chriſt, yet he told him not of it, and his permiſſions and licenſes were then greater, and the law itſelf lay cloſer folded up in the compact body of neceſſary propoſitions, in order to ſo much of his end as was known, or could be ſuppoſed. But now, according to the extenſion of the revelation, the law itſelf is made wider, that is, more explicit; and natural reaſon is thruſt forward into diſcourſes of charity and benefit, and we tied to do very much good to others, and tied to co-operate to each other's felicity.

38. That the law of charity is a law of nature, needs no other argument but the conſideration of the firſt conſtitution of man. The firſt inſtances of juſtice or intercourſe of man with a ſecond or third perſon, were to ſuch perſons towards whom he had the greateſt endearments of affection in the world, a wife and children; and juſtice and charity at firſt was the ſame thing. And it hath obtained in ages far removed from the firſt, that charity is called righteouſneſs[r]: *He hath diſperſed and given to the poor; his righteouſneſs remaineth for ever.*[s] And it is certain, Adam could not in any inſtance be unjuſt, but he muſt in the ſame alſo be uncharitable; the band of his firſt juſtice being the ties of love, and all having commenced in love. And our bleſſed Lord, reſtoring all to the intention of the firſt perfection, expreſſes it to the ſame ſenſe, as I formerly obſerved; Juſtice to our neighbour, is loving him as ourſelves. For ſince juſtice obliges us to do as we would be done to, as the iraſcible faculty reſtrains us from doing evil, for fear of receiving evil; ſo the concupiſcible obliges us to charity, that ourſelves may receive good.

39. I shall ſay nothing concerning the reaſonableneſs of this precept, but that it concurs rarely with the firſt reaſonable appetite of man, of being like God. *Deus eſt mortali juvare mortalem, atque hæc eſt ad æternitatem via*, ſaid Pliny; and, *It is more bleſſed to give than to receive*, (ſaid our bleſſed Saviour.) And therefore the commandment of charity in all its parts is a deſign, not only to reconcile the moſt miſerable perſon to ſome participation and ſenſe of felicity, but to make the charitable man happy: and whether this be not very agreeable to the deſires of an intelligent nature, needs no farther enquiry. And Ariſtotle asking the queſtion, whether a man had more need of friends in proſperity

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[q] Rom. vii. 23.

[r] Ὁ ἄνθρωπος εὐεργητικὸς πέφυκε. M. Anton. l. 9.

[s] Pſal. cxii. 9.

or adverſity, makes the caſe equal; Ὅτε γὰρ ἀτυχοῦντες δέονται ἐπικουρίας· οἱ δὲ εὐτυχοῦντες συμβίων, οὓς εὐποιήσωσιν. "When they are in want, they need aſ-"ſiſtance; when they are proſperous, they need partners of their felicity, "that by communicating their joy to them, it may reflect and double upon "their ſpirits." And certain it is, that there is no greater felicity in the world, than in the content that reſults from the emanations of charity. And this is that which St. John[t] calls *the old commandment*, and *the new commandment*. It was of old,[u] for it was from the beginning, even in nature, and to the offices of which our very bodies had an organ and a ſeat; for therefore nature gave to a man bowels and the paſſion of yerning: but it grew up into religion by parts, and was made perfect, and in that degree appropriate to the law of Jeſus Chriſt. For ſo the holy Jeſus became our lawgiver, and added many new precepts over and above what were in the law of Moſes, but not more than was in the law of nature. The reaſon of both is what I have all this while diſcourſed of: Chriſt made a more perfect reſtitution of the law of nature than Moſes did: and ſo it became the ſecond Adam, to conſummate that which began to be leſs perfect from the prevarication of the firſt Adam.

40. A PARTICULAR of the precept of charity is forgiving injuries; and beſides that it hath many ſuperinduced benefits by way of bleſſing and reward, it relies alſo upon this natural reaſon, that a pure and a ſimple revenge does no way reſtore man towards the felicity which the injury did interrupt. For revenge is a doing a ſimple evil, and does not in its formality imply reparation. For the meer repeating of our own right is permitted to them that will do it by charitable inſtruments; and to ſecure my ſelf or the publick againſt the future by poſitive inflictions upon the injurious, (if I be not judge my ſelf,) is alſo within the moderation of an unblameable defence, (unleſs ſome accidents or circumſtances vary the caſe:) but forgiving injuries is a ſeparating the malice from the wrong, the tranſient act from the permanent effect: and it is certain, any act which is paſſed cannot be reſcinded, the effect may: and if it cannot, it does no way alleviate the evil of the accident, that I draw him that cauſed it into as great a miſery, ſince every evil happening in the world is the proper object of pity, which is in ſome ſenſe afflictive: and therefore, unleſs we become unnatural and without bowels, it is moſt unreaſonable that we ſhould increaſe our own afflictions by introducing a new miſery, and making a new object of pity. All the ends of human felicity are ſecured without revenge, for without it we are permitted to reſtore our ſelves; and therefore it is againſt natural reaſon to do an evil that no way co-operates toward the proper and perfective end of human nature. And he is a miſerable perſon whoſe good is the evil of his neighbour[w]: and he that revenges, in many

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[t] 1 John ii. 7, 8.

[u] ——————Ἄνδρα δ' ὠφελεῖν,
Ἀφ' ὧν ἔχοι τε καὶ δύναιτο, κάλλιστος πόνων.
SOPHOCL. Oedip.

———————Hoc reges habent
Magnificum & ingens, nulla quod rapiat dies,
Prodeſſe miſeris, ſupplices fido lare
Protegere——————— SENEC. Med.

——————— Molliſſima corda
Humano generi dare ſe natura fatetur,
Quæ lacrymas dedit: hæc noſtri pars optima ſenſûs.
JUVEN. Sat. 15.

[w] Ὁ τιμωρῶν τὸν προϋπάρξαντα ἀδικώτερος.
MAXIM. TYRIUS in diſſert. An referenda ſit injuria.

Ἅπαντα τὰ ζῷά ἐστι μακαριώτατα,
Καὶ νοῦν ἔχοντα μᾶλλον ἀνθρώπου πολύ.
Τὸν ὄνον ὁρᾶν ἔξεστι πρῶτον τουτονί.
Τούτῳ κακὸν δι' αὐτὸν οὐδὲν γίνεται.
Ἡμεῖς δὲ, χωρὶς τῶν ἀναγκαίων κακῶν,
Αὐτοὶ παρ' αὐτῶν ἕτερα προσπορίζομεν.
Λυπούμεθ' ἂν πτάρῃ τις· ἂν εἴπῃ κακῶς,
Ὀργιζόμεθ'· ἂν ἴδῃ τις ἐνύπνιον, σφόδρα
Φοβούμεθ'· ἂν γλαὺξ ἀνακράγῃ, δεδοίκαμεν.
MENAND.

caſes does worſe than he that did the injury; in all caſes, as bad. For if the firſt injury was an injuſtice, to ſerve an end of an advantage and real benefit, then my revenge, which is abſtracted, and of a conſideration ſeparate and diſtinct from the reparation, is worſe: for I do him evil, without doing my ſelf any real good, which he did not, for he received advantage by it. But if the firſt injury was matter of meer malice without advantage, yet it is no worſe than revenge, for that is juſt ſo; and there is as much phantaſtick pleaſure in doing a ſpite, as in doing revenge. They are both but like the pleaſures of eating coals, and toads, and vipers. And certain it is, if a man upon his private ſtock could be permitted to revenge, the evil would be immortal. And it is rarely well diſcourſed by Tyndarus in Euripides; "if the angry wife ſhall kill her husband, the ſon ſhall re-"venge his father's death, and kill his mother, and then the brother ſhall "kill his mother's murtherer, and he alſo will meet with an avenger for "killing his brother.

[x] Πέρας δὲ ποῖ κακῶν προβήσεται;

What end ſhall there be to ſuch inhuman and ſad accidents? if in this there be injuſtice, it is againſt natural reaſon; and if it be evil, and diſorders the felicity and ſecurity of ſociety, it is alſo againſt natural reaſon. But if it be juſt, it is a ſtrange juſtice that is made up of ſo many inhumanities.

41. AND now if any man pretends ſpecially to reaſon, to the ordinate deſires and perfections of nature, and the ſober diſcourſes of philoſophy, here is Chriſtianity, and no-where elſe, enough to ſatisfy and inform his reaſon, to perfect his nature, and to reduce to act all the propoſitions of an intelligent and wiſe ſpirit. And the Holy Ghoſt is promiſed and given in our religion to be an eternal band to keep our reaſon from returning to the darkneſs of the old creation, and to promote the ends of our natural and proper felicity. For it is not a vain thing that St. Paul reckons helps, and governments, and healings, to be fruits of the Spirit. For ſince the two greateſt bleſſings of the world, perſonal and political, conſiſt, that in health, this in [y] government, and the ends of human felicity are ſerved in nothing greater for the preſent interval than in theſe two; Chriſt did not only enjoin rare preſcriptions of health, ſuch as are faſting, temperance, chaſtity and ſobriety, and all the great endearments of government, (and, unleſs they be ſacredly obſerved, man is infinitely miſerable;) but alſo hath given his Spirit, that is, extraordinary aids to the promoting theſe two, and facilitating the work of nature: that (as St. Paul ſays at the end of a diſcourſe to this very purpoſe) *the excellency of the power may be of God, and not of us.*[z]

42. I SHALL add nothing but this ſingle conſideration. God ſaid to the children of Iſrael, *Ye are a royal prieſthood,*[a] a kingdom of prieſts. Which was therefore true, becauſe God reigned by the prieſts, and *the prieſts lips did* then *preſerve knowledge*, and *the people* were to *receive the law from their mouths*: for God having by laws of his own eſta-

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[x] Eurip. Oreſt.

[y] Nihil eſt illi principi Deo qui omnem hunc mundum regit (quod quidem in terris fiat) acceptius, quàm concilia cœtúſque hominum jure ſociati, quæ civitates appellantur. CICER. Som. Scipion.

[z] 2 Cor. iv. 7.

[a] 1 Pet. ii, 9.

bliſhed religion and the republick, did govern by the rule of the law, and the miniſtry of the prieſts. The prieſts ſaid, *Thus ſaith the LORD*; and the people obeyed. And theſe very words are ſpoken to the Chriſtian church; *Ye are a royal prieſthood, an holy nation, a peculiar people, that ye ſhould ſhew forth the praiſes of him that hath called you out of darkneſs into his marvellous light:* that is, God reigns over all Chriſtendom juſt as he did over the Jews. He hath now ſo given to them and reſtored reſpectively all thoſe reaſonable laws which are in order to all good ends perſonal, œconomical and political, that if men will ſuffer Chriſtian religion to do its laſt intention, if men will live according to it, there needs no other coercion of laws, or power of the ſword. The laws of God revealed by Chriſt are ſufficient to make all ſocieties of men happy; and over all good men God reigns by his miniſters, by the preaching of the word. And this was moſt evident in the three firſt ages of the church, in which all Chriſtian ſocieties were for all their proper intercourſes perfectly guided, not by the authority and compulſion, but by the ſermons of their ſpiritual guides: inſomuch that St. Paul ſharply reprehends the Corinthians, *Brother goeth to law with brother, and that before the unbelievers*; as if he had ſaid, ye will not ſuffer Chriſt to be your judge, and his law to be your rule. Which indeed was a great fault among them, not only becauſe they had ſo excellent a law, ſo clearly deſcribed, (or, where they might doubt, they had infallible interpreters,) ſo reaſonable and profitable, ſo evidently concurring to their mutual felicity; but alſo becauſe God did deſign Jeſus to be their king, to reign over them by ſpiritual regiment, as himſelf did over the Jews, till they choſe a king. And when the emperors became Chriſtian, the caſe was no otherwiſe altered, but that the princes themſelves, ſubmitting to Chriſt's yoke, were (as all other Chriſtians are) for their proportion to be governed by the royal prieſthood, that is, by the word preached by apoſtolical perſons; the political intereſt remaining as before, ſave that by being ſubmitted to the laws of Chriſt it received this advantage, that all juſtice was turned to be religion, and became neceſſary, and bound upon the conſcience by divinity. And when it happens that a kingdom is converted to Chriſtianity, the commonwealth is made a church, and Gentile prieſts are Chriſtian biſhops, and the ſubjects of the kingdom are ſervants of Chriſt, the religion of the nation is turned Chriſtian, and the law of the nation made a part of the religion: there is no change of government, but that Chriſt is made king, and the temporal power is his ſubſtitute, and is to promote the intereſt of obedience to him, as before he did to Chriſt's enemy; Chriſt having left his miniſters as leiger ambaſſadors, to ſignify and publiſh the laws of Jeſus, *to pray all in Chriſt's ſtead to be reconciled to God:* ſo that over the obedient Chriſt wholly reigns by his miniſters publiſhing his laws; over the diſobedient, by the prince alſo, putting thoſe laws in execution. And in this ſenſe it is that St. Paul ſays, *Bonis lex non eſt poſita*, to ſuch (who live after the Spirit) *there is no law*, that is, there needs no coercion. But now if we reject God from reigning over us, and ſay, like the people in the goſpel, *Nolumus hunc regnare, We will not have him to reign over us*, by the miniſtry of his word, by the empire of the royal prieſthood, then we return to the condition of heathens, and perſons ſitting in darkneſs; then God hath armed the temporal power with a ſword to cut us off. If we obey not God ſpeaking by his miniſters, that is, if we live not according to the excellent laws of Chriſtianity, that is, holily, ſoberly, and juſtly in all our relations, he hath placed three ſwords againſt us; the ſword of the Spirit againſt the unholy and irreligious, the ſword of natural and ſupervening infelicities upon the intemperate and unſober, and the ſword of kings againſt the unjuſt; to remonſtrate the excellency of Chriſtianity, and how certainly it leads to all the felicity of man, becauſe every tranſgreſſion of this law, according to its proportion, makes men unhappy and unfortunate.

43. What effect this diſcourſe may have I know not; I intended it to do honour to Chriſtianity, and to repreſent it to be the beſt religion in the world, and the conjugation of all excellent things that were in any religion, or in any philoſophy, or in any diſcourſes. For *whatſoever was honeſt, whatſoever was noble, whatſoever was wiſe, whatſoever was of good report, if there be any praiſe, if there be any virtue,*[b] it is in Chriſtianity. For even to follow all theſe inſtances of excellency, is a precept of Chriſtianity. And methinks, they that pretend to reaſon cannot more reaſonably endear themſelves to the reputation of reaſon, than by endearing their reaſon to Chriſtianity; the concluſions and belief of which is the moſt reaſonable and perfect, the moſt excellent deſign, and complying with the nobleſt and moſt proper ends of man. And if this gate may ſuffice to invite ſuch perſons into the receſſes of the religion, then I ſhall tell them that I have dreſſed it in the enſuing books with ſome variety: and as the nature of the religion is, ſome parts whereof are apt to ſatisfy our diſcourſe, ſome to move our affections, and yet all of this to relate to practice; ſo is the deſign of the following pages. For ſome men are wholly made up of paſſion, and their very religion is but paſſion put into the family and ſociety of holy purpoſes: and for thoſe I have prepared conſiderations upon the ſpecial parts of the life of the holy Jeſus. And yet there alſo are ſome things mingled in the leaſt ſevere and moſt affectionate parts which may help to anſwer a queſtion, and appeaſe a ſcruple, and may give rule for determination of many caſes of conſcience. For I have ſo ordered the conſiderations, that they ſpend not themſelves in meer affections and ineffective paſſions; but they are made doctrinal, and little repoſitories of duty. But becauſe of the variety of mens ſpirits and of mens neceſſities, it was neceſſary I ſhould interpoſe ſome practical diſcourſes more ſevere. For it is but a ſad thought to conſider, that piety and books of devotion are counted but entertainment for little underſtandings and ſofter ſpirits. And although there is much fault in ſuch imperious minds, that they will not diſtinguiſh the weakneſs of the writers from the reaſonableneſs and wiſdom of the religion; yet I cannot but think the books themſelves are in a large degree the occaſion of ſo great indevotion; becauſe they are (ſome few excepted) repreſented naked in the concluſions of ſpiritual life, without or art or learning, and made apt for perſons who can do nothing but believe and love; not for them that can conſider and love. And it is not well, that, ſince nothing is more reaſonable and excellent in all perfections ſpiritual than the doctrines of the Spirit or holy life, yet nothing is offered to us ſo unlearnedly as this is, ſo miſerable and empty of all its own intellectual perfections. If I could, I would have had it otherwiſe in the

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[b] Phil. iv. 8.

preſent books. For ſince the underſtanding is not an idle faculty in a ſpiritual life, but hugely operative to all excellent and reaſonable choices; it were very fit that this faculty were alſo entertained by ſuch diſcourſes which God intended as inſtruments of hallowing it, as he intended it towards the ſanctification of the whole man. For want of it, buſy and active men entertain themſelves with notions infinitely unſatisfying and unprofitable: but in the mean time they are not ſo wiſe. For concerning thoſe that ſtudy unprofitable notions, and neglect not only that which is wiſeſt, but that alſo which is of moſt real advantage, I cannot but think as [c] Ariſtotle did of Thales and Anaxagoras, that "they may be "learned, but they are not wiſe; or wiſe, but not prudent, when they "are ignorant of ſuch things as are profitable to them. For ſuppoſe they "know the wonders of nature, and the ſubtilties of metaphyſicks, and "operations mathematical; yet they cannot be prudent, who ſpend them"ſelves wholly upon unprofitable and ineffective contemplations." He is truly wiſe that knows beſt to promote the beſt end, that which he is bound to deſire, and is happy if he obtains, and miſerable if he miſſes: and that is the end of a happy eternity, which is obtained by the only means of living according to the purpoſes of God, and the prime intentions of nature: natural and prime reaſon being now all one with the Chriſtian religion. But then I ſhall only obſerve, that this part of wiſdom, and the excellency of its ſecret and deep reaſon, is not to be diſcerned but by experience: the propoſitions of this philoſophy being (as in many other) empirical, and beſt found out by obſervation of real and material events. So that I may ſay of ſpiritual learning, as Quintilian ſaid of ſome of Plato's books; *Nam Plato, cùm in aliis quibuſdam, tum præcipuè in Timæo, nè intelligi quidem, niſi ab iis qui hanc quoque partem diſciplinæ [muſicæ] diligenter perceperint, poteſt:* the ſecrets of the kingdom of heaven are not underſtood truly and throughly but by the ſons of the kingdom: and by them too in ſeveral degrees, and to various purpoſes: but to evil perſons the whole ſyſtem of this wiſdom is inſipid and flat, dull as the foot of a rock, and unlearned as the elements of our mother-tongue. But ſo are mathematicks to a Scythian boor, and muſick to a camel.

44. But I conſider, that the wiſeſt perſons, and thoſe who know how to value and entertain the more noble faculties of their ſoul, and their precious hours, take more pleaſure in reading the productions of thoſe old wiſe ſpirits, who preſerved natural reaſon and religion in the midſt of heathen darkneſs, (ſuch as are Homer, Euripides, Orpheus, Pindar and Anacreon, Æſchylus and Menander, and all the Greek poets; Plutarch and Polybius, Xenophon, and all thoſe other excellent perſons of both faculties, (whoſe choiceſt dictates are collected by Stobæus) Plato and his ſcholars, Ariſtotle, and after him Porphyry, and all his other diſciples, Pythagoras and his, eſpecially Hierocles; all the old Academicks and Stoicks within the Roman ſchools) more pleaſure, I ſay, in reading theſe, than the triflings of many of the later ſchoolmen, who promoted a petty intereſt of a family, or an unlearned opinion, with great earneſtneſs, but

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[c] Διὸ Ἀναξαγόραν, καὶ Θαλῆν, καὶ τοὺς τοιούτους, σοφοὺς μὲν, φρονίμους δ' οὔ, φασὶν εἶναι, ὅταν ἴδωσιν ἀγνοοῦντας τὰ συμφέρονθ' αὑτοῖς· καὶ περιττὰ μὲν, καὶ θαυμαστὰ, καὶ χαλεπὰ, καὶ δαιμόνια εἰδέναι αὐτούς φασιν· ἄχρηστα δὲ, ὅτι οὐ τὰ ἀνθρώπινα ἀγαθὰ ζητοῦσιν. Arist. l. 6. Eth. cap. 7.

added nothing to Chriſtianity but trouble, ſcruple and vexation. And from hence, I hope, that they may the rather be invited to love and conſider the rare documents of Chriſtianity, which certainly is the great treaſure-houſe of thoſe excellent, moral and perfective diſcourſes, which with much pains and greater pleaſure we find reſperſed and thinly ſcattered in all the Greek and Roman poets, hiſtorians and philoſophers. But becauſe I have obſerved, that there are ſome principles entertained into the perſuaſions of men, which are the ſeeds of evil life; ſuch as are, the doctrine of late repentance, the miſtakes of the definition of the ſins of infirmity, the evil underſtanding the conſequents and nature of original ſin, the ſufficiency of contrition in order to pardon, the efficacy of the rites of Chriſtianity without the neceſſity of moral adherences, the nature of faith, and many other; I was diligent to remark ſuch doctrines, and to pare off the miſtakes ſo far that they hinder not piety, and yet, as near as I could, without engaging in any queſtion in which the very life of Chriſtianity is not concerned.

Hæc ſum profatus----haud ambagibus
Implicita, ſed quæ regulis æqui & boni
Suffulta, rudibus pariter & doctis patent.[d]

My great purpoſe is to advance the neceſſity, and to declare the manner and parts of a good life,[e] and to invite ſome perſons to the conſideration of all the parts of it, by intermixing ſomething of pleaſure with the uſe; others by ſuch parts which will better entertain their ſpirits than a romance. I have followed the deſign of Scripture, and have given milk for babes, and for ſtronger men ſtronger meat; and in all I have deſpiſed my own reputation, by ſo ſtriving to make it uſeful, that I was leſs careful to make it ſtrict in retired ſenſes, and imboſſed with unneceſſary, but graceful ornaments. I pray God this may go forth into a bleſſing to all that ſhall uſe it, and reflect bleſſings upon me all the way, that my ſpark may grow greater by kindling my brother's taper, and God may be glorified in us both. If the reader ſhall receive no benefit, yet I intended him one, and I have laboured in order to it; and I ſhall receive a great recompence for that intention, if he ſhall pleaſe to ſay this prayer for me, "That "while I have preached to others, I may not become a caſt-away."

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[d] Polynic. apud Eurip.

[e] Ἡ παροῦσα πραγματεία οὐ θεωρίας ἕνεκά ἐστιν, ὥσπερ αἱ ἄλλαι· οὐ γὰρ ἵν' εἰδῶμεν τί ἐστιν ἡ ἀρετὴ, σκεπτόμεθα, ἀλλ' ἵν' ἀγαθοὶ γενώμεθα. Arist. Ethic. l. 2.

AN

AN
EXHORTATION
To the IMITATION of the
LIFE of CHRIST.

HOWEVER the perſon of JESUS CHRIST was depreſſed with a load of humble accidents, and ſhadowed with the darkneſſes of poverty and ſad contingencies, ſo that the Jews, and the contemporary ages of the Gentiles, and the apoſtles themſelves (at firſt) could not diſcern the brighteſt eſſence of divinity: yet as a beauty artificially covered with a thin cloud of cypreſs tranſmits its excellency to the eye, made more greedy and apprehenſive by that imperfect and weak reſtraint; ſo was the ſanctity and holineſs of the life of JESUS glorious in its darkneſſes, and found confeſſors and admirers even in the midſt of thoſe deſpites which were done him upon the contrariant deſigns of malice and contradictory ambition. Thus the wife of Pilate called him *that juſt perſon*; Pilate pronounced him *guiltleſs*; Judas ſaid he was *innocent*; the devil himſelf called him *the Holy One of God*. For however it might concern any man's miſtaken ends to miſlike the purpoſe of his preaching and ſpiritual kingdom, and thoſe doctrines which were deſtructive of their complacencies and carnal ſecurities: yet they could not deny but that he was a man of God, of exemplary ſanctity, of an angelical chaſtity, of a life ſweet, affable, and complying with human converſation, and as obedient to government as the moſt humble children of the kingdom. And yet he was Lord of all the world.

2. AND certainly very much of this was with a deſign, that he might ſhine to all the generations and ages of the world, and become a guiding ſtar, and a *pillar of fire* to us in our journey. For we who believe that Jeſus was perfect God and perfect man, do alſo believe that one minute of his intolerable paſſion, and every action of his, might have been ſatisfactory, and enough for the expiation and reconcilement of ten thouſand worlds: and God might upon a leſs effuſion of blood, and a ſhorter life of merit, (if he had pleaſed) have accepted human nature to pardon and favour: but, that the holy JESUS hath added ſo many excellent inſtances of holineſs, and ſo many degrees of paſſion, and ſo many kinds of virtues, it is, that he might become an example to us, and reconcile our wills to him, as well as our perſons to his heavenly Father.

3. AND indeed it will prove but a ſad conſideration, that one drop of blood might be enough to obtain our pardon, and the treaſures of his blood running out till the fountain it ſelf was dry ſhall not be enough to procure our conformity to him; that the ſmalleſt minute of his expence ſhall be enough to juſtify us, and the whole magazine ſhall not procure our ſanctification; that at a ſmaller expence God might pardon us, and at a greater we will not imitate him: for therefore *Chriſt hath ſuffered for us*, (ſaith the apoſtle) *leaving an example to us, that we might follow his ſteps*.[*] The leaſt of our wills coſt Chriſt as much as the greateſt of our ſins. And therefore he calls himſelf *the Way, the Truth, and the Life*: that as he redeems our ſouls from death to life by becoming *Life* to our perſons, ſo he is *the Truth* to our underſtanding, and *the Way* to our will and affections, enlightning that, and leading theſe in the paths of a happy eternity.

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[*] 1 Pet. ii. 21.

4. **When** the king of Moab was preſſed hard by the ſons of Iſaac,[b] [the Iſraelites and Edomites] he took the king of Edom's eldeſt ſon, or, as ſome think, his own ſon, the heir of his kingdom, and offered him as a holocauſt upon the wall; and the Edomites preſently raiſed the ſiege at Kir-haraſeth, and went to their own country. The ſame and much more was God's deſign, who took not his enemy's, but his own ſon, his only-begotten ſon, and *God himſelf*, and offered him up in ſacrifice, to make us leave our perpetual fightings againſt heaven: and if we ſtill perſiſt, we are hardened beyond the wildneſſes of the Arabs and Edomites, and neither are receptive of the impreſſes of pity nor humanity, who neither have compaſſion to the ſuffering of Jeſus, nor compliance with the deſigns of God, nor conformity to the holineſs and obedience of our guide. In a dark night, if an *ignis fatuus* do but precede us, the glaring of its leſſer flames do ſo amuſe our eyes, that we follow it into rivers and precipices, as if the ray of that falſe light were deſigned on purpoſe to be our path to tread in: and therefore not to follow the glories of the ſun of righteouſneſs, who indeed leads us over rocks and difficult places, but ſecures us againſt the danger, and guides us into ſafety, is the greateſt both undecency and unthankfulneſs in the world.

5. **In** the great council of eternity, when God ſet down the laws and knit faſt the eternal bands of predeſtination, he made it one of his great purpoſes to make his Son like us, that we alſo might be like his holy Son;[c] he, by taking our nature; we, by imitating his holineſs. *God hath predeſtinated us to be conformable to the image of his Son*, (ſaith the [d]apoſtle.) For the firſt in every kind is in nature propounded as the pattern of the reſt. And as the ſun, the prince of all the bodies of light, and the fire of all warm ſubſtances, is the principle, the rule and the copy which they in their proportions imitate and tranſcribe: ſo is the *Word* incarnate the great example of all the predeſtinate; for *he is the firſt-born among many brethren*. And therefore it was a precept of the apoſtle, and by his doctrine we underſtand its meaning, [e] *Put you on the Lord Jeſus Chriſt*. The ſimilitude declares the duty. As a garment is compoſed and made of the ſame faſhion with the body, and is applied to each part in its true figure and commenſuration: ſo ſhould we *put on Chriſt*,[f] and imitate the whole body of his ſanctity, conforming to every integral part, and expreſs him in our lives; that God ſeeing our impreſſes, may know whoſe image and ſuperſcription we bear; and we may be acknowledged for ſons, when we have the ayre and features and reſemblances of our elder brother.

6. **In** the practice of this duty we may be helped by certain conſiderations, which are like the proportion of ſo many rewards. For this, according to the nature of all holy exerciſes, ſtays not for pay till its work be quite finiſhed; but like muſick in churches, is pleaſure and piety, and ſalary beſides. So is every work of grace full of pleaſure in the execution, and is abundantly rewarded, beſides the ſtipend of a glorious eternity.

7. **First**, I conſider, that nothing is more honourable than to be like God; and the heathens, worſhippers of falſe deities, grew vicious upon that [g] ſtock: and we, who have fondneſſes of imitation, counting a deformity full of honour, if by it we may be [h] like our prince (for pleaſures were in their height in Capreæ, becauſe Tiberius there wallowed in them; and a wry neck in Nero's court was the mode of gallantry) might do well to make our imitations prudent and glorious, and, by propounding excellent examples, heighten our faculties to the capacities of an evenneſs with the beſt of precedents. He that ſtrives to imitate another, admires him, and confeſſes his own imperfections: and therefore that our admirations be not flattering, nor our confeſſions fantaſtick and impertinent, it were but reaſonable to admire Him from whom really all perfections do derive, and before whoſe glories all our imperfections muſt confeſs their ſhame, and needs of reformation. God, by a voice from heaven, and by ſixteen generations of miracles and grace, hath atteſted the holy Jeſus to be the fountain of ſanctity, and the *wonderful Counſellor*, and *the Captain of our ſufferings*, and the Guide of our manners, by being his beloved Son, in whom he took pleaſure and complacency to the height of ſatisfaction. And if any thing in the world be motive of our affections, or ſatisfactory to our underſtandings, what is there

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[b] 2 Kings iii. 27.

[c] Διὰ Θεομιμησίας εἰς Θεοπτίαν ἀξιούμενος. S. Dionyſ.

[d] Rom. viii. 29. [e] Rom. xiii. 14.

[f] Ἡ γὰρ σύμφωνος τοῦ νόμου τιμὴ, ἥτις οὐσίας ἐστὶ τῶν τιμωμένων γνῶσις, καὶ ἡ πρὸς αὐτὴν κατὰ δύναμιν ἐξομοίωσις· ὃ γὰρ ἀγαπᾷ τις, καὶ μιμεῖται ἐκεῖνο οὗ τι· ὡς γάρ φασιν οἱ Πυθαγόρειοι, Τιμήσεις τὸν Θεὸν ἄριστα, ἐὰν τῷ Θεῷ τὴν διάνοιαν ἀφομοιώσῃς. Hierocles.

[g] Adulterio delectatur quis? Jovem reſpicit, & indè cupiditatis ſuæ fomenta conquirit: probat, imitatur, & laudat, quòd Deus ſuus in cycno fallit, in tauro rapit, ludit in Satyro. Cœnum de cœlo facitis, & errantes animos per abrupta præcipitia crudeli calamitate ducitis, cùm hominibus peccare volentibus facinorum viam Deorum monſtratis exemplis. Julius Firmic. de Error. prof. Relig.

[h] Facere rectè cives ſuos princeps optimus faciendo docet: cúmque ſit imperio magnus, exemplo magis eſt. Vellei. Paterc.

——— νουθετητέος δέ μοι
Φοῖβος, τί πάσχει παρθένους βίᾳ γαμῶν,
Προδίδωσι παῖδας τεκνούμενος λάθρᾳ,
Θνήσκοντας ἀμελεῖ. Μὴ σύ γ', ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ κρατεῖς,
Ἀρετὰς δίωκε. ———

Eurip. Ion.

in heaven or earth we can deſire or imagine beyond a likeneſs to God, and participation of the divine nature and perfections? And therefore, as when the ſun ariſes every man goes to his work, and warms himſelf with his heat, and is refreſhed with his influences, and meaſures his labour with his courſe: ſo ſhould we frame all the actions of our life by his light, who hath ſhined by an excellent righteouſneſs, that we no more walk in darkneſs, nor ſleep in lethargies, or run a-gazing after the leſſer and imperfect beauties of the night. It is the weakneſs of the organ that makes us hold our hand between the ſun and us, and yet ſtand ſtaring upon a meteor or an inflamed jelly. And our judgments are as miſtaken, and our appetites are as ſottiſh, if we propound to ourſelves in the courſes and deſigns of perfection any copy but of him, or ſomething like him, who is the moſt perfect. And leſt we think his glories too great to behold,

8. SECONDLY, I conſider, that the imitation of the life of Jeſus is a duty of that excellency and perfection, that we are helped in it, not only by the aſſiſtance of a good and a great example, which poſſibly might be too great, and ſcare our endeavours and attempts; but alſo by its eaſineſs, compliance and proportion to us. For Jeſus in his whole life converſed with men with a modeſt virtue, which like a well-kindled fire fitted with juſt materials caſts a conſtant heat[i]; not like an inflamed heap of ſtubble, glaring with great emiſſions, and ſuddenly ſtooping into the thickneſs of ſmoke. His piety was even, conſtant, unblameable, complying with civil ſociety, without affrightment of precedent, or prodigious inſtances of action greater than the imitation of men. For if we obſerve our bleſſed Saviour in the whole ſtory of his life, although he was without ſin, yet the inſtances of his piety were the actions of a very holy, but of an ordinary life. And we may obſerve this difference in the ſtory of Jeſus from eccleſiaſtical writings of certain beatified perſons, whoſe life is told rather to amaze us, and to create ſcruples, than to lead us in the evenneſſes and ſerenity of a holy conſcience. Such are the prodigious penances of Simeon Stylites, the abſtinence of the religious retired into the mountain Nitria; but eſpecially the ſtories of later ſaints in the midſt of a declining piety and aged Chriſtendom, where perſons are repreſented holy by way of idea and fancy, if not to promote the intereſts of a family and inſtitution. But our bleſſed Saviour, though his eternal union and adherences of love and obedience to his heavenly father were next to infinite; yet in his external actions, in which only, with the correſpondence of the Spirit in thoſe actions, he propounds himſelf imitable, he did ſo converſe with men, that men after that example might for ever converſe with him. We find that ſome ſaints have had excreſcences and eruptions of holineſs in the inſtances of uncommanded duties, which in the ſame particulars we find not in the ſtory of the life of Jeſus. John Baptiſt was a greater mortifier than his Lord was; and ſome princes have given more money than all Chriſt's family did, whilſt he was alive. But the difference which is obſervable is, that although ſome men did ſome acts of counſel in order to attain that perfection which in Jeſus was eſſential and unalterable, and was not acquired by degrees, and means of danger and difficulty; yet no man ever did his whole duty, ſave only the holy Jeſus. The beſt of men did ſometimes actions not preciſely and ſtrictly requiſite, and ſuch as were beſides the precept; but yet in the greateſt flames of their ſhining piety they prevaricated ſomething of the commandment. They that have done the moſt things beyond, have alſo done ſome things ſhort of their duty. But Jeſus, who intended himſelf the example of piety, did in manners as in the rule of faith, which, becauſe it was propounded to all men, was fitted to every underſtanding; it was true, neceſſary, ſhort, eaſy, and intelligible. So was his rule and his copy fitted not only with excellencies worthy, but with compliances poſſible to be imitated: of glories ſo great, that the moſt early and conſtant induſtry muſt confeſs its own imperfections; and yet ſo ſweet and humane, that the greateſt infirmity, if pious, ſhall find comfort and encouragement. Thus God gave his children manna from heaven; and though it was excellent like the food of angels, yet it conformed to every palate, according to that appetite which their ſeveral fancies and conſtitutions did produce.

9. BUT now when the example of Jeſus is ſo excellent, that it allures and tempts with its facility and ſweetneſs, and that we are not commanded to imitate a life, whoſe ſtory tells of ecſtaſies in prayer, and [k] abſtractions of ſenſes, and immaterial tranſportations, and faſtings to the exinanition of ſpirits, and diſabling all animal operations; but of a life of juſtice and temperance, of chaſtity and piety, of charity and devotion; ſuch a life without which human ſociety cannot be conſerved, and by which as our irregularities

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[i] Admonetur omnis ætas fieri poſſe quod aliquando factum eſt. Exempla fiunt quæ jam eſſe facinora deſtiterunt. S. CYPRIAN.

[k] Ἐν εὐχῇ μετέωρος τῆς γῆς, [illegible] πλέον ἢ δέκα πήχεις εἰκάζεσθαι, dixit Eunapius de Jamblicho.

ties are made regular, ſo our weakneſſes are not upbraided, nor our miſeries made a mockery; we find ſo much reaſon to addreſs ourſelves to a heavenly imitation of ſo bleſſed a pattern, that the reaſonableneſs of the thing will be a great argument to chide every degree and minute of neglect. It was a ſtrange and a confident encouragement which Phocion uſed to a timorous Greek who was condemned to die with him; "Is it not enough to thee that thou muſt die with Phocion?" I am ſure, he that is moſt incurious of the iſſues of his life, is yet willing enough to reign with Jeſus, when he looks upon the glories repreſented without the duty: but it is a very great ſtupidity and unreaſonableneſs, not to live with him in the imitation of ſo holy and ſo prompt a piety. It is glorious to do what he did, and a ſhame to decline his ſufferings, when there was a God to hallow and ſanctify the actions, and a man cloathed with infirmity to undergo the ſharpneſs of the paſſion; ſo that the glory of the perſon added excellency to the firſt, and the tenderneſs of the perſon excuſed not from ſuffering the latter.

10. THIRDLY, Every action of the life of Jeſus, as it is imitable by us, is of ſo excellent merit, that by making up the treaſure of grace, it becomes full of aſſiſtances to us, and obtains of God grace to enable us to its imitation by way of influence and impetration. For as in the acquiſition of habits, the very exerciſe of the action does produce a facility to the action, and in ſome proportion becomes the cauſe of itſelf: ſo does every exerciſe of the life of Chriſt kindle its own fires, inſpires breath into itſelf: and makes an univocal production of itſelf in a differing ſubject. And Jeſus becomes the fountain of ſpiritual life to us, as the prophet Eliſha to the dead child: when he ſtretched his hands upon the child's hands, laid his mouth to his mouth, and formed his poſture to the boy, and breathed into him, the ſpirit returned again into the child at the prayer of Eliſha: ſo when our lives are formed into the imitation of the life of the holieſt Jeſus, the Spirit of God returns into us, not only by the efficacy of the imitation, but by the merit and impetration of the actions of Jeſus. It is reported in the Bohemian ſtory,[1] that S. Wenceſlaus, their king, one winter-night going to his devotions in a remote church, bare-footed, in the ſnow and ſharpneſs of unequal and pointed ice, his ſervant Podavivus, who waited upon his maſter's piety, and endeavoured to imitate his affections, began to faint thro the violence of the ſnow and cold, till the king commanded him to follow him, and ſet his feet in the ſame footſteps which his feet ſhould mark for him. The ſervant did ſo, and either fancied a cure, or found one; for he followed his prince, help'd forward with ſhame and zeal to his imitation, and by the forming footſteps for him in the ſnow. In the ſame manner does the bleſſed Jeſus: for ſince our way is troubleſome, obſcure, full of objection and danger, apt to be miſtaken, and to affright our induſtry, he commands us to mark his footſteps, to tread where his feet have ſtood; and not only invites us forward by the argument of his example, but he hath trodden down much of the difficulty, and made the way eaſier and fit for our feet. For he knows our infirmities, and himſelf hath felt their experience in all things but in the neighbourhoods of ſin: and therefore he hath proportion'd a way and a path to our ſtrengths and capacities, and, like Jacob, hath marched ſoftly and in evenneſs with the children and the cattel, to entertain us by the comforts of his company, and the influences of a perpetual guide.

11. FOURTHLY, But we muſt know, that not every thing which Chriſt did is imitable by us; neither did he, in the work of our redemption, in all things imitate his heavenly Father. For there are ſome things which are iſſues of an abſolute power, ſome are expreſſes of ſupreme dominion, ſome are actions of a judge. And therefore Jeſus prayed for his enemies, and wept over Jeruſalem; when at the ſame inſtant his eternal Father laughed them to ſcorn: for he knew that their day was coming, and himſelf had decreed their ruin. But it became the holy Jeſus to imitate his Father's mercies; for himſelf was the great inſtrument of the eternal compaſſion, and was the inſtance of mercy: and therefore in the operation of his Father's deſign every action of his was univocal, and he ſhewed the power of his Divinity in nothing but in miracles of mercy, and illuſtrations of faith, by creating arguments of credibility. In the ſame proportion we follow Jeſus, as himſelf followed his Father. For what he abated by the order to his intendment and deſign, we abate by the proportions of our nature. For ſome excellent acts of his were demonſtrations of Divinity, and an excellent grace poured forth upon him *without meaſure* was their inſtrument: to which proportions if we ſhould extend our infirmities, we ſhould crack our ſinews, and diſſolve the ſilver cords, before we could entertain the inſtances, and ſupport the burthen. Jeſus faſted forty days and forty nights: but the manner of our faſtings hath been in all ages limited to the term of an artificial day; and in the primitive obſervations and the Jewiſh rites, men did eat their meal as ſoon as the ſtars

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[1] Hiſtor. Bohem. l. 4.

ſhone in the firmament. We never read that Jeſus laughed, and but once that he rejoiced in ſpirit: but the declenſions of our natures cannot bear the weight of a perpetual grave deportment, without the intervals of refreſhment and free alacrity. Our ever-bleſſed Saviour ſuffered the devotion of Mary Magdalen to tranſport her to an expenſive expreſſion of her religion, and twice to anoint his feet with coſtly nard: and yet if perſons whoſe conditions were of no greater luſtre or reſplendency of fortune than was conſpicuous in his family and retinue, ſhould ſuffer the ſame profuſion upon the dreſſing and perfuming their bodies, poſſibly it might be truly ſaid, *It might better be ſold and diſtributed to the poor*. This Jeſus received as he was the CHRIST and Anointed of the Lord; and by this he ſuffered himſelf to be deſigned to burial, and he received the oblation as euchariſtical for the ejection of ſeven devils; for *therefore ſhe loved much*.

12. THE inſtances are not many. For however Jeſus had ſome extraordinary tranſvolations and acts of emigration beyond the lines of his even and ordinary converſation, yet it was but ſeldom: for his being exemplary was of ſo great conſideration, that he choſe to have fewer inſtances of wonder, that he might tranſmit the more of an imitable virtue. And therefore we may eſtabliſh this for a rule and limit of our imitations: becauſe Chriſt our Lawgiver hath deſcribed all his Father's will in ſanctions and ſignature of laws: whatſoever he commanded, and whatſoever he did of preciſe morality, or in purſuance of the laws of nature, in that we are to trace his footſteps. And in theſe his laws and his practice differ but as a map and a guide, a law and a judge, a rule and a precedent. But in the ſpecial inſtances of action, we are to abate the circumſtances, and to ſeparate the obedience from the effect. Whatſoever was moral in a ceremonial performance, that is highly imitable; and the obedience of ſacrificing, and the ſubordination to laws actually in being, even now they are abrogated, teach us our duty, in a differing ſubject, upon the like reaſon. Jeſus's going up to Jeruſalem to the feaſts, and his obſervation of the ſabbaths, teach us our duty in celebration of feſtivals conſtituted by a competent and juſt authority. For that which gave excellency to the obſervation of Moſaical rites was an evangelical duty; and the piety of obedience did not only conſecrate the obſervations of Levi, but taught us our duty in the conſtitutions of Chriſtianity.

13. FIFTHLY, As the holy Jeſus did ſome things which we are not to imitate, ſo we alſo are to do ſome things which we cannot learn from his example. For there are ſome of our duties which preſuppoſe a ſtate of ſin, and ſome ſuppoſe a violent temptation and promptneſs to it: and the duties of prevention and the inſtruments of reſtitution are proper to us, but conveyed only by precept, and not by precedent. Such are all the parts and actions of repentance, the duties of mortification and ſelf-denial. For whatſoever the holy Jeſus did in the matter of auſterity, looked directly upon the work of our redemption, and looked back only on us by a reflex act, as Chriſt did on Peter when he looked him into repentance. Some ſtates of life alſo there are which Jeſus never led; ſuch are thoſe of temporal governors, kings and judges, merchants, lawyers, and the ſtate of marriage: in the courſe of which lives many caſes do occur which need a precedent, and the vivacity of an excellent example; eſpecially, ſince all the rules which they have, have not prevented the ſubtilty of the many inventions which men have found out, nor made proviſion for all contingencies. Such perſons in all their ſpecial needs are to govern their actions by the rules of proportion, by analogy to the holineſs of the perſon of Jeſus, and the ſanctity of his inſtitution; conſidering what might become a perſon profeſſing the diſcipline of ſo holy a Maſter, and what he would have done in the like caſe; taking our heights by the excellency of his innocency and charity. Only remember this, that in ſuch caſes we muſt always judge on the ſtricteſt ſide of piety and charity, if it be a matter concerning the intereſt of a ſecond perſon; and that in all things we do thoſe actions which are fartheſt removed from ſcandal, and ſuch as towards our ſelves are ſevere, towards others full of gentleneſs and ſweetneſs. For ſo would the righteous and merciful Jeſus have done. Theſe are the beſt analogies and proportions. And in ſuch caſes, when the wells are dry, let us take water from a ciſtern, and propound to our ſelves ſome exemplary ſaint, the neceſſities of whoſe life have determined his piety to the like occurrences.

14. BUT now from theſe particulars we ſhall beſt account to what the duty of the imitation of Jeſus does amount. For it ſignifies, that we *ſhould walk as he walked*, tread in his ſteps, with our hand upon the guide, and our eye upon his rule; that we ſhould do glory to him, as he did to his Father; and that whatſoever we do, we ſhould be careful that it do him honour, and no reproach to his inſtitution: and then account theſe to be the integral parts of our duty, which are imitations of his actions or his ſpirit, of his rule

or of his life; there being no better imitation of him than in ſuch actions as do him pleaſure, however he hath expreſſed or intimated the precedent.

15. He that gives alms to the poor takes Jeſus by the hand; he that patiently endures injuries and affronts, helps him to bear his croſs; he that comforts his brother in affliction, gives an amiable kiſs of peace to Jeſus; he that bathes his own and his neighbour's ſins in tears of penance and compaſſion, waſhes his Maſter's feet. We lead Jeſus into the receſſes of our heart by holy meditations; and we enter into his heart, when we expreſs him in our actions: for ſo the apoſtle ſays, *He that is in Chriſt walks as he alſo walked.*[m] But thus the actions of our life relate to him by way of worſhip and religion: but the uſe is admirable and effectual, when our actions refer to him as our copy, and we tranſcribe the original to the life. He that conſiders with what affections and lancinations of ſpirit, with what effuſions of love Jeſus prayed, what fervours and aſſiduity, what innocency of wiſh, what modeſty of poſture, what ſubordination to his Father, and conformity to the divine pleaſure, were in all his devotions, is taught and excited to holy and religious prayer. The rare ſweetneſs of his deportment in all temptations and violences of his paſſion, his charity to his enemies, his ſharp reprehenſions to the Scribes and Phariſees, his ingenuity toward all men, are living and effectual ſermons to teach us patience and humility, and zeal and candid ſimplicity, and juſtice in all our actions. I add no more inſtances, becauſe all the following diſcourſes will be proſecutions of this intendment. And the life of Jeſus is not deſcribed to be like a picture in a chamber of pleaſure, only for beauty, and entertainment of the eye; but like the Egyptian hieroglyphicks, whoſe every feature is a precept, and the images converſe with men by ſenſe, and ſignification of excellent diſcourſes.

16. It was not without great reaſon adviſed, that every man ſhould propound the example of a wiſe and virtuous perſonage, as Cato, or Socrates, or Brutus,[n] and, by a fiction of imagination, to ſuppoſe him preſent as a witneſs, and really to take his life as the direction of all our actions. The beſt and moſt excellent of the old lawgivers and philoſophers among the Greeks[o] had an allay of viciouſneſs, and could not be exemplary all over. Some were noted for flatterers, as Plato and Ariſtippus; ſome for incontinency, as Ariſtotle, Epicurus, Zeno, Theognis, Plato, and Ariſtippus again; and Socrates, whom their oracle affirmed to be the wiſeſt and moſt perfect man, yet was by Porphyry noted for extreme intemperance of anger both in words and actions. And thoſe Romans who were offered to them for examples, although they were great in reputation, yet they had alſo great vices: Brutus dipt his hand in the blood of Cæſar his prince, and his father by love, endearments, and adoption; and Cato was but a wiſe man all day, at night he was uſed to drink wine too liberally; and both he and Socrates did give their wives unto their friends; the philoſopher and the cenſor were procurers of their wives unchaſtity. And yet theſe were the beſt among the Gentiles. But how happy and richly furniſhed are Chriſtians with precedents of ſaints, whoſe faith and revelations have been productive of more ſpiritual graces, and greater degrees of moral perfections? and this I call the privilege of a very great aſſiſtance, that I might advance the reputation and account of the life of the glorious Jeſu, which is not abated by the imperfections of human nature, as they were, but receives great heightnings and perfections from the Divinity of his Perſon, of which they were never capable.

17. Let us therefore preſs after Jeſus, as Eliſha did after his maſter, with an inſeparable proſecution, even whitherſoever he goes; that, according to the reaſonableneſs and proportion expreſſed in St. Paul's advice, *As we have born the image of the earthly, we may alſo bear the image of the heavenly.*[p] For, "in vain are we called Chriſtians, "if we live not according to the example and diſcipline of Chriſt the Father of the "inſtitution."[q] When St. Laurence was in the midſt of the torments of the gridiron, he made this to be the matter of his joy and euchariſt, that he was admitted to the gates through which Jeſus had entred: and therefore thrice happy are they *who walk in his courts* all their days. And it is yet a nearer union and vicinity, to imprint his life in our ſouls, and expreſs it in our exterior converſe: and this is done by him only who (as St. Proſper[r] deſcribes the duty) deſpiſes all thoſe gilded vanities which he deſpiſed, that

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[m] 1 John ii. 6.

[n] Seneca, Ep. 11.

[o] Athenagoras, lib. 3. & 13. & Theognis de ſe. Idem teſtantur Laertius & Lactantius. Hoc notat S. Cyrillus, l. 6. contra Julian.

Narratur & priſci Catonis Sæpe mero caluiſſe virtus. Horat.

Majorum & ſapientiſſimorum diſciplina, Græci Socratis, & Romani Catonis, qui uxores ſuas amicis communicaverunt, quas in matrimonium duxerant liberorum causâ, & alibi creandorum, neſcio quidem an invitas: quid n. de caſtitate curarent, quam mariti tam facilè donaverunt? O ſapientiæ Atticæ, O Romanæ gravitatis exemplum! Leno eſt Philoſophus & Cenſor. Tertul. Apol. c. 39.

[p] 1 Cor. xv. 49.

[q] Dictum Malachiæ Abbat. apud S. Bernardum in Vit. S. Mal.

[r] Lib. 2. de vita contemplat. cap. 21.

fears none of thoſe ſadneſſes which he ſuffered, that practiſes or alſo teaches thoſe doctrines which he taught, and hopes for the accompliſhment of all his promiſes. And this is [s] trueſt religion, and the moſt ſolemn adoration.

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[s] Religioſiſſimus cultus imitari. LACTANTIUS.

The PRAYER.

O *Eternal, holy, and moſt glorious Jeſu, who haſt united two natures of diſtance infinite, deſcending to the lowneſſes of human nature, that thou mighteſt exalt human nature to a participation of the Divinity; we thy people that ſate in darkneſs and in the ſhadow of death, have ſeen great light, to entertain our underſtandings, and enlighten our ſouls with its excellent influences: for the excellency of thy ſanctity ſhining gloriouſly in every part of thy life is like thy angel, the pillar of fire which called thy children from the darkneſſes of Egypt. Lord, open mine eyes, and give me power to behold thy righteous glories; and let my ſoul be ſo entertained with affections and holy ardors, that I may never look back upon the flames of Sodom, but may follow thy light, which recreates and enlightens, and guides us to the mountains of ſafety, and ſanctuaries of holineſs. Holy Jeſu, ſince thy image is imprinted on our nature by creation, let me alſo expreſs thy image by all the parts of a holy life, conforming my will and affections to thy holy precepts, ſubmitting my underſtanding to the dictates and leſſons of perfection; imitating thy ſweetneſſes and excellencies of ſociety, thy devotion in prayer, thy conformity to God, thy zeal tempered with meekneſs, thy patience heightned with charity: that heart, and hands, and eyes, and all my faculties may grow up with the increaſe of God, till I come to the full meaſure of the ſtature of Chriſt, even to be a perfect man in Chriſt Jeſus: that at laſt* in thy light I may ſee light, *and reap the fruits of glory from the ſeeds of ſanctity in the imitation of thy holy life,* O *bleſſed and holy Saviour Jeſu.* Amen.

THE

BRITISH
5 AU 70
MUSEUM

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
LIFE and DEATH
OF THE
HOLY JESUS;

BEGINNING

At the Annunciation to the Bleſſed Virgin MARY,
until his Baptiſm and Temptation incluſively.

WITH

CONSIDERATIONS and DISCOURSES upon the
ſeveral Parts of the Story:

And PRAYERS fitted to the ſeveral MYSTERIES.

The FIRST PART.

Qui ſequitur me, non ambulat in tenebris.

N

BRITISH MUSEUM

THE LIFE Of our Bleſſed Lord and Saviour JESUS CHRIST.

SECT. I.

The Hiſtory of the Conception of JESUS.

1. WHEN the fulneſs of time was come, after the frequent repetition of promiſes, the expectation of the Jewiſh nation, the longings and tedious waitings of all holy perſons, *the departure of the ſcepter from Judah, and the lawgiver from between his feet*; when the number of Daniel's years was accompliſhed, and the Egyptian and Syrian kingdoms had their period; God having great compaſſion towards mankind, remembering his promiſes and our great neceſſities, *ſent his Son into the world*, to take upon him our nature, and all that guilt of ſin which ſtuck cloſe to our nature, and all that puniſhment which was conſequent to our ſin: which came to paſs after this manner.

2. IN the days of Herod the king, *the angel Gabriel was ſent from God to a city of Galilee named Nazareth*, to a holy *maid called Mary, eſpouſed to Joſeph*, and found her in a capacity and excellent diſpoſition to receive the greateſt honour that ever was done to the daughters of men. Her employment was holy and pious, her perſon young, her years florid and ſpringing, her body chaſte, her mind humble, and a rare repoſitory of divine graces. She was full of grace and excellencies. And God poured upon her a full meaſure in honour, in making her the mother of the Meſſias. For *the angel came to her and ſaid, Hail thou that art highly favoured, the Lord is with thee; bleſſed art thou among women.*

3. WE cannot but imagine the greateſt mixture of innocent diſturbances and holy paſſions that in the firſt addreſs of the angel did rather diſcompoſe her ſettledneſs and interrupt the ſilence of her ſpirits, than diſpoſſeſs her dominion which ſhe ever kept over thoſe ſubjects, which never had been taught to rebel beyond the mere poſſibilities of natural imperfection. But if the angel appeared in the ſhape of a man, it was an unuſual arreſt to the bleſſed virgin, who was accuſtomed to retirements and ſolitarineſs, and had not known an experience of admitting a comely perſon, but a ſtranger, to her cloſet and privacies. But if the heavenly meſſenger did retain a diviner form, more ſymbolical to angelical nature, and more proportionable to his glorious meſſage; although her daily employment was a converſation with angels, who in their daily miniſtring to the ſaints *did behold her chaſte converſation coupled with fear*; yet they uſed not any affrightning glories in the offices of their daily attendances, but were ſeen only by ſpiritual diſcernings. However ſo it happened, that *when ſhe ſaw him ſhe was troubled at his ſaying, and caſt in her mind what manner of ſalutation this ſhould be.*

4. BUT the angel, who came with deſigns of honour and comfort to her, not willing that the inequality and glory of the meſſenger ſhould, like too glorious a light to a weaker eye, rather confound the faculty than enlighten the organ, did, before her thoughts could find a tongue, invite her to a more familiar confidence than poſſibly a tender virgin (though of the greateſt ſerenity and compoſure) could have put on in the preſence of ſuch a beauty and ſuch a holineſs. *And the angel ſaid unto her, Fear not, Mary, for thou haſt found favour with God. And behold, thou ſhalt conceive in thy womb, and bring forth a Son, and ſhalt call his name* JESUS.

5. THE holy virgin knew her ſelf a perſon very unlikely to be a mother: for although the deſires of becoming a mother to the MESSIAS were great in every of the daughters of Jacob, and about that time the expectation of his revelation was high and pregnant, and therefore ſhe was eſpouſed to an honeſt and juſt perſon of her kindred and family, and ſo might not deſpair to become a mother; yet ſhe was a perſon of a rare ſanctity, and ſo mortified a ſpirit, that for all this diſpenſation of her according to the deſire of her parents, and the cuſtom of the nation, ſhe had not ſet one ſtep toward the conſummation of her marriage, ſo much as in thought; and poſſibly had ſet her ſelf back from it by a vow of chaſtity and holy cœlibate. For *Mary ſaid unto the angel, How ſhall this be, ſeeing I know not a man?*

6. BUT the angel, who was a perſon of that nature which knows no conjunctions but thoſe of love and duty, knew that the piety of her ſoul and the religion of her chaſte purpoſes was a great imitator of angelical purity, and therefore perceived where the philoſophy of her queſtion did conſiſt; and being taught of God, declared, that the manner ſhould be as miraculous as the meſſage it ſelf was glorious. For the angel told her, that this ſhould not be done by any way which our ſin and the ſhame of Adam had unhallowed, by turning nature into a bluſh, and forcing her to a retirement from a publick atteſting the means of her own preſervation; but the whole matter was from God, and ſo ſhould the manner be. For *the angel ſaid unto her, The holy Ghoſt ſhall come upon thee, and the power of the Higheſt ſhall overſhadow thee: therefore alſo that Holy Thing which ſhall be born of thee, ſhall be called the Son of God.*

7. WHEN the bleſſed virgin was ſo aſcertain'd that ſhe ſhould be a mother[a] and a maid, and that two glories, like the two luminaries of heaven, ſhould meet in her, that ſhe might in ſuch a way become the mother of her Lord, that ſhe might with better advantages be his ſervant; then all her hopes and all her deſires received ſuch ſatisfaction, and filled all the corners of her heart ſo much, as indeed it was fain to make room for its reception. But ſhe to whom the greateſt things of religion, and the tranſportations of devotion, were made familiar by the aſſiduity and piety of her daily practices, however ſhe was full of joy, yet ſhe was carried like a full veſſel, without the violent toſſings of a tempeſtuous paſſion, or the wrecks of a ſtormy imagination. And as the power of the Holy Ghoſt did deſcend upon her like rain into a fleece of wool, without any obſtreperous noiſes or violences to nature, but only the extraordinarineſs of an exaltation; ſo her ſpirit received it with the gentleneſs and tranquillity fitted for the entertainment of the ſpirit of love, and a quietneſs ſymbolical to the Holy Gueſt of her ſpotleſs womb, the Lamb of God. For ſhe meekly replied, *Behold the handmaid of the Lord, be it unto me according to thy word. And the angel departed from her,* having done his meſſage. And at the ſame time the Holy Spirit of God did make her to conceive in her womb the immaculate Son of God, the Saviour of the world.

Ad SECT. I.

Conſiderations upon the Annunciation of the Bleſſed Mary, *and the Conception of the Holy* JESUS.

1. THAT which ſhines brighteſt preſents itſelf firſt to the eye; and the devout ſoul in the chain of excellent and precious things which are repreſented in the counſel, deſign, and firſt beginnings of the work of our redemption, hath not leiſure to attend

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[a] ———————— quæ ventre beato
Gaudia matris habens cum virginitatis honore,
Nec primam ſimilem viſa es, nec habere ſequentem.
Sola ſine exemplo placuiſti fœmina Chriſto. SEDUL.

M. Vdr. Gucht Sculp.

And the Angel *said unto her, fear not* Mary: *for thou hast found favour with God. And* Mary *said, behold the Handmaid of the Lord, be it unto me according to thy Word. St. Luke, Chap. 1st. Ver. 30th. 38th.*

BRITISH
5 AU 70
MUSEUM

attend the twinkling of the leſſer ſtars, till it hath ſtood and admired the glory and eminencies of the divine love, manifeſted in the incarnation of the Word eternal.[b] God had no neceſſity in order to the conſervation or the heightning his own felicity, but out of mere and perfect charity, and the bowels of compaſſion, ſent into the world his only Son for remedy to human miſeries, to ennoble our nature by an union with Divinity, to ſanctify it with his juſtice, to enrich it with his grace, to inſtruct it with his doctrine, to fortify it with his example, to reſcue it from ſervitude, to aſſert it into the liberty of the ſons of God, and at laſt to make it partaker of a beatifical reſurrection.

2. God, who in the infinite treaſures of his wiſdom and providence could have found out many other ways for our redemption than the incarnation of his Eternal Son, was pleaſed to chuſe this, not only that the remedy by man might have proportion to the cauſes of our ruin, whoſe introduction and intromiſſion was by the prevarication of man; but alſo that we might with freer diſpenſation receive the influences of a Saviour with whom we communicate in nature. Although Abana and Pharphar, rivers of Damaſcus, were of greater name and current; yet they were not ſo ſalutary as the waters of Jordan to cure Naaman's leproſy. And if God had made the remedy of human nature to come all the way cloathed in prodigy, and every inſtance of its execution had been as terrible, affrighting, and as full of Majeſty, as the apparitions upon mount Sinai; yet it had not been ſo uſeful and complying to human neceſſities, as was the deſcent of God to the ſuſception of human nature, whereby (as in all medicaments) the cure is beſt wrought by thoſe inſtruments which have the feweſt diſſonancies to our temper, and are the neareſt to our conſtitution. For thus the Saviour of the world became humane, alluring, full of invitation and the ſweetneſſes of love, exemplary, humble, and medicinal.

3. And if we conſider the reaſonableneſs of the thing, what can be given more excellent for the redemption of man, than the blood of the Son of God? And what can more ennoble our nature, than that by the means of his holy humanity it was taken up into the [c] cabinet of the myſterious Trinity? What better advocate could we have for us, than him that is appointed to be our Judge? And what greater hopes of reconciliation can be imagined, than that God, in whoſe power it is to give an abſolute pardon, hath taken a new nature, entertained an office, and undergone a life of poverty, with a purpoſe to procure our pardon? For now, though as the righteous Judge he will judge the nations righteouſly; yet by the ſuſception of our nature, and its appendent crimes, he is become a party: and having obliged himſelf as man, as he is God he will ſatisfy, by putting the value of an infinite merit to the actions and ſufferings of his humanity. And if he had not been God, he could not have given us remedy; if he had not been man, we ſhould have wanted the excellency of example.

4. And till now human nature was leſs than that of angels; but by the incarnation of the Word was to be exalted above the cherubims; yet the [d] archangel Gabriel being diſpatched in embaſſy, to repreſent the joy and exaltation of his inferior, inſtantly trims his wings with love and obedience, and haſtens with this narrative to the holy virgin. And if we ſhould reduce our prayers to action, and do God's will on earth as the angels in heaven do it, we ſhould promptly execute every part of the divine will, though it were to be inſtrumental to the exaltation of a brother above our ſelves; knowing no end but conformity to the divine will, and making ſimplicity of intention to be the fringes and exterior borders of our garments.

5. When the eternal God meant to ſtoop ſo low as to be fixt to our centre, he choſe for his mother an holy perſon and a maid, but yet affianced to a juſt man, that he might not only be ſecure in the innocency, but alſo provided for in the reputation of his holy mother: teaching us, that we muſt not only ſatisfy ourſelves in the purity of our purpoſes and hearty innocence, but that we muſt *provide* alſo *things honeſt in the ſight of all men*, being free from the ſuſpicion and ſemblances of evil; ſo making proviſion for private innocence and publick honeſty: it being neceſſary in order to charity and edification of our brethren, that we hold forth no impure flames or ſmoaking fire-brands, but pure and trimmed lamps, in the eyes of all the world.

6. And yet her marriage was more myſterious: for as, beſides the miracle, it was an eternal honour and advancement to the glory of virginity, that he choſe a virgin for his mother; ſo it was in that manner attempered, that the virgin was betrothed, leſt honourable marriage might be diſreputed and ſeem inglorious by a poſitive rejection from any

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[b] Cùm inter nos & Deum diſcordiam peccando fecimus, tamen ad nos Deus legatum ſuum prior miſit, ut nos ipſi, qui peccavimus, ad pacem Dei rogati veniamus. S. Greg.

[c] Quod ſperare nullus audebat: quod ſi fortè in mentem alicujus incidiſſet, poterat æſtimare ſe in blaſphemiam incurriſſe. S. Primasius.

[d] Ἀγαθῷ δ' οὐδεὶς περὶ οὐδενὸς οὐδέποτε ἐγγίνεται φθόνος. Hier. in Pythag.

participation of the honour. Divers of the old doctors,[e] from the authority of Ignatius, add another reaſon, ſaying, that the bleſſed Jeſus was therefore born of a woman betrothed, and under the pretence of marriage, that the devil, who knew the Meſſias was to be born of a virgin, might not expect him there, but ſo be ignorant of the perſon, till God had ſerv'd many ends of providence upon him.

7. THE angel in his addreſs needed not to go in inquiſition after a wandring fire, but knew ſhe was a ſtar fixt in her own orb; he found her at home: and leſt that alſo might be too large a circuit, ſhe was yet confined to a more intimate retirement, ſhe was in her oratory private and devout. There are ſome[f] curioſities ſo bold and determinate as to tell the very matter of her prayer, and that ſhe was praying for the ſalvation of all the world, and the revelation of the Meſſias, deſiring ſhe might be ſo happy as to kiſs the feet of her who ſhould have the glory to be his mother. We have no ſecurity of the particular; but there is no piety ſo diffident, as to require a ſign to create a belief that her employment at the inſtant was holy and religious: but in that diſpoſition ſhe received a grace, which the greateſt queens would have purchaſed with the quitting of their diadems, and hath conſigned an excellent document to all women, that they accuſtom themſelves often to thoſe retirements, where none but God and his angels can have admittance. For the holy Jeſus can come to them too, and dwell with them, hallowing their ſouls, and conſigning their bodies to a participation of all his glories. But recollecting of all our ſcattered thoughts and exterior extravagances, and a receding from the inconveniencies of a too free converſation, is the beſt circumſtance to diſpoſe us to a heavenly viſitation.

8. THE holy virgin when ſhe ſaw an angel, and heard a teſtimony from heaven of her grace and piety, was troubled within herſelf at the ſalutation, and the manner of it. For ſhe had learned, that the affluence of divine comforts and proſperous ſucceſſes ſhould not exempt us from fear, but make it the more prudent and wary, leſt it entangle us in a vanity of ſpirit: God having ordered, that our ſpirits ſhould be affected with diſpoſitions in ſome degrees contrary to exterior events, that we be fearful in the affluence of proſperous things, and joyful in adverſity; as knowing that this may produce benefit and advantage; and the changes that are conſequent to the other are ſometimes full of miſchiefs, but always of danger. But her ſilence and fear were her guardians; that, to prevent excreſcences of joy; this, of vainer complacency.

9. AND it is not altogether inconſiderable to obſerve, that the holy virgin came to a great perfection and ſtate of piety by a few, and thoſe modeſt and even, exerciſes and external actions. St. Paul travelled over the world, preached to the Gentiles, diſputed againſt the Jews, confounded hereticks, writ excellently-learned letters, ſuffered dangers, injuries, affronts and perſecutions to the height of wonder, and by theſe violences of life, action and patience, obtained the crown of an excellent religion and devotion. But the holy virgin, although ſhe was engaged ſometimes in active life, and in the exerciſe of an ordinary and ſmall œconomy and government, or miniſtries of a family, yet ſhe arrived to her perfections by the means of a quiet and ſilent piety, the internal actions of love, devotion and contemplation: and inſtructs us, that not only thoſe who have opportunity and powers of a magnificent religion, or a pompous charity, or miraculous converſion of ſouls, or aſſiduous and effectual preachings, or exterior demonſtrations of corporal mercy, ſhall have the greateſt crowns, and the addition of degrees and accidental rewards; but the ſilent affections, the ſplendors of an internal devotion, the unions of love, humility and obedience, the daily offices of prayer and praiſes ſung to God, the acts of faith and fear, of patience and meekneſs, of hope and reverence, repentance and charity, and thoſe graces which walk in a veil and ſilence, make great aſcents to God, and as ſure progreſs to favour and a crown, as the more oſtentous and laborious exerciſes of a more ſolemn religion. No man needs to complain of want of power or opportunities for religious perfections: a devout woman in her cloſet, praying with much zeal and affections for the converſion of ſouls, is in the ſame order to a *ſhining like the ſtars in glory*, as he who by excellent diſcourſes puts it into a more forward diſpoſition to be actually performed. And poſſibly her prayers obtained energy and force to my ſermon, and made the ground fruitful, and the ſeed ſpring up to life eternal. Many times God is preſent in the *ſtill voice* and private retirements of a quiet religion, and the conſtant ſpiritualities of an ordinary life; when the loud and impetuous winds, and the ſhining fires of more laborious and expenſive actions, are profitable to others only; like a tree of balſam, diſtilling precious liquor for others, not for its own uſe.

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[e] Origen. homil. 6. in Levit. Hier. Comment. in 1 Matth. S. Baſilius, & alii.

[f] S. Bernard.

The PRAYER.

O Eternal and Almighty God, who didſt ſend thy holy angel in embaſſy to the bleſſed virgin mother of our Lord, to manifeſt the actuating thine eternal purpoſe of the redemption of mankind by the incarnation of thine eternal Son; put me, by the aſſiſtances of thy divine grace, into ſuch holy diſpoſitions, that I may never impede the event and effect of thoſe mercies which in the counſels of thy predeſtination thou didſt deſign for me. Give me a promptneſs to obey thee to the degree and ſemblance of angelical alacrity; give me holy purity and piety, prudence and modeſty, like thoſe excellencies which thou didſt create in the ever bleſſed virgin, the mother of God. Grant that my imployment be always holy, unmixt with worldly affections, and as much as my condition of life will bear, retired from ſecular intereſts and diſturbances; that I may converſe with angels, entertain the Holy JESUS, *conceive him in my ſoul, nouriſh him with the expreſſes of moſt innocent and holy affections, and bring him forth and publiſh him in a life of piety and obedience, that he may dwell in me for ever, and I may for ever dwell with him in the houſe of eternal pleaſures and glories world without end.* Amen.

SECT.

SECT. II.

The bearing of JESUS *in the Womb of the Bleſſed Virgin.*

1. ALTHOUGH the bleſſed virgin had a faith as prompt and ready as her body was chaſte and her ſoul pure; yet God who uſes to give *full meaſure, ſhaken together, and running over,* did by way of confirmation and fixing the confidence of her aſſent, give an inſtance of his omnipotency in the very particular of an extraordinary conception: for the angel ſaid, *Behold, thy couſin Elizabeth hath alſo conceived a ſon in her old age, and this is the ſixth month with her that was called barren: for with God nothing ſhall be impoſſible.* A leſs argument would have ſatiſfied the neceſſity of a faith which had no ſcruple: and a greater would not have done it in the incredulity of an ungentle and pertinacious ſpirit. But the holy maid had complacency enough in the meſſage, and holy deſires about her to carry her underſtanding as far as her affections, even to the fruition of the angel's meſſage; which is ſuch a ſublimity of faith, that it is its utmoſt conſummation, and ſhall be its crown when our faith is turned into viſion, our hopes into actual poſſeſſions, and our grace into glory.

2. AND ſhe, who was now full of God, bearing God in her virgin-womb, and the Holy Spirit in her heart, who had alſo over-ſhadowed her, enabling her to a ſupernatural and miraculous conception, *aroſe with haſte* and gladneſs, to communicate that joy which was deſigned for all the world: and ſhe found no breaſt to pour forth the firſt emanations of her over-joyed heart ſo fit as her couſin Elizabeth's, who had received teſtimony from God to have been righteous, *walking in all the commandments of the Lord blameleſs,* who alſo had a ſpecial portion in this great honour; for ſhe was deſigned to be the mother of the Baptiſt, who was ſent as a fore-runner *to prepare the ways of the Lord, and to make his paths ſtrait. And Mary aroſe in thoſe days, and went into the hill-country with haſte, into a city of Judah.*

3. HER haſte was in proportion to her joy and deſires, but yet went no greater pace than her religion. For as in her journey ſhe came near to Jeruſalem, ſhe turned in, that ſhe might viſit his temple whoſe temple ſhe herſelf was now: and there, not only to remember the pleaſures of religion, which ſhe had felt in continual deſcents and ſhowers falling on her pious heart for the ſpace of eleven years attendance there in her childhood, but alſo to pay the firſt-fruits of her thanks and joy, and to lay all her glory at his feet, whoſe humble hand-maid ſhe was in the greateſt honour of being his bleſſed mother. Having worſhipped, ſhe went on her journey, *and entred into the houſe of Zacharias, and ſaluted Elizabeth.*

4. IT is not eaſy to imagine what a colliſion of joys was at this bleſſed meeting: two mothers of two great princes, the one *the greateſt that was born of woman,* and the other was his Lord, and theſe made mothers by two miracles, met together with joy and myſteriouſneſs; where the mother of our Lord went to viſit the mother of his ſervant, and the Holy Ghoſt made the meeting feſtival, and deſcended upon Elizabeth, and ſhe propheſied. Never but in heaven was there more joy and ecſtaſy. The perſons who were women, whoſe fancies and affections were not only hallowed, but made pregnant and big with religion, meeting together to compare and unite their joys and their euchariſt, and then made prophetical and inſpired, muſt needs have diſcourſed like Seraphims and the moſt ecſtaſied order of Intelligences; for all the faculties of nature were turned into grace, and expreſſed in their way the excellent ſolemnity. For *it came to paſs when Elizabeth heard the ſalutation of Mary, the babe leaped in her womb; and Elizabeth was filled with the Holy Ghoſt.*

5. AFTER they had both propheſied and ſang their hymns, and re-ſaluted each other with the religion of ſaints and the joys of angels, *Mary abode with her couſin Elizabeth about three months, and then returned to her own houſe.* Where when ſhe appeared with her holy burthen to her huſband Joſeph, and that he perceived her to be with child, and knew that he had never unſealed that holy fountain of virginal purity, he was troubled. For although her deportment had been pious and chaſte to a miracle, her carriage reſerved, and ſo grave, that ſhe drave away temptations and impure viſits, and all unclean purpoſes from the neighbourhood of her holy perſon: yet when he ſaw ſhe was with child, and had not yet been taught a leſſon higher than the principles of nature, *he was*

Jos. Jacob Sarbor fecit Londini

And she spake with a loud Voice and said, **Bleſſed** *art thou among* **Wowen**.
And bleſsed is she that beleived: for there shall be a Performance of thoſe things which were told her from the **Lord** *S^{t}. Luke cap: 1. v. 42. 45.*

BRITISH MUSEUM
5 AU 70

minded to put her away, for he knew ſhe was with child; but yet *privily*, becauſe he was a good man, and knew her piety to have been ſuch that it had almoſt done violence to his ſenſe, and made him diſbelieve what was viſible and notorious; and therefore he would do it privately. *But while he thought on theſe things, the angel of the Lord appeared unto him in a dream, ſaying, Joſeph thou ſon of David, fear not to take unto thee Mary thy wife, for that which is conceived in her is of the Holy Ghoſt. Then Joſeph, being raiſed from ſleep, did as the angel of the Lord had bidden him, and took unto him his wife.*

Ad SECT. II.

Conſiderations concerning the Circumſtances of the Interval between the Conception and Nativity.

1. WHEN the bleſſed virgin was aſcertained of the manner of her becoming a mother, and that her tremblings were over upon the ſecurity ſhe ſhould preſerve her virgin purity as a clean oblation to the honour of God, then ſhe expreſſed her conſent to the angelical meſſage, and inſtantly ſhe conceived the holy Jeſus in her womb, by the ſupernatural and divine influence of the Holy Ghoſt. For ſhe was highly zealous to reconcile her being mother to the Meſſias, with thoſe purities and holy cœlibate which ſhe had deſigned to keep as advantages to the intereſts of religion, and his honour who choſe her from all the daughters of Adam, to be inſtrumental in the reſtitution of grace and innocence to all her father's family. And we ſhall receive benefit from ſo excellent example, if we be not ſo deſirous of a privilege as of a virtue, of honour as of piety: and as we ſubmit to the weight and preſſure of ſadneſſes and infelicities, that God's will may be accompliſhed; ſo we muſt be alſo ready to renounce an exterior grace or favour, rather than it ſhould not be conſiſtent with exemplary and rare piety.

2. WHEN the Son of God was incarnate in the womb of his virgin-mother, the holy maid aroſe: and though ſhe was ſuperexalted by an honour greater than the world yet ever ſaw, ſhe ſtill dwelt upon the foundation of humility: and to make that virtue more ſignal and eminent, ſhe *aroſe* and *went haſtily* to viſit her couſin Elizabeth, who alſo had conceived a Son in her old age. For ſo we all ſhould be curious and watchful againſt vanities and tranſportations, when we are advanced to the gayeties of proſperous accidents, and in the greateſt privileges deſcend to the loweſt, to exerciſe a greater meaſure of virtue againſt the danger of thoſe tentations which are planted againſt our heart to ruine our hopes and glories.

3. BUT the joys that the virgin mother had, were ſuch as concerned all the world; and that part of them which was her peculiar, ſhe would not conceal from perſons apt to their entertainment, but go to publiſh God's mercy toward her to another holy perſon, that they might joyn in the praiſes of God: as knowing that though it may be convenient to repreſent our perſonal neceſſities in private, yet God's gracious returns and the bleſſings he makes to deſcend on us are more fit, when there is no perſonal danger collaterally appendent, to be publiſhed in the communion of ſaints; that the hopes of others may receive increaſe, that their faith may have confirmation, that their charity and euchariſt may grow up to become excellent and great, and the praiſes of God may be ſung aloud, till the ſound ſtrike at heaven, and join with the hallelujahs which the morning-ſtars in their orbs pay to their great Creator.

4. WHEN the holy virgin had begun her journey, ſhe made haſte over the mountains, that ſhe might not only ſatisfy the deſires of her joy by a ſpeedy gratulation, but leſt ſhe ſhould be too long abroad under the diſperſion and diſcompoſing of her retirements: and therefore ſhe haſtens to an incloſure, to her couſin's houſe: as knowing that all virtuous women, like tortoiſes, carry their houſe on their heads, and their chapel in their heart, and their danger in their eye, and their ſouls in their hands, and God in all their actions. And indeed her very little burthen which ſhe bare hindred her not but ſhe might make haſte enough; and as her ſpirit was full of chearfulneſs and alacrity, ſo even her body was made airy and vegete: for there was no ſin in her burthen to fill it with natural inconveniences; and there is this excellency in all ſpiritual things, that they do no diſadvantage to our perſons, nor retard our juſt temporal intereſts. And the religion by which we carry Chriſt within us is neither ſo peeviſh as to diſturb our health, nor ſo ſad

as to diſcompoſe our juſt and modeſt chearfulneſs, nor ſo prodigal as to force us to needs and ignoble trades; but recreates our body by the medicine of holy faſtings and temperance, fills us full of ſerenities and complacencies by the ſweetneſſes of a holy conſcience, and joys ſpiritual; promotes our temporal intereſts by the gains and increaſes of the rewards of charity, and by ſecuring God's providence over us while we are in the purſuit of the heavenly kingdom. And as in theſe diſpoſitions ſhe climbed the mountains with much facility; ſo there is nothing in our whole life of ſo great difficulty but it may be managed by thoſe aſſiſtances we receive from the Holieſt Jeſus, when we carry him about us; as the valleys are exalted, ſo the mountains are plain before us.

5. WHEN her couſin Elizabeth ſaw the mother of her Lord come to viſit her, as the Lord himſelf deſcended to viſit all the world in great humility, ſhe was pleaſed and tranſported to the height of wonder and prophecy, and *the Babe ſprang in her womb* and was ſanctified, firſt doing his homage and adoration to his Lord that was in preſence. And we alſo, although we can do nothing unleſs the Lord firſt prevent us with his gracious viſitation, yet if he firſt come unto us, and we accept and entertain him with the expreſſes and correſpondencies of our duty, we ſhall receive the grace and honour of ſanctification. But if St. Elizabeth, who received teſtimony from God that ſhe *walked in all the commandments of the Lord blameleſs*, was carried into ecſtaſy, wondring at the dignation and favour done to her by the mother of her Lord; with what preparations and holy ſolemnities ought we to entertain his addreſſes to us by his holy ſacrament, by the immiſſions of his Spirit, by the aſſiſtances of his graces, and all other his vouchſafings and deſcents into our hearts?

6. THE bleſſed virgin hearing her couſin full of ſpirit and prophecy, calling her *bleſſed*, and praiſing her faith, and confirming her joy, inſtantly ſang her hymn to God, returning thoſe praiſes which ſhe received, to him to whom they did appertain. For ſo we ſhould worſhip God with all our praiſes, being willing upon no other condition to extend one hand to receive our own honour, but that with the other we might tranſmit it to God, that as God is honoured in all his creatures, ſo he may be honoured in us too; looking upon the graces which God hath given us, but as greater inſtruments and abilities to ſerve him, being none of ours, but talents which are entruſted into our banks to be improved. But as a precious pearl is orient and medicinal, becauſe God hath placed thoſe excellencies in it for ends of his own, but itſelf is dead to all apprehenſions of it, and knows no reflexions upon its own value; only God is magnified in his work: ſo is every pious perſon precious and holy, but mortified to all vainer complacencies in thoſe ſingularities and eminencies, which God placed there becauſe he was ſo pleaſed, ſaying, there he would have a temple built; becauſe from thence he would take delight to receive glory and adoration.

7. AFTER all theſe holy and feſtival joys which two glad mothers feaſted themſelves withal, a ſad cloud did intervene and paſſed before the face of the bleſſed virgin. The juſt and righteous Joſeph, her eſpouſed huſband perceiving her to be with child, *was minded to put her away*, as not knowing the divinity of the fountain which watered the virgin's ſealed and hallowed womb, and made it fruitful. But he purpoſed to do it *privily*, that he might preſerve the reputation of his ſpouſe, whoſe piety he knew was great, and was ſorrowful it ſhould now ſet in a ſad night and be extinct. But it was an exemplary charity, and reads to us a rule for our deportment towards erring and lapſed perſons, that we intreat them with meekneſs and pity and fear; not haſtening their ſhame, nor provoking their ſpirit, nor making their remedy deſperate by uſing of them rudely, till there be no worſe thing for them to fear if they ſhould be diſſolved into all licentiouſneſs. For an open ſhame is commonly[g] proteſted unto, when it is remedileſs, and the perſon either deſpairs and ſinks under the burthen, or elſe grows impudent and tramples upon it. But the gentleneſs of a modeſt and charitable remedy preſerves that which is virtue's girdle, fear and bluſhing; and the beginning of a puniſhment chides them into the horror of remembrance and guilt, but preſerves their meekneſs and modeſty, becauſe they, not feeling the worſt of evils, dare not venture upon the worſt of ſins.

8. BUT it ſeems the bleſſed virgin, having received this greateſt honour, had not made it known to her huſband Joſeph; and when ſhe went to her couſin Elizabeth, the virgin was told of it by her couſin before ſhe ſpake of it her ſelf, for her couſin had it by revelation and the ſpirit of prophecy. And it is in ſome circumſtances and from ſome perſons more ſecure to conceal viſions, and thoſe heavenly gifts which create eſtima-

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[g] ——— frontemque à crimine ſumit.

tions among men, than to publiſh them, which may poſſibly miniſter to vanity; and thoſe exterior graces may do God's work, though no obſerver note them but the perſon for whoſe ſake they are ſent: like rain falling in uninhabited valleys, where no eye obſerves ſhowers; yet the valleys laugh and ſing to God in their refreſhment without a witneſs. However, it is better to hear the report of our good things from the mouths of others, than from ourſelves: and better yet, if the beauty of the tabernacle be covered with ſkins, that none of our beauties be ſeen but by worſhippers, that is, when the glory of God and the intereſts of religion or charity are concerned in their publication. For ſo it happened to be in the caſe of the bleſſed virgin, as ſhe related to her couſin Elizabeth; and ſo it happened not to be, as ſhe referred to her huſband Joſeph.

9. THE holy virgin could not but know, that Joſeph would be troubled with ſorrow and inſecure apprehenſions concerning her being with child: but ſuch was her innocence, and her confidence in God, that ſhe held her peace, expecting which way God would provide a remedy to the inconvenience. For if we *commit ourſelves to God in well-doing, as unto a faithful Creator*, preſerving the tranquillity of our ſpirits and the evenneſs of our temper in the aſſault of infamy and diſreputation, God, who loves our innocence, will be its patron, and will aſſert it from the ſcandal, if it be expedient for us; if it be not, it is not fit we ſhould deſire it. But if the holy Jeſus did ſuffer his mother to fall in miſinterpretation and ſuſpect, which could not but be a great affliction to her excellent ſpirit, rarely tempered as an eye, highly ſenſible of every ruder touch; we muſt not think it ſtrange, if we be tried and preſſed with a calamity and unhandſome accidents: only remember, that God will find a remedy to the trouble, and will ſanctify the affliction, and ſecure the perſon, if we be innocent, as was the holy virgin.

10. BUT Joſeph was not haſty in the execution of his purpoſes, nor in making his thoughts determinate, but ſtood long in deliberation, and longer before he acted it, becauſe it was an invidious matter, and a rigor. He was firſt to have defamed and accuſed her publickly, and, being convicted, by the law ſhe was to die, if he had gone the ordinary way. But he, who was a *juſt man*, that is, according to the ſtyle of [h] ſcripture, and other wiſe writers, *a good, a charitable man*, found that it was more agreeable to juſtice, to treat an offending perſon with the eaſieſt ſentence, than to put things to extremity, and render the perſon deſperate and without remedy, and provoked by the ſuffering of the worſt of what ſhe could fear. No obligation to juſtice does force a man to be cruel, or to uſe the ſharpeſt ſentence. A juſt man does juſtice to every man, and to every thing; and then if he be alſo wiſe, he knows there is a debt of mercy and compaſſion due to the infirmities of man's nature, and that debt is to be paid: and he that is cruel and ungentle to a ſinning perſon, and does the worſt thing to him, dies in his debt, and is unjuſt.[i] Pity, and forbearance, and long-ſuffering, and fair interpretation, and excuſing our brother, and taking things in the beſt ſenſe, and paſſing the gentleſt ſentence, are as certainly our duty, and owing to every perſon that does offend and can repent, as calling men to account can be owing to the law, and are firſt to be paid; and he that does not ſo, is an unjuſt perſon: which becauſe Joſeph was not, he did not call furiouſly for juſtice, or pretend that God required it at his hands preſently, to undo a ſuſpected perſon; but waved the killing letter of the law, and ſecured his own intereſt and his juſtice too, by intending to *diſmiſs her privately*. But before the thing was irremediable, God ended his queſtion by a heavenly demonſtration, and ſent an angel to reveal to him the innocence of his ſpouſe, and the Divinity of her Son; and that he was an immediate Derivative from heaven, and the Heir of all the world. And in all our doubts we ſhall have a reſolution from heaven, or ſome of its miniſters, if we have recourſe thither for a guide, and be not haſty in our diſcourſes, or inconſiderate in our purpoſes, or raſh in judgment. For God loves to give aſſiſtances to us, when we moſt fairly and prudently endeavour that grace be not put to do all our work, but to facilitate our labour; not creating new faculties, but improving thoſe of nature. If we conſider warily, God will guide us in the determination: but a haſty perſon out-runs his guide, prevaricates his rule, and very often engages upon error,

[h] 1 John i. 9. Pſal. cxi. 3. Δικαιοσύνη, χρηστότης, ἀγαθότης, φιλανθρωπία. PHILOSTR. de vita Apollon. l. 3. c. 7.

[i] Non ſolùm ab ultionis atrocitate, ſed etiam ab accuſationis ſeveritate, aliena juſti perſona eſt. AMBROS.

The

The PRAYER.

O Holy Jeſu, Son of the Eternal God, thy Glory is far above all heavens, and yet thou didſt deſcend to earth, that thy deſcent might be the more gracious, by how much thy glories were admirable, and natural, and inſeparable. I adore thy holy humanity with humble veneration, and the thankful addreſſes of religious joy, becauſe thou haſt perſonally united human nature to the Eternal Word, carrying it above the ſeats of the higheſt cherubim. This great and glorious myſtery is the honour and glory of man: it was the expectation of our fathers, who ſaw the myſteriouſneſs of thy incarnation at great and obſcure diſtances. And bleſſed be thy name, that thou haſt cauſed me to be born after the fulfilling of thy prophecies, and the conſummation and exhibition of ſo great a love, ſo great myſteriouſneſs. Holy Jeſu, though I admire and adore the immenſity of thy love and condeſcenſion, who wert pleaſed to undergo our burthens and infirmities for us; yet I abhor myſelf, and deteſt my own impurities, which were ſo great and contradictory to the excellency of God, that to deſtroy ſin, and ſave us, it became neceſſary that thou ſhouldſt be ſent into the world, to die our death for us, and to give us of thy life.

2.

Deareſt Jeſu, thou didſt not breathe one ſigh, nor ſhed one drop of blood, nor weep one tear, nor ſuffer one ſtripe, nor preach one ſermon, for the ſalvation of the devils: and what ſadneſs and ſhame is it then, that I ſhould cauſe ſo many inſufferable loads of ſorrows to fall upon thy ſacred head? Thou art wholly given for me, wholly ſpent upon my uſes, and wholly for every one of the elect. Thou in the beginning of the work of our redemption didſt ſuffer nine months impriſonment in the pure womb of thy holy mother, to redeem me from the eternal ſervitude of ſin, and its miſerable conſequents. Holy Jeſu, let me be born anew, receive a new birth, and a new life, imitating thy graces and excellencies by which thou art beloved of thy Father, and haſt obtained for us a favour and atonement. Let thy holy will be done by me, let all thy will be wrought in me, let thy will be wrought concerning me; that I may do thy pleaſure, and ſubmit to the diſpenſation of thy Providence, and conform to thy holy will, and may for ever ſerve thee in the communion of ſaints, in the ſociety of thy redeemed ones now, and in the glories of eternity. Amen.

SECT. III.

The Nativity of our Bleſſed Saviour JESUS.

1. THE holy maid longed to be a glad mother, and ſhe who carried a burthen, whoſe proper commenſuration is the days of eternity, counted the tedious minutes, expecting when the Sun of righteouſneſs ſhould break forth from his bed, where nine months he hid himſelf as behind a fruitful cloud. About the ſame time God, who in his infinite wiſdom does concentre and tie together in one end things of diſparate and diſproportionate natures, making things improbable to co-operate to what wonder or what truth he pleaſes, brought the holy virgin to Bethlehem, the city of David, *to be taxed* with her huſband Joſeph, according to a decree upon all the world, iſſuing from Auguſtus Cæſar.[k] But this happened in this conjunction of time, that it might be fulfilled which was ſpoken by the prophet Micah, *And thou Bethlehem in the land of Judah art not the leaſt among the princes of Judah; for out of thee ſhall come a Governor that ſhall rule my people Iſrael.* This rare act of Providence was highly remarkable, becauſe this taxing ſeems wholly to have been ordered by God to ſerve and miniſter[l] to the circumſtances of this birth. For this taxing was not in order to tribute: Herod was now king, and received all the revenues of the fiſcus, and paid to Auguſtus an appointed tribute after the manner of other kings, friends and relatives of the Roman empire[m]: neither doth it appear that the Romans laid a new tribute on the Jews before the confiſcation of the goods of Archelaus. Auguſtus thereſore ſending ſpecial delegates to tax every city, made only an inqueſt after the ſtrength of the Roman empire in men and moneys; and did himſelf no other advantage, but was directed by him who rules and turns the hearts of princes, that he might, by verifying a prophecy, ſignify and publiſh the Divinity of the miſſion and birth of Jeſus.

2. SHE that had conceived by the operation of that Spirit who dwells within the element of love, was no ways impeded in her journey by the greatneſs of her burthen, but arrived at Bethlehem in the throng of ſtrangers, who had ſo filled up the places of hoſpitality and publick entertainment, that *there was no room for Joſeph and Mary in the inn.* But yet ſhe felt that it was neceſſary to retire where ſhe might ſoftly lay her burthen, who began now to call at the gates of his priſon, and nature was ready to let him forth. But ſhe that was mother to the king of all the creatures, could find no other but a ſtable,[n] a cave of a rock, whither ſhe retired: where when it began to be with her after the manner of women, ſhe humbly bowed her knees, in the poſture and guiſe of worſhippers, and in the midſt of glorious thoughts and higheſt ſpeculation *brought forth her firſt-born into the world.*

3. As there was no ſin in the conception, ſo neither had ſhe pains in the production, as the church from the days of Gregory Nazianzen until now hath piouſly believed: though before his days there were ſome opinions[o] to the contrary, but certainly neither ſo pious nor ſo reaſonable. For to her alone the puniſhment of Eve did not extend, that *in ſorrow ſhe ſhould bring forth*: for where nothing of ſin was an ingredient, there miſery cannot cohabit. For though amongſt the daughters of men many conceptions are innocent and holy, being ſanctified by the word of God and prayer, hallowed by marriage, deſigned by prudence, ſeaſoned by temperance, conducted by religion towards a juſt, an hallowed and an holy end, and yet their productions are in ſorrow; yet this of the bleſſed virgin might be otherwiſe, becauſe here ſin was no relative, and neither was in the principle nor the derivative, in the act nor in the habit, in the root nor in the branch: there was nothing in this but the ſanctification of a virgin's womb, and that could not be the parent of ſorrow, eſpecially that gate not having been opened by which

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[k] Ἦν δ' ἐν τοῦτο δεύτερον καὶ τεσσαρακοστὸν ἔτος τῆς Αὐγούστου βασιλείας, Αἰγύπτου δ' ὑποταγῆς καὶ τῆς τελευτῆς Ἀντωνίου καὶ Κλεοπάτρας ὄγδοον ἔτος καὶ εἰκοστόν. Euſeb. l. 1. c. 6. Hiſtor. Eccleſ. anno ſcil. tertio Olympiad. 194. Cæſare Auguſto & Plautio Silano Coſſ.

[l] Ὁ Αὔγουστος ὑπηρετεῖται τῷ ἐν Βηθλεὲμ τόκῳ διὰ τοῦ προστάγματος τῆς ἀπογραφῆς. S. Chryſoſt. Hom. 8. in Matth.

[m] Vide Suidam in verbo ἀπογραφή. Dio. l. 56. ἐπειδὴ ἄλλως [illegible] τῶν πόλεων ἀπογραψαμένους.

[n] Juxta Propheticum illud, Iſa. xxxiii. 16. Οὗτος οἰκήσει ἐν ὑψηλῷ σπηλαίῳ πέτρας ἰσχυρᾶς· ἄρτος δοθήσεται αὐτῷ, apud LXX. Sed hanc periodum Judæi eraſerunt ex Hebræo textu. Sic & Symmachus, ἄρτος δοθήσεται, myſticè Bethlehem, ſive Domus panis indigitatur.

[o] Vide Waddingum, p. 270.

the curſe always entred. And as to conceive by the Holy Ghoſt was glorious, ſo to bring forth any of *the fruits of the Spirit* is joyful, and full of felicities. And he that came from his grave faſt tied with a ſtone and ſignature, and into the college of apoſtles *the doors being ſhut*, and into the glories of his father through the ſolid orbs of all the firmament, came alſo (as the church piouſly believes) into the world, ſo without doing violence to the virginal and pure body of his mother, that he did alſo leave her virginity entire, to be as a ſeal, that none might open the gate of that ſanctuary; that it might be fulfilled which was ſpoken of the Lord by the prophet, *This gate ſhall be ſhut, it ſhall not be opened, and no man ſhall enter in by it: becauſe the Lord God of Iſrael hath entred by it, therefore it ſhall be ſhut.*[p]

4. ALTHOUGH all the world were concerned in the birth of this Great Prince, yet I find no ſtory of any one that miniſtred at it ſave only angels, who knew their duty to their Lord, and the great intereſt of that perſon; whom, as ſoon as he was born, they preſented to his mother, who could not but receive him with a joy next to the rejoycings of glory and beatifick viſion, ſeeing him to be born her Son who was the Son of God, of greater beauty than the ſun, purer than angels, more loving than the ſeraphims, as dear as the eye and heart of God, where he was from eternity engraven, his Beloved, and his Only-begotten.

5. WHEN the virgin-mother now felt the firſt tenderneſs and yernings of a mother's bowels, and ſaw the Saviour of the world born, poor as her fortunes could repreſent him, naked as the innocence of Adam, ſhe took him, and *wrapt him in ſwaddling cloaths*; and after ſhe had a while cradled him in her arms, ſhe *laid him in a manger*. For ſo was the deſign of his humility; that as the laſt ſcene of his life was repreſented among thieves, ſo the firſt was amongſt beaſts, the ſheep and the oxen; according to that myſterious hymn of the prophet Habakkuk, [q] *His brightneſs was as the light, he had horns coming out of his hand, and there was the hiding of his power.*

6. BUT this place, which was one of the great inſtances of his humility, grew to be as venerable as became an inſtrument, and it was conſecrated into a church,[r] the crib into an altar, where firſt lay that *Lamb of God* which afterwards was ſacrificed for the ſins of all the world. And when Adrian the emperor, who intended a great deſpite to it, built a temple to Venus and Adonis in that place where the holy virgin-mother and her more Holy Son were humbly laid; even ſo he could not obtain, but that even amongſt the Gentile inhabitants of the neighbouring countries it was held in an account far above ſcandal and contempt. For God can ennoble even the meaneſt of creatures, eſpecially if it be but a relative and inſtrumental to religion, higher than the injuries of ſcoffers and malicious perſons. But it was then a temple full of religion, full of glory, when angels were the miniſters, the holy virgin was the worſhipper, and CHRIST the Deity.

Ad SECT. III.

Conſiderations upon the Birth of our Bleſſed Saviour JESUS.

1. ALTHOUGH the bleſſed Jeſus deſired with the ardency of an inflamed love to be born, and to finiſh the work of our redemption; yet he did not prevent the period of our nature, nor break the laws of the womb, and antedate his own ſanctions which he had eſtabliſhed for ever. He ſtaid nine months, and then brake forth *as a giant joyful to run his courſe.* For pre-mature and haſty actions, and ſuch counſels as know not how to expect the times appointed in God's decree, are like haſty fruit, or a young perſon ſnatched away in his florid age, ſad and untimely. He that haſtens to enjoy his wiſh before the time, raiſes his own expectation, and yet makes it unpleaſant by impatience, and loſeth the pleaſure of the fruition when it comes, becauſe he hath made his deſires bigger than the thing can ſatisfy. He that muſt eat an hour before his time, gives probation of his intemperance or his weakneſs: and if we dare not truſt

God

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[p] Ezek. xliv. 2.

[q] Hab. iii. 4. In medio animalium cognoſceris. Sic LXX.

[r] Ven. Beda de locis ſanctis, c. 8. S. Hieron. Epiſt. 48.

And she brought forth her first born Son, *and wrapped him in Swadling Cloths, and laid him in a Manger, because there was no room for them in the Inn.* St. Luke, Chap. 2d. Ver. 7th.

God with the circumſtance of the event, and ſtay his leiſure, either we diſrepute the infinity of his wiſdom, or give clear demonſtration of our own vanity.

2. WHEN God deſcended to earth, he choſe to be born in the ſuburbs and retirement of a ſmall town; but he was pleaſed to die at Jeruſalem, the metropolis of Judæa. Which chides our ſhame and pride, who are willing to publiſh our gayeties in piazza's and the corners of the ſtreets of moſt populous places; but our defects and the inſtruments of our humiliation we carry into deſarts, and cover with the night, and hide them under ground; thinking no ſecrecy dark enough to hide our ſhame, nor any theatre large enough to behold our pompous vanities: for ſo we make proviſions for pride, and take care to exclude humility.

3. WHEN the holy virgin now perceived that the expectation of the nations was arrived at the very doors of revelation and entrance into the world, ſhe brought forth the Holy Jeſus, who, like light through tranſparent glaſs paſt through, or a ripe pomegranate from a fruitful tree, fell to the earth, without doing violence to its nurſe and parent. She had no miniſters to attend but angels, and neither her poverty nor her piety would permit her to provide other nurſes; but herſelf did the offices of a tender and pious parent. She kiſſed him and worſhipped him, and thanked him that he would be born of her, and ſhe ſuckled him, and bound him in her arms and ſwadling-bands; and when ſhe had repreſented to God her firſt ſcene of joy and euchariſt, ſhe ſoftly laid him in the manger, till her deſires and his own neceſſities called her to take him, and to rock him ſoftly in her arms. And from this deportment ſhe read a lecture of piety and maternal care, which mothers ſhould perform toward their children when they are born, not to neglect any of that duty which nature and maternal piety requires.

4. JESUS was pleaſed to be born of a poor mother in a poor place, in a cold winter's night, far from home, amongſt ſtrangers, with all the circumſtances of humility and poverty. And no man will have cauſe to complain of his coarſe robe, if he remembers the ſwadling cloaths of this Holy Child; nor to be diſquieted at his hard bed, when he conſiders Jeſus laid in a manger; nor to be diſcontented at his thin table, when he calls to mind the King of heaven and earth was fed with a little breaſt-milk. But ſince the eternal Wiſdom of the Father, who *knew to chuſe the good and refuſe the evil*, did chuſe a life of poverty; it gives us demonſtration, that riches and honours, thoſe idols of the world's eſteem, are ſo far from creating true felicities, that they are not of themſelves eligible in the number of good things: however, no man is to be aſhamed of innocent poverty, of which many wiſe men make vows, and of which the Holy Jeſus made election, and his apoſtles after him made publick profeſſion. And if any man will chuſe and delight in the affluence of temporal good things, ſuffering himſelf to be tranſported with caitive affections in the [*] pleaſures of every day, he may well make a queſtion whether he ſhall ſpeed as well hereafter; ſince God's uſual method is, that they only who follow Chriſt here, ſhall be with him for ever.

5. THE condition of the perſon who was born is here of greateſt conſideration. For He that cried in the manger, that ſucked the paps of a woman, that hath expoſed himſelf to poverty and a world of inconveniences, is *the Son of the living God*, of the ſame ſubſtance with his Father, begotten before all ages, before the morning-ſtars; he is God eternal. He is alſo, by reaſon of the perſonal union of the Divinity with his hu[illegible]ure, *the Son of God*; not by adoption, as good men and beatified angels are, but by [illegible]raordinary and miraculous generation. He is the Heir of his Father's glories and po[illegible]ons, not by ſucceſſion, (for his Father cannot die) but by an equality of communi[illegible]n. He is *the expreſs image of his* Father's *perſon* according to both natures; the miracle and exceſs of his Godhead being, as upon wax, imprinted upon all the capacities of his humanity. And after all this, he is our Saviour; that to our duties of wonder and adoration we may add the affections of love and union, as himſelf, beſides his being admirable in himſelf, is become profitable to us. *Verè Verbum hoc eſt abbreviatum*, ſaith the prophet; the eternal Word of the Father is ſhortned to the dimenſions of an infant.

6. HERE then are concentred the prodigies of greatneſs and goodneſs, of wiſdom and charity, of meekneſs and humility, and march all the way in myſtery and incomprehenſible mixtures; if we conſider him in the boſom of his Father, where he is ſeated by the poſtures of love and eſſential felicity; and in the manger, where love alſo placed him, and an infinite deſire to communicate his felicities to us. As he is God, his throne is in the heaven, and he fills all things by his immenſity: as he is Man, he is circumſcribed by an uneaſy cradle, and cries in a ſtable. As he is God, he is ſeated upon a ſuper-

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[*] Οἴει σὺ τοὺς θανόντας, ὦ Νικήρατε, τρυφῆς ἁπάσης μεταλαβόντας ἐν βίῳ, πεφευγέναι τὸ θεῖον; Diphilus.

exalted throne; as Man, expoſed to the loweſt eſtate of uneaſineſs and need. As God, cloathed in a robe of glory, at the ſame inſtant when you may behold and wonder at his humanity wrapped in cheap and unworthy cradle-bands. As God, he is incircled with millions of angels; as Man, in the company of beaſts. As God, he is the eternal Word of the Father eternal, ſuſtained by himſelf, all-ſufficient, and without need: and yet he ſubmitted himſelf to a condition imperfect, inglorious, indigent and neceſſitous. And this conſideration is apt and natural to produce great affections of love, duty and obedience, deſires of union and conformity to his ſacred perſon, life, actions and laws; that we reſolve all our thoughts, and finally determine all our reaſon and our paſſions and capacities upon that ſaying of St. Paul, *He that loves not the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, let him be accurſed.*[t]

7. Upon the conſideration of theſe glories, if a pious ſoul ſhall upon the ſupports of faith and love enter into the ſtable where this great King was born, and with affections behold every member of the holy body, and thence paſs into the ſoul of Jeſus, we may ſee a ſcheme of holy meditations, enough to entertain all the degrees of our love and of our underſtanding, and make the myſtery of the nativity as fruitful of holy thoughts as it was of bleſſings to us. And it may ſerve inſtead of a deſcription of the perſon of Jeſus conveyed to us in imperfect and apocryphal ſchemes. If we could behold his ſacred feet with thoſe affections which the holy virgin did, we have tranſmitted to us thoſe myſteries in ſtory which ſhe had firſt in part by ſpiritual and divine infuſed light, and afterwards by obſervation. Thoſe holy feet, tender and unable to ſupport his ſacred body, ſhould bear him over all the province of his cure with great zeal for the gaining of ſouls to the belief and obedience of his holy laws: thoſe are the feet that ſhould walk upon ſeas and hills of water, as upon firm pavement; at which the lepers and diſeaſed perſons ſhould ſtoop, and gather health up; which Mary Magdalen ſhould waſh with tears, and wipe with her hair, and anoint with coſtly nard, as expreſſions of love and adoration, and there find abſolution and remedy for her ſins; and which finally ſhould be rent by the nails of the croſs, and afterwards aſcend above the heavens, making the earth to be his foot-ſtool. From hence take patterns of imitation, that our piety be ſymbolical, that our affections be paſſionate and euchariſtical, full of love, and wonder, and adoration, that our feet tread in the ſame ſteps, and that we transfer the ſymbol into myſtery, and the myſtery to devotion, praying the Holy Jeſus to actuate the ſame mercies in us which were finiſhed at his holy feet, forgiving our ſins, healing our ſickneſſes; and then place ourſelves irremovably, becoming his diſciples, and ſtrictly obſerving the rules of his holy inſtitution, *ſitting at the feet* of this our great Maſter.

8. In the ſame manner a pious perſon may (with the bleſſed virgin) paſs to the conſideration of his holy hands, which were ſo often lifted up to God in prayer; whoſe touch was miraculous and medicinal, cleanſing lepers, reſtoring periſhing limbs, opening blind eyes, raiſing dead perſons to life; thoſe perſons which fed many thouſands by two miracles of multiplication, that purged the temple from profaneneſs, that in a ſacramental manner bare his own body, and gave it to be the food and refreſhment of elect ſouls, and after were cloven and rent upon the croſs, till the wounds became (after the reſurrection) ſo many tranſparencies and glorious inſtruments of ſolemn, ſpiritual and efficacious benediction. Tranſmit this meditation into affections and practices, *lifting up pure hands in prayer*, that our devotions be united to the merits of his glorious interceſſion: and putting ourſelves into his hands and holy providence, let us beg thoſe effects upon our ſouls and ſpiritual cures, which his precious hands did operate upon their bodies, transferring thoſe ſimilitudes to our ghoſtly and perſonal advantages.

9. We may alſo behold his holy breaſt, and conſider, that there lay that ſacred heart, like the dove within the ark, ſpeaking peace to us, being the regiment of love and ſorrows, the fountain of both the ſacraments, running out in the two holy ſtreams of blood and water, when the rock was ſmitten, when his holy ſide was pierced; and there, with St. John, let us lay our head, and place our heart, and thence draw a treaſure of holy revelations and affections, that we may reſt in him only, and upon him lay our burthens, filling every corner of our heart with thoughts of the moſt amiable and beloved Jesus.

10. In like manner we may unite the day of his nativity with the day of his paſſion, and conſider all the parts of his body, as it was inſtrumental in all the work of our redemption, and ſo imitate, and in ſome proportion partake of, that great variety of ſweetneſſes and amorous reflexes and gracious intercourſes which paſſed between the bleſſed virgin and

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[t] 1 Cor. xvi. 22.

the Holy Child, according to his preſent capacities, and the clarity of that light which was communicated to her by divine infuſion: and all the members of this Bleſſed Child, his eyes, his face, his head, all the organs of his ſenſes, afford variety of entertainment and motion to our affections, according as they ſerved in their ſeveral employments and co-operations in the myſteries of our reſtitution.

11. BUT his body was but his ſoul's upper garment, and the conſiderations of this are as immaterial and ſpiritual as the ſoul it ſelf, and more immediate to the myſtery of the nativity. This ſoul is of the ſame nature and ſubſtance with ours; in this inferior to the angels, that of itſelf it is incompleat, and diſcurſive in a lower order of ratiocination: but in this ſuperiour; 1. That it is perſonally united to the divinity, full of the Holy Ghoſt, over-running with grace, which was diſpenſed to it without meaſure. (And by the mediation of this union, as itſelf is exalted far above all orders of intelligences, ſo we alſo have contracted alliances with God, teaching us not to unravel our excellencies by infamous deportments.) 2. Here alſo we may meditate, that his memory is indeterminable and unalterable, ever remembring to do us good, and to preſent our needs to God by the means of his holy interceſſion. 3. That his underſtanding is without ignorance, knowing the ſecrets of our hearts, full of myſterious ſecrets of his Father's kingdom, in *which all the treaſures of the wiſdom and knowledge of God are hidden.*[u] 4. That his will is impeccable, entertained with an uninterrupted act of love to God, greater than all angels and beatified ſpirits, preſent to God in the midſt of the tranſportations and raviſhments of paradiſe: that this will is full of love to us, of humility in itſelf, of conformity to God, wholly reſigned by acts of adoration and obedience. It was moved by ſix wings; zeal of the honour of God, and compunction for our ſins, pity to our miſeries, and hatred of our impieties, deſires of ſatisfying the wrath of God, and great joy at the conſideration of all the fruits of his nativity, the appeaſing of his Father, the redemption of his brethren. And upon theſe wings he mounted up into the throne of glory, carrying our nature with him above the ſeats of angels. Theſe ſecond conſiderations preſent themſelves to all that with piety and devotion behold the Holy Babe lying in the obſcure and humble place of his nativity.

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[u] Col. ii. 3.

The PRAYER.

HOLY *and immortal Jeſus, I adore and worſhip thee with the loweſt proſtrations and humility of ſoul and body, and give thee all thanks for that great love to us whereof thy nativity hath made demonſtrations; for that humility of thine expreſſed in the poor and ignoble circumſtances which thou didſt voluntarily chuſe in the manner of thy birth. And I preſent to thy holy humanity inchaſed in the adorable divinity my body and ſoul; humbly deſiring, that as thou didſt cloath thy ſelf with a human body, thou mayeſt inveſt me with the robes of righteouſneſs, covering my ſins, enabling my weakneſſes, and ſuſtaining my mortality, till I ſhall finally in conformity to thy beauties and perfections be cloathed with the ſtole of glory.* Amen.

2.

VOUCHSAFE *to come to me by a more intimate and ſpiritual approximation, that ſo thou mayeſt lead me to thy Father; for of my ſelf I cannot move one ſtep towards thee. Take me by the hand, place me in thy heart, that there I may live, and there I may die: that as thou haſt united our nature to thy eternal being, thou mighteſt alſo unite my perſon to thine by the interior adunations of love, and obedience, and conformity. Let thy ears be open to my prayers, thy merciful eyes look upon my miſeries, thy holy hands be ſtretched out to my relief and ſuccour. Let ſome of thoſe precious diſtilling tears which nature, and thy compaſſion, and thy ſufferings did cauſe to diſtil and drop from thoſe ſacred fontinels, water my ſtony heart, and make it ſoft, apt for the impreſſions of a melting, obedient and correſponding love; and moiſten mine eyes, that I may upon thy ſtock of pity and weeping mourn for my ſins: that ſo my tears and ſorrows, being drops of water coming from that holy rock, may indeed be united unto thine, and made precious by ſuch holy mixtures.* Amen.

3.

BLESSED Jeſus, now that thou haſt ſanctified and exalted human nature, and made even my body precious by a perſonal uniting it to the divinity, teach me ſo reverently to account of it, that I may not dare to prophane it with impure luſts or caitive affections, and unhallow that ground where thy holy feet have trodden. Give to me ardent deſires, and efficacious proſecutions of thoſe holy effects which thou didſt deſign for us in thy nativity, and other parts of our redemption. Give me great confidence in thee, which thou haſt encouraged by the exhibition of ſo glorious favours; great ſorrow and confuſion of face at the ſight of mine own imperfections, and eſtrangements, and great diſtances from thee, and the perfections of thy ſoul; and bring me to thee by the ſtrictneſſes of a zealous and affectionate imitation of thoſe ſanctities which, next to the hypoſtatical union, added luſtre and excellency to thy humanity: that I may live here with thee in the expreſſes of a holy life, and die with thee by mortification and an unwearied patience, and reign with thee in immortal glories world without end. Amen.

DISCOURSE I.

Of Nurſing Children, in Imitation of the Bleſſed Virgin-Mother.

1. THESE latter ages of the world have declined into a ſoftneſs above the effeminacy of Aſian princes, and have contracted cuſtoms which thoſe innocent and healthful days of our anceſtors knew not, whoſe piety was natural, whoſe charity was operative, whoſe policy was juſt and valiant, and whoſe oeconomy was ſincere and proportionable to the diſpoſitions and requiſites of nature. And in this particular the good women of [x] old gave one of their inſtances; the greateſt perſonages nurſed their own children, did the work of mothers, and thought it was unlikely women ſhould become virtuous by ornaments and ſuperadditions of morality, who did decline the laws and preſcriptions of nature, whoſe principles ſupply us with the firſt and moſt common rules of manners and more perfect actions. In imitation of whom, and eſpecially of the virgin Mary, who was mother and nurſe to the Holy Jeſus, I ſhall endeavour to correct thoſe ſoftneſſes and unnatural rejections of children, which are popular up to a cuſtom and faſhion, even where no neceſſities of nature or juſt reaſon can make excuſe.

2. AND I cannot think the queſtion deſpicable, and the duty of meaneſt conſideration; although it be ſpecified in an office of ſmall eſteem, and ſuggeſted to us by the principles of reaſon, and not by expreſs ſanctions of divinity. For although other actions are more perfect and ſpiritual, yet this is more natural and humane: other things being ſuperadded to a full duty riſe higher; but this builds ſtronger, and is like a part of the foundation, having no luſtre, but much ſtrength: and however the others are full of ornament, yet this hath in it ſome degrees of neceſſity, and poſſibly is with more danger and irregularity omitted, than actions which ſpread their leaves fairer, and look more gloriouſly.

3. Firſt, HERE I conſider, that there are many ſins in the ſcene of the body and the matter of ſobriety which are highly criminal, and yet the laws of God expreſſed in ſcripture name them not; but men are taught to diſtinguiſh them by that reaſon which is given us by nature, and is imprinted in our underſtanding in order to the conſervation of human kind. For ſince every creature hath ſomething in it ſufficient to propagate the kind, and to conſerve the individuals from periſhing in confuſions and general diſorders, which in beaſts we call inſtinct, that is, an habitual or prime diſpoſition to do certain things which are proportionable to the end whither it is deſigned; man alſo, if he be not

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[x] Quod ſi pudica mulier in partem juvet Domum atque dulces liberos: (Sabina qualis, aut peruſta ſolibus Pernicis uxor Appuli) Non me Lucrina juverint conchylia magis, &c. HOR. Epod. 2.

more imperfect, muſt have the like: and becauſe he knows and makes reflections upon his own acts, and underſtands the reaſon of it, that which in them is inſtinct, in him is natural reaſon [y], which is a deſire to preſerve himſelf and his own kind; and differs from inſtinct, becauſe he underſtands his inſtinct and the reaſonableneſs of it, and they do not. But man being an higher thing even in the order of creation, and deſigned to a more noble end in his animal capacity, his argumentative inſtinct is larger than the natural inſtinct of beaſts: for he hath inſtincts in him in order to the conſervation of ſociety, and therefore hath principles, that is, he hath natural deſires to it for his own good; and becauſe he underſtands them, they are called principles and laws of nature, but are no other than what I have now declared; for beaſts do the ſame things we do, and have many the ſame inclinations, which in us are the laws of nature, even all which we have in order to our common end. But that which in beaſts is nature and an impulſive force, in us muſt be duty and an inviting power: we muſt do the ſame things with an actual or habitual deſignation of that end to which God deſigns beaſts; (ſupplying by his wiſdom their want of underſtanding;) and then what is mere nature in them, in us is natural reaſon. And therefore marriage in men is made ſacred, when the mixtures of other creatures are ſo merely natural, that they are not capable of being virtuous; becauſe men are bound to intend that end which God made. And this, with the ſuperaddition of other ends, of which marriage is repreſentative in part, and in part effective, does conſecrate marriage, and makes it holy and myſterious. But then there are in marriage many duties which we are taught by inſtinct; that is, by that reaſon whereby we underſtand what are the beſt means to promote the end which we have aſſigned us. And by theſe laws all unnatural mixtures are made unlawful, and the decencies which are to be obſerved in marriage are preſcribed us by this.

4. Secondly, Upon the ſuppoſition of this diſcourſe I conſider again, that although to obſerve this inſtinct of theſe laws of nature (in which I have now inſtanced) be no great virtue in any eminency of degree; (as no man is much commended for not killing himſelf, or for not degenerating into beaſtly luſts;) yet to prevaricate ſome of theſe laws may become almoſt the greateſt ſin in the world. And therefore although to live according to nature be a teſtimony fit to be given to a ſober and temperate man, and riſes no higher; yet to do an action againſt nature is the greateſt diſhonour and impiety in the world, (I mean of actions whoſe ſcene lies in the body) and diſentitles us to all relations to God, and vicinity to virtue.

5. Thirdly, Now amongſt actions which we are taught by nature, ſome concern the being and the neceſſities of nature, ſome appertain to her convenience and advantage: and the tranſgreſſions of theſe reſpectively have their heightnings or depreſſions; and therefore to kill a man is worſe than ſome preternatural pollutions, becauſe more deſtructive of the end and deſignation of nature, and the purpoſe of inſtinct.

6. Fourthly, Every part of this inſtinct is then in ſome ſenſe a law, when it is in a direct order to a neceſſary end, and by that is made reaſonable. I ſay (in ſome ſenſe) it is a law, that is, it is in a near diſpoſition to become a law. It is a rule without obligation to a particular puniſhment, beyond the effect of the natural inordination and obliquity of the act; it is not the meaſure of a moral good or evil, but of the natural, that is comely and uncomely. For if in the individuals it ſhould fail, or that there paſs ſome greater obligation upon the perſon in order to a higher end, not conſiſtent with thoſe means deſigned in order to the leſſer end, in that particular it is no fault, but ſometimes a virtue. And therefore although it be an inſtinct, or reaſonable towards many purpoſes, that every one ſhould beget a man in his own image, in order to the preſervation of nature: yet if there be a ſuperaddition of another and higher end, and contrary means perſuaded in order to it, (ſuch as is holy celibate or virginity in order to a ſpiritual life, in ſome perſons) there the inſtinct of nature is very far from paſſing obligation upon the conſcience, and in that inſtance ceaſes to be reaſonable. And therefore the Romans, who invited men to marriage with privileges, and puniſhed moroſe and ungentle natures that refuſed it, yet had their chaſte and unmarried Veſtals; the firſt, in order to the commonwealth; theſe, in a nearer order to religion.

7. Fifthly, These inſtincts or reaſonable inducements become laws, obliging us in conſcience and in the way of religion, and the breach of them is directly criminal, when the inſtance violates any end of juſtice, or charity, or ſobriety, either deſigned in nature's firſt intention, or ſuperinduced by God or man. For every thing that is unreaſonable to ſome certain purpoſe, is not preſently criminal, much leſs is it againſt the law

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[y] Naturale jus partim τὸ δίκαιον, πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ὁμοίως λυσιτελέστατον· partim τὸ πρὸς καλοκἀγαθίαν, κοινὸν ἅπασι, καὶ μόνον ἱκανὸν διασώζειν τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένος. Joſeph. Orig. 16, &c.

of nature; (unleſs every man that goes out of his way ſins againſt the law of nature;) and every contradicting of a natural deſire or inclination is not a ſin againſt a law of nature. For the reſtraining ſometimes of a lawful and a permitted deſire is an act of great virtue, and purſues a greater reaſon; as in the former inſtance. But thoſe things only againſt which ſuch a reaſon as mixes with charity or juſtice, or ſomething that is now in order to a farther end of a commanded inſtance of piety, may be without error brought, thoſe things are only criminal. And God having firſt made our inſtincts reaſonable, hath now made our reaſon and inſtincts to be ſpiritual; and having ſometimes reſtrained our inſtincts, and always made them regular, he hath by the intermixture of other principles made a ſeparation of inſtinct from inſtinct, leaving one in the form of natural inclination, and they riſe no higher than a permiſſion or a decency, it is lawful, or it is comely ſo to do: (for no man can affirm it to be a duty to kill him that aſſaults my life, or to maintain my children for ever without their own induſtry, when they are able, what degrees of natural fondneſs ſoever I have towards them; nor that I ſin, if I do not marry, when I can contain:) and yet every one of theſe may proceed from the affections and firſt inclinations of nature. But until they mingle with juſtice, or charity, or ſome inſtance of religion and obedience, they are no laws: the other that are ſo mingled, being raiſed to duty and religion. Nature inclines us, and reaſon judges it apt and requiſite in order to certain ends; but then every particular of it is made to be an act of religion from ſome other principle: as yet, it is but fit and reaſonable, not religion and particular duty, till God or man hath interpoſed. But whatſoever particular in nature was fit to be made a law of religion, is made ſuch by the ſuperaddition of another principle: and this is derived to us by tradition from Adam to Noah, or elſe tranſmitted to us by the conſent of all the world upon a natural and prompt reaſon, or elſe by ſome other inſtrument derived to us from God; but eſpecially by the Chriſtian religion, which hath adopted all thoſe things which we call *things honeſt*, *things comely*, *and things of good report*, into a law and a duty, as appears *Phil.* iv. 8.

8. UPON theſe propoſitions I ſhall infer, by way of inſtance, that it is a duty that women ſhould nurſe their own children. For firſt, it is taught to women by that inſtinct which nature hath implanted in them. For, as[z] Phavorinus the philoſopher diſcourſed, it is but to be half a mother to bring forth children, and not to nouriſh them: and it is ſome kind of abortion, or an expoſing of the infant, which in the reputation of all wiſe nations is infamous and uncharitable. And if the name of mother be an appellative of affections and endearments, why ſhould the mother be willing to divide it with a ſtranger? the earth is the mother of us all, not only becauſe we were made of her red clay, but chiefly that ſhe daily gives us food from her bowels and breaſts; and plants and beaſts give nouriſhment to their off-ſprings, after their production, with greater tenderneſs than they bare them in their wombs; and yet women give nouriſhment to the embryo, which whether it be deformed or perfect they know not, and cannot love what they never ſaw: and yet when they do ſee it, when they have rejoiced that a child is born, and forgotten the ſorrows of production, they who then can firſt begin to love it, if they begin to divorce the infant from the mother, the object from the affection, cut off the opportunities and occaſions of their charity or piety.

9. FOR why hath nature given to women two exuberant fontinels, which *like two roes that are twins feed among the lilies*[a], and drop milk like dew from Hermon, and hath [b] invited that nouriſhment from the ſecret receſſes where the infant dwelt at firſt, up to the breaſt, where naturally now the child is cradled in the entertainments of love and maternal embraces; but that nature having removed the babe, and carried its meat after it, intends that it ſhould be [c] preſerved by the matter and ingredients of its conſtitution, and have the ſame diet prepared with a more mature and proportionable digeſtion? If nature intended them not for nouriſhment, I am ſure it leſs intended them for pride and wantonneſs; they are needleſs excreſcences and vices of nature, unleſs employed in nature's work and proper intendment. And if it be a matter of conſideration of what blood children are derived, we may alſo conſider, that the derivation continues after the birth, and therefore, abating the ſenſuality, the nurſe is as much the mother as ſhe that brought it forth; and ſo much the more, as there is a longer communication of conſtituent nouriſhment (for ſo are the firſt emanations) in this than in the other. So that here is firſt the inſtinct or prime intendment of nature.

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[z] Apud A. Gellium, l. 12. c. 1.

[a] Cant. iv. 5.

[b] Ilicet exundans clauſtris, erumpere geſtit
Humor, [illegible]
Si prohibes, furit in mammis, turbáſque dolorum
Miſcet, & ingrata pœnas à matre repoſcit.
SAMMARTH. Pædotroph.

[c] Sponte fluunt alimenta ſuis accommoda rebus,
Cognatúmque bibunt membra haud invita liquorem.
Idem.

10. SECONDLY, And that this inſtinct may alſo become humane and reaſonable, we ſee it by experience in many places, that foſter-children are dearer to the nurſe than to the mother, as receiving and miniſtring reſpectively perpetual prettineſſes of love, and fondneſs, and trouble, and need, and invitations, and all the inſtruments of indearment; beſides a vicinity of diſpoſitions and relative tempers by the communication of blood and ſpirits from the nurſe to the ſuckling, which makes uſe the more natural, and nature more accuſtomed. And therefore the affections which theſe expoſed or derelict children bear to their mothers have no grounds of nature or aſſiduity, but civility and opinion; and that little of love which is abated from the foſter-parents upon public report that they are not natural, that little is transferred to mothers upon the ſame opinion, and no more[a]. Hence come thoſe unnatural averſions, thoſe unrelenting diſpoſitions, thoſe careleſſneſſes and incurious deportments towards their children, which are ſuch ill ſown ſeeds, from whence may ariſe up a bitterneſs of diſpoſition and mutual provocation. The affection which children bear to their nurſes was highly remarked in the inſtance of Scipio Aſiaticus, who rejected the importunity of his brother Africanus in behalf of the ten captains who were condemned for offering violence to the veſtals, but pardoned them at the requeſt of his foſter-ſiſter: and being asked why he did more for his nurſe's daughter than for his own mother's ſon, gave this anſwer, " I eſteem her rather to be my mother that brought me up, than her that bare me and forſook me." And I have read the obſervation, That many tyrants have killed their mothers, but never any did violence to his nurſe; as if they were deſirous to ſuck the blood of their mother raw, which ſhe refuſed to give to them digeſted into milk. And the baſtard-brother of the Gracchi, returning from his victories in Aſia to Rome, preſented his mother with a jewel of ſilver, and his nurſe with a girdle of gold, upon the ſame account. Sometimes children are exchanged, and artificial baſtardies introduced into a family, and the right heir ſupplanted. It happened ſo to Artabanus king of Epirus; his child was changed at nurſe, and the ſon of a mean knight ſucceeded in the kingdom. The event of which was this: The nurſe too late diſcovered the treaſon; a bloody war was commenced, both the pretenders ſlain in battle, and the kingdom itſelf was uſurped by Alexander the brother to Olympias, the wife of Philip the Macedonian. At the beſt, though there happen no ſuch extravagant and rare accidents, yet it is not likely a ſtranger ſhould love the child better than the mother: and if the mother's care could ſuffer it to be expoſed, a ſtranger's care may ſuffer it to be neglected. For how ſhall a hireling endure the inconveniencies, the tedious̄neſſes and unhandſomeneſſes of a nurſery, when ſhe whoſe natural affection might have made it pleaſant, out of wantonneſs or ſoftneſs hath declined the burthen? But the ſad accidents which by too frequent obſervation are daily ſeen happening to nurſe-children, give great probation, that this intendment of nature deſigning mothers to be the nurſes, that their affection might ſecure and increaſe their care, and the care beſt provide for their babes, is moſt reaſonable, and proportionable to the diſcourſes of humanity.

11. BUT as this inſtinct was made reaſonable, ſo in this alſo the reaſon is in order to grace and ſpiritual effects; and therefore is among thoſe things which god hath ſeparated from the common inſtincts of nature, and made properly to be laws, by the mixtures of juſtice and charity. For it is part of that education which mothers as a duty owe to their children, that they do in all circumſtances, and with all their powers which God to that purpoſe gave them[b], promote their capacities and improve their faculties. Now in this alſo, as the temper of the body is conſiderable in order to the inclinations of the ſoul, ſo is the nurſe in order to the temper of the body: and a lamb ſucking a goat, or a kid ſucking an ewe, change their fleece and hair reſpectively, ſay naturaliſts. For if the ſoul of man were put into the body of a mole, it could not ſee nor ſpeak, becauſe it is not fitted with an inſtrument apt and organical to the faculty: and when the ſoul hath its proper inſtruments, its muſick is pleaſant or harſh according to the ſweetneſs or the unevenneſs of the ſtring it touches: for David himſelf could not have charmed Saul's melancholic ſpirit with the ſtrings of his bow, or the wood of his ſpear. And juſt ſo are the actions or diſpoſitions of the ſoul, angry or pleaſant, luſtful or cold, querulous or paſſionate, according as the body is diſpoſed by the various intermixtures of natural qualities. And as the careleſſneſs of nurſes hath ſometimes returned children to their parents crooked, con-

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[a] Obliteratis & abolitis nativæ pietatis elementis, quicquid ità educati liberi amare patrem atque matrem videntur, magnam partem non naturalis ille amor eſt, ſed civilis & opinabilis. *Phavor. apud A. Gellium.*

[b] Nam Gracchorum eloquentiæ multum contuliſſe accepimus Corneliam matrem. *Quint. l. 1. c. 1.* Protinus ut erit parens factus, acrem quàm maximè curam impendat, ante omnia nè ſit vitioſus ſermo nutricibus, quas, ſi fieri poſſet, ſapientes Chryſippus optavit. *Quint. lib. 1. cap. 1.* γάλα ἀλλότριον βλαβερὸν, γάλα ἴδιον ὠφέλιμον, *Hippocrat. l. de Alimento.* καθάπερ αἱ τιτθαί γε, σιτίζεις κακῶς. *Ariſtoph.*

ſumptive, half ſtarved, and unclean from the impurities of nature: ſo their ſociety and their nouriſhment together have diſpoſed them to peeviſhneſs, to luſt, to drunkenneſs, to pride, to low and baſe demeanours, to ſtubbornneſs. And as a man would have been unwilling to have a child by Harpaſte, Seneca's wife's fool; ſo he would in all reaſon be as unwilling to have had her to be the nurſe: for very often mothers by the birth do not tranſmit their imperfections, yet it ſeldom happens but the nurſe does. Which is the more conſiderable, becauſe nurſes are commonly perſons of no great rank, certainly lower than the mother, and by conſequence liker to return their children with the lower and more ſervile conditions: and commonly thoſe vainer people teach them to be peeviſh and proud, to lye, or at leaſt ſeldom give them any firſt principles contrariant to the nurſe's vice. And therefore it concerns the parents care, in order to a virtuous life of the child, to ſecure its firſt ſeaſonings; becauſe whatever it ſucks in firſt, it ſwallows and believes infinitely, and practiſes eaſily, and continues longeſt. And this is more proper for a mother's care[c], while the nurſe thinks that giving the child ſuck, and keeping it body clean, is all her duty; but the mother cannot think herſelf ſo eaſily diſcharged. And this conſideration is material in all caſes, be the choice of the nurſe never ſo prudent and curious: and it is not eaſily apprehended to be the portion of her care to give it ſpiritual milk: and therefore it intrenches very much upon impiety and poſitive relinquiſhing the education of their children, when mothers expoſe the ſpirit of the child either to its own weaker inclinations, or the wicked principles of an ungodly nurſe, or the careleſſneſs of any leſs-obliged perſon.

12. AND then let me add, That a child ſucks the nurſe's milk, and digeſts her conditions, if they be never ſo [d] bad, ſeldom gets any good. For virtue being ſuperaddition to nature, and perfections not radical in the body, but contradictions to and meliorations of natural indiſpoſitions, does not eaſily convey itſelf by miniſtrations of food, as vice does, which in moſt inſtances is nothing but meer nature grown to cuſtom, and not mended by grace; ſo that it is probable enough, ſuch natural diſtemperatures may paſs in the rivulets of milk, like evil-ſpirits in a white garment; when virtues are of harder purchaſe, and dwell ſo low in the heart, that they but rarely paſs through the fountains of generation. And therefore let no mother venture her child upon a ſtranger, whoſe heart ſhe leſs knows than her own. And becauſe few of thoſe nicer women think better of others than themſelves, (ſince out of ſelf-love they neglect their own bowels,) it is but an act of improvidence, to let my child derive imperfections from one, of whom I have not ſo good an opinion as of my ſelf.

13. AND if thoſe many bleſſings and holy prayers which the child needs, or his aſkings or ſickneſſes, or the mother's fears or joys reſpectively do occaſion, ſhould not be caſt into this account, yet thoſe principles which, in all caſes wherein the neglect is vicious, are the cauſes of the expoſing the child, are extremely againſt the piety and charity of chriſtian religion, which preſcribes ſeverity and auſtere deportment, and the labours of love, and exemplar tenderneſs of affections, and piety to children, which are the moſt natural and neareſt relations the parents have. That religion which commands us to viſit and to tend ſick ſtrangers, and to waſh the feet of the poor, and dreſs their ulcers, and ſends us upon charitable embaſſies into unclean priſons, and bids us lay down our lives for one another, is not pleaſed with a niceneſs and ſenſual curioſity (that I may not name the wantonneſſes of luſts) which denies ſuck to our own children. What is more humane and affectionate than chriſtianity? and what is leſs natural and charitable than to deny the expreſſes of a mother's affection? which certainly to good women is the greateſt trouble in the world, and the greateſt violence to their deſires, if they ſhould not expreſs and miniſter.

14. AND it would be conſidered, whether thoſe mothers who have neglected their firſt duties of piety and charity, can expect ſo prompt and eaſy returns of duty and piety from their children, whoſe beſt foundation is love, and that love ſtrongeſt which is moſt natural, and that moſt natural which is conveyed by the firſt miniſteries and impreſſes of nouriſhment and education. And if love deſcends more ſtrongly than it aſcends, and commonly falls from the parents upon the children in cataracts, and returns back again up to the parents but in gentle dews; if the child's affection keeps the ſame proportions towards ſuch unkind mothers, it will be as little as atoms in the ſun, and never expreſs it ſelf but when the mother needs it not, that is, in the ſun-ſhine of a clear fortune.

15. THIS then is amongſt thoſe inſtincts which are natural, heightned firſt by reaſon, and then exalted by grace into the obligation of a law: and being amongſt the ſanctions

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[c] Ἄλλοτε μητρυιὴ πέλει ἡμέρη, ἄλλοτε μήτηρ. *Fictum Proverb.*

[d] Hyrcanæque admôrunt ubera tigres. *Virgil.* λεαίνας μασθὸν ἐθήλαξε.

of nature, its prevarication is a crime very near thoſe ſins which divines, in deteſtation of their malignity, call ſins againſt nature, and is never to be excuſed but in caſes of [e] neceſſity or greater charity; as when the mother cannot be a nurſe by reaſon of natural diſability, or is afflicted with a diſeaſe which might be tranſmitted in the milk, or in caſe of the publick neceſſities of a kingdom, for the ſecuring of ſucceſſion in the royal family. And yet concerning this laſt, Lycurgus made a law, that the nobleſt among the Spartan women, though their kings wives, ſhould at leaſt nurſe their eldeſt ſon, and the Plebeians ſhould nurſe all theirs: and Plutarch reports, that the ſecond ſon of king Themiſtes inherited the kingdom in Sparta, only becauſe he was nurſed with his mother's milk, and the eldeſt was therefore rejected becauſe a ſtranger was his nurſe. And that queens have ſuckled and nurſed their own children, is no very unuſual kindneſs in the ſimplicity and hearty affections of elder ages, as is to be ſeen in Herodotus and other hiſtorians: I ſhall only remark one inſtance out of the Spaniſh chronicles, which Henry Stephens in his apology for Herodotus reports to have heard from thence related by a noble perſonage, Monſieur Marillac; that a Spainſh lady married into France nurſed her child with ſo great a tenderneſs and jealouſy, that having underſtood the little prince once to have ſuck'd a ſtranger, ſhe was unquiet till ſhe had forced him to vomit it up again. In other caſes the crime lies at their door who inforce neglect upon the other, and is heightned in proportion to the motive of the omiſſion: as if wantonneſs or pride be the parent of the crime, the iſſue, beſides its natural deformity, hath the excreſcencies of pride or luſt to make it more ugly.

16. To ſuch mothers I propound the example of the holy virgin, who had the honour to be viſited by an angel, yet, after the example of the ſaints in the old teſtament, ſhe gave to the holy Jeſus drink from thoſe bottles which himſelf had filled for his own drinking; and her paps were as ſurely bleſſed for giving him ſuck, as her womb for bearing him; and reads a lecture of piety and charity, which if we deny to our children, there is then in the world left no argument or relation great enough to kindle it from a cinder to a flame. God gives dry breaſts, for a curſe to ſome, for an affliction to others; but thoſe that invite it to them by voluntary arts, *love not bleſſing, therefore ſhall it be far from them.* And I remember that it was ſaid concerning Annius Minutius the cenſor, that he thought it a prodigy and extremely ominous to Rome, that a Roman lady refuſed to nurſe her child, and yet gave ſuck to a puppy, that her milk might with more ſafety be dried up with artificial applications. Let none therefore divide the intereſts of their own children: for ſhe that appeared before Solomon, and would have the child divided, was not the true mother, and was the more culpable of the two.

The PRAYER.

O Holy and Eternal God, father of the creatures, and king of all the world, who haſt imprinted in all the ſons of thy creation principles and abilities to ſerve the end of their own preſervation, and to men haſt ſuperadded reaſon, making thoſe firſt propenſities of nature to be reaſonable in order to ſociety, and a converſation in communities and bodies politick, and haſt by ſeveral laws and revelations directed our reaſons to nearer applications to thee, and performance of thy great end, the glory of our Lord and Father; teach me ſtrictly to obſerve the order of creation, and the deſigns of the creatures, that in my order I may do that ſervice which every creature does in its proper capacity. Lord, let me be as conſtant in the ways of religion as the ſun in his courſe, as ready to follow the intimations of thy ſpirit as little birds are to obey the directions of thy providence and the conduct of thy hand; and let me never by evil cuſtoms, or vain company, or falſe perſuaſions, extinguiſh thoſe principles of morality and right reaſon which thou haſt imprinted in my underſtanding, in my creation and education, and which thou haſt ennobled by the ſuperadditions of chriſtian inſtitution: that I may live according to the rules of nature in ſuch things which ſhe teaches, modeſtly, temperately and affectionately, in all the parts of my natural and political relations; and that I, proceeding from nature to grace, may henceforth go on from grace to glory, the crown of all obedience, prudent and holy walking, through Jeſus Chriſt *our Lord.* Amen.

SECT.

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[e] Neceſſitas magnum imbecillitatis humanæ patrocinium, quicquid cogit excuſat. *Sen.*

SECT. IV.

Of the great and glorious Accidents happening about the Birth of JESUS.

1. ALTHOUGH the birth of Chriſt was deſtitute of the uſual excreſcencies and leſs neceſſary pomps which uſed to ſignify and illuſtrate the birth of princes; yet his firſt humility was made glorious with preſages, miracles, and ſignifications from heaven, which did not only, like the furniture of a princely bed-chamber, ſpeak the riches of the parent, or greatneſs of the ſon within its own walls, but did declare to all the world that their prince was born, publiſhing it with figures, and repreſentments almoſt as great as its empire.

2. FOR when all the world did expect that in Judæa ſhould be born their prince, and that the incredulous world had in their obſervation ſlipt by their true prince, becauſe he came not in pompous and ſecular illuſtrations; upon that very ſtock Veſpaſian was[a] nurſed up in hope of the Roman empire, and that hope made him great in deſigns, and they being proſperous made his fortunes correſpond to his hopes, and he was endeared and engaged upon that fortune by the prophecy which was never intended him by the prophet. But the fortune of the Roman monarchy was not great enough for this prince deſign'd by the old prophets. And therefore it was not without the influence of a divinity, that his predeceſſor Auguſtus about the time of Chriſt's nativity refuſed to be called LORD[b]. Poſſibly it was to entertain the people with ſome hopes of reſtitution of their liberties, till he had griped the monarchy with a ſtricter and faſter hold; but the chriſtians were apt to believe, that it was upon the prophecy of a Sibyl foretelling the birth of a greater prince, to whom all the world ſhould pay adoration. And that the prince was about that time born in Judæa, the oracle which was dumb to Auguſtus's[c] queſtion, told him unaſk'd, the devil having no tongue permitted him, but once to proclaim that "an Hebrew child was his lord and enemy."

3. AT the birth of which child there was an univerſal peace through all the world. For then it was that Auguſtus Cæſar, having compoſed all the wars of the world, did the third time cauſe the gates of Janus's temple to be ſhut: and this peace continued for twelve years[d], even till the extreme old age of the prince, until ruſt had ſealed the temple-doors, which opened not until the ſedition of the Athenians and the rebellion of the Dacians cauſed Auguſtus to arm. For he that was born was the prince of peace, and came to reconcile god with man, and man with his brother; and to make by the ſweetneſs of his example, and the influence of a holy doctrine, ſuch happy atonements between diſagreeing natures, ſuch confederations and ſocieties between enemies, that *the wolf and the lamb ſhould lie down together, and a little child* boldly and without danger *put his finger in the neſt and cavern of an aſp*[e]. And it could be no leſs than miraculous, that ſo great a body as the Roman empire, conſiſting of ſo many parts, whoſe conſtitutions were differing, their humours contrary, their intereſts contradicting each other's greatneſs, and all theſe violently oppreſſed by an uſurping power, ſhould have no limb out of joint, not ſo much as an aking tooth or a rebelling humour in that huge collection of parts: but ſo it ſeemed good in the eye of heaven, by ſo great and good a ſymbol to declare not only the greatneſs, but the goodneſs of the prince that was then born in Judæa, the lord of all the world.

4. But becauſe the heavens, as well as the earth, are his creatures, and do ſerve him, at his birth he received a ſign in heaven above, as well as in the earth beneath, as an homage paid to their common lord. For as certain *ſhepherds were keeping watch over their flocks by night*, near that part where Jacob did uſe to feed his cattle when he was in the land of Canaan, *the angel of the lord came upon them, and the glory of the lord ſhone round about them.* Needs muſt the ſhepherds be afraid, when an angel came arrayed in glory, and cloathed their perſons in a robe of light, great enough to confound their ſenſes and ſcatter their underſtandings. But *the angel ſaid unto them, Fear not, for I bring unto you tidings of great joy which ſhall be to all people. For unto you is born this day in the city*

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[a] *Sueton.* in vita Veſp. Vide etiam *Ciceron.* de Divin.

[b] *Oroſius*, l. 6. c. 22.

[c] *Suidas.* in hiſtor. Verb Auguſtus.

[d] *Oroſius.*

[e] *Eſa.* 11. 6, 8.

P.22 VI

Clark & Pine Sculp.

And they came with haste, and found Mary *and* Joſeph, *and the* Babe *lying in a Manger.* *St. Luke, Chap. 2d. Ver. 16th.*

of David a ſaviour, which is Chriſt the Lord. The ſhepherds needed not be invited to go ſee this glorious ſight: but leſt their fancy ſhould riſe up to an expectation of a prince as externally glorious as might be hoped for upon the conſequence of ſo glorious an apparition, the angel, to prevent the miſtake, told them of a ſign, which indeed was no other than the thing ſignified; but yet was therefore a ſign, becauſe it was ſo remote from the common probability and expectation of ſuch a birth, that by being a miracle, ſo great a prince ſhould be born ſo poorly, it became an inſtrument to ſignify itſelf and all the other parts of myſterious conſequence. For the angel ſaid, *This ſhall be a ſign unto you, Ye ſhall find the babe wrapt in ſwadling clothes, lying in a manger.*

5. BUT as light, when it firſt begins to gild the Eaſt, ſcatters indeed the darkneſſes from the earth, but ceaſes not to increaſe its flame till it hath made perfect day; ſo it happened now in this apparition of the angel of light. He appeared, and told his meſſage and did ſhine; but the light aroſe higher and higher, till mid-night was as bright as mid-day. For *ſuddenly there was with the angel a multitude of the heavenly hoſt:* and after the angel had told his meſſage in plain-ſong, the whole chorus joined in deſcant, and ſang an hymn to the tune and ſenſe of heaven, where glory is paid to God in eternal and never-ceaſing offices, and whence good-will deſcends upon men in perpetual and never-ſtopping torrents. Their ſong was, *Glory be to God on high, on earth peace, good-will towards men.* By this ſong not only [e] referring to the ſtrange peace which at that time put all the world in eaſe, but to the great peace which this new-born prince ſhould make between his father and all mankind.

6. AS ſoon as theſe bleſſed choriſters had ſung their Chriſtmas carol, and taught the church a hymn to put into her offices for ever in the anniverſary of this feſtivity, *the angels returned into heaven,* and *the ſhepherds went to Bethlehem, to ſee this thing which the Lord had made known unto them. And they came with haſte, and found Mary and Joſeph, and the babe lying in a manger.* Juſt as the angel had prepared their expectation, they found the narrative verified, and ſaw the glory and the myſtery of it by that repreſentment which was made by the heavenly miniſters, ſeeing God through the veil of a child's fleſh, the heir of heaven wrapped in ſwaddling-clothes, and a perſon to whom the angels did miniſter laid in a manger: and they beheld, and wondred, and worſhipped.

7. BUT as precious liquor warmed and heightned by a flame firſt crowns the veſſel, and then dances over its brim into the fire, encreaſing the cauſe of its own motion and extravagancy; ſo it happened to the ſhepherds, whoſe hearts being filled with the oil of gladneſs up unto the brim, the joy ran over, as being too big to be confined in their own breaſts, and did communicate it ſelf, growing greater by ſuch diſſemination: For *when they had ſeen it, they made known abroad the ſaying which was told them concerning this child. And* (as well they might) *all that heard it wondred.* But Mary, having firſt changed her joy into wonder, turned her wonder into entertainments of the myſtery, and the myſtery into fruition and cohabitation with it: For *Mary kept all theſe ſayings, and pondered them in her heart.* And the ſhepherds having ſeen what the angels did upon the publication of the news, which leſs concerned them than us, had learnt their duty, to ſing an honour to God for the nativity of Chriſt: For *the ſhepherds returned, glorifying and praiſing God for all the things that they had heard and ſeen, as it was told unto them.*

8. BUT the angels had told the ſhepherds that the nativity was *glad tidings of great joy unto all people:* and, that *the heavens might declare the glory of God, and the firmament ſhew his handy-work,* this alſo was told abroad even to the Gentiles by a ſign from heaven, by the meſſage of a ſtar. For there was a prophecy of Balaam famous in all the eaſtern country, and recorded by *Moſes,* [f] *there ſhall come a ſtar out of Jacob, and a ſcepter ariſe out of Iſrael: Out of Jacob ſhall come he that ſhall have dominion.* Which, although in its firſt ſenſe it ſignified David, who was the conqueror of the Moabites; yet, in its more myſterious and chiefly-intended ſenſe, it related to the ſon of David. And in expectation of the event of this prophecy, the [g] Arabians, the ſons of Abraham by Keturah, whoſe portion given by their patriarch was gold, frankincenſe and myrrh, who were great lovers of aſtronomy, did with diligence expect the revelation of a mighty prince in Judæa at ſuch a time when a miraculous and extraordinary ſtar ſhould appear. And therefore *when Jeſus was born in Bethlehem of Judæa, in the days of Herod the king, there came wiſe men,* inſpired by God, taught by art, and perſuaded by prophecy, *from the*

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[e] Igitur eo tempore, *i. e.* eo anno, quo firmiſſimam veriſſimamque pacem ordinatione Dei Cæſar compoſuit, natus eſt Chriſtus; cujus adventui pax iſta famulata eſt: in cujus ortu audientibus hominibus exultantes Angeli cecinerunt, Gloria in excelſis Deo, & in terra Pax, &c. *P. Oroſius.*

[f] *Num.* 24. 17.

[g] *Epiphan. in* Expoſ. fid. cath. c. 8.

Eaſt to Jeruſalem, ſaying, Where is he that is born king of the Jews? for we have ſeen his ſtar in the eaſt, and are come to worſhip him. The Greeks ſuppoſe this, which was called a ſtar, to have been indeed an angel in a pillar of fire, and the ſemblance of a ſtar; and it is made the more likely, by coming and ſtanding directly over the humble roof of his nativity, which is not diſcernable in the ſtation of a ſtar, though it be ſuppoſed to be lower than the orb of the moon. To which if we add, that they only ſaw it, (ſo far as we know,) and that it appeared as it were by voluntary periods, it will not be very improbable but that it might be like the angel that went before the ſons of Iſrael in a pillar of fire by night; or rather like the little ſhining ſtars ſitting upon the bodies of Probus, Tharacus and Andronius, martyrs, when their bodies were ſearched for, in the days of Diocletian, and pointed at by thoſe bright angels.

9. THIS ſtar did not trouble Herod, till the Levantine princes expounded the myſteriouſneſs of it, and ſaid it declared a king to be born in Jewry, and that the ſtar was his, not applicable to any ſignification but of a king's birth. And therefore although it was [h] no prodigy nor comet, foretelling diſeaſes, plagues, war, and death, but only the happy birth of a moſt excellent prince; yet it brought affrightment to Herod and all Jeruſalem: For *when Herod the king had heard theſe things, he was troubled, and all Jeruſalem with him.* And thinking that the queſtion of the kingdom was now in diſpute, and an heir ſent from heaven to lay challenge to it, who brought a ſtar and the learning of the eaſt with him for evidence and probation of his title, Herod thought there was no ſecurity to his uſurped poſſeſſion, unleſs he could reſcind the decrees of heaven, and reverſe the reſults and eternal counſels of predeſtination. And he was reſolved to venture it, firſt by craft, and then by violence.

10. AND firſt, *he calls the chief prieſts and ſcribes of the people together,* and *demanded of them where Chriſt ſhould be born*; and found by their joint determination, that Bethlehem of Judæa was the place deſigned by ancient prophecy and God's decree. Next he enquired of the wiſe men concerning the ſtar, but privily what time it appeared. For the ſtar had not motion certain and regular, by the laws of nature [i]; but it ſo guided the wiſe men in their journey, that it ſtood when they ſtood, moved not when they reſted, and went forward when they were able, making no more haſte than they did, who carried much of the buſineſs and employment of the ſtar along with them. But when Herod was ſatisfied in his queſtions, *he ſent them to Bethlehem,* with inſtructions *to ſearch diligently for the young child, and bring him word,* pretending that he would *come and worſhip him* alſo.

11. THE wiſe men proſecuted the buſineſs of their journey, and *having heard the king, they departed, and the ſtar* (which, as it ſeems, attended their motion) *went before them until it came and ſtood over where the young child was*; where, *when they ſaw the ſtar, they rejoiced with exceeding great joy.* Such a joy as is uſual to wearied travellers when they are entering into their inn; ſuch a joy as when our hopes and greateſt longings are laying hold upon the proper objects of their deſires; a joy of certainty immediately before the poſſeſſion: for that is the greateſt joy, which poſſeſſes before it is ſatisfied, and rejoices with a joy not abated by the ſurfeits of poſſeſſion, but heightened with all the apprehenſions and fancies of hope, and the neighbourhood of fruition; a joy of nature, of wonder, and of religion. And now their hearts laboured with a throng of ſpirits and paſſions, and ran into the houſe to the embracement of Jeſus even before their feet. But *when they were come into the houſe, they ſaw the young child with Mary his mother.* And poſſibly their expectation was ſomething leſſened, and their wonder heightened, when they ſaw their hope empty of pomp and gaiety, the great king's throne to be a manger, a ſtable to his chamber of preſence, a thin court, and no miniſters, and the king himſelf a pretty babe; and, but that he had a ſtar over his head, nothing to diſtinguiſh him from the common condition of children, or to excuſe him from the miſeries of a poor and empty fortune.

12. THIS did not ſcandalize thoſe wiſe perſons, but being convinced by that teſtimony from heaven, and the union of all circumſtances, *they fell down and worſhipped him,* after the manner of the Eaſterlings when they do veneration to their kings; not with an empty *Ave* and gay bleſſing of fine words, but *they bring preſents, and come into his courts:* For *when they had opened their treaſures, they preſented unto him gifts, gold, frankincenſe, and myrrh.* And if theſe gifts were myſterious beyond the acknowledgment of him to be the king of the Jews, and Chriſt that ſhould come into the world [k]; frankincenſe

might

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[h] Et terris mutantem regna Cometem. *Chalcidius* in Timæum Platonis.

[i] *Leo* Serm. 4. de Epiphan.

[k] S. *Ambroſ.* in 2 Luc. 6. *Leo.* Ser. de Epiph. *Theophyl.* in Matt. 2. S. *Bernard.* in Serm. 2. de Epiph.

M. V. d. Gucht Sculp.

And when they were come into the House, they saw the Young **CHILD** *with*
MARY *his Mother and fell down and worſhipped him: and when they had*
opened their Treaſures, they preſented unto **HIM** *Gifts; Gold, Frankincence & Myrrhe.*
St. Mat. Chap. 2. v. 11.

BRITISH MUSEUM 5 AU 70

might ſignify him to be acknowledged a God, myrrh to be a man, and gold to be a king. Unleſs we chuſe by gold to ſignify the acts of mercy; by myrrh, the chaſtity of our minds and purity of our bodies, to the incorruption of which myrrh is eſpecially inſtrumental; and by incenſe we intend our [l] prayers, as the moſt apt preſents and oblations to the honour and ſervice of this young king. But however the fancies of religion may repreſent variety of idea's, the act of adoration was direct and religious: and the myrrh was medicinal to his tender body; the incenſe poſſibly no more than was neceſſary in a ſtable, the firſt throne of his humility; and the gold was a good antidote againſt the preſent indigencies of his poverty: preſents ſuch as were uſed in all the Levant, (eſpecially in Arabia and Saba, to which the growth of myrrh and frankincenſe was proper,) in their addreſſes to their God and to their king, and were inſtruments with which under the veil of fleſh they worſhipped the eternal Word; the wiſdom of God under infant innocency, the almighty power in ſo great weakneſs, and under the lowneſs of human nature, the altitude of majeſty and the infinity of divine glory. And ſo was verified the prediction of the prophet [m] Eſay, under the type of the ſon of the propheteſs, *Before a child ſhall have knowledge to cry, my father and my mother, he ſhall take the ſpoil of Damaſcus and Samaria from before the king of Aſſyria.*

13. WHEN they had paid the tribute of their offerings and adoration, *Being warned in their ſleep by an angel not to return to Herod, they returned into their own country another way:* where (having been ſatisfied with the pleaſures of religion, and taught by that rare demonſtration which was made by Chriſt, how man's happineſs did nothing at all conſiſt in the affluence of worldly poſſeſſions, or the tumours of honour; having ſeen the eternal ſon of God poor and weak, and unclothed of all exteriour ornaments;) they renounced the world, and retired empty into the receſſes of religion and the delights of philoſophy.

Ad SECT. IV.

Conſiderations upon the Apparition of the Angels to the Shepherds.

1. WHEN the angels ſaw that come to paſs which Gabriel the great embaſſador of God had declared, that which had been prayed for and expected four thouſand years, and that by the merits of this new-born prince their younger brethren and inferiors in the order of intelligent creatures were now to be redeemed, that men ſhould partake the glories of their ſecret habitations, and ſhould fill up thoſe void places which the fall of Lucifer and the third part of the ſtars had made; their joy was great as their underſtanding, and theſe mountains did leap with joy, becauſe the valleys were filled with benediction and a fruitful ſhower from heaven. And if at the *converſion of one ſinner there is jubilation* and a feſtival kept *among the angels*; how great ſhall we imagine this rejoicing to be, when ſalvation and redemption was ſent to all the world? But we alſo, to whom the joy did more perſonally relate, (for they rejoiced for our ſakes) ſhould learn to eſtimate the grace done us, and believe there is ſomething very extraordinary in the piety and ſalvation of a man, when the angels, who in reſpect of us are unconcern'd in the communications, rejoice with the joy of conquerors, or perſons ſuddenly ranſomed from tortures and death.

2. BUT the angels alſo had other motions: for beſides the pleaſures of that joy which they had in beholding human nature ſo highly exalted, and that God was man, and man was God; they were tranſported with admiration at the ineffable counſel of God's predeſtination, proſtrating themſelves with adoration and modeſty, ſeeing God ſo humbled, and man ſo changed, and ſo full of charity, that God ſtooped to the condition of man, and man was inflam'd beyond the love of ſeraphims, and was made more knowing than cherubims, more eſtabliſhed than thrones, more happy than all the orders of angels. The iſſue of this conſideration teaches us to learn their charity, and to exterminate all the inti-

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[l] *Phil.* 4. 18. *Pſal.* 141. 2. *Revel.* 5. 8.

[m] *Eſa.* 8. 4. *Juſtin M.* Dial. cum Tryphon. *Tertul.* l. 3. contra Marcion. c. 13.

mations and beginnings of envy, that we may as much rejoice at the good of others as of our ſelves: for then we love good for God's ſake, when we love good wherever God hath placed it; and that joy is charitable which overflows our neighbour's fields, when ourſelves are unconcerned in the perſonal accruements. For ſo we are *made partakers of all that fear God*, when charity unites their joy to ours, as it makes us partakers of their common ſufferings.

3. AND now the angels, who had adored the holy Jeſus in heaven, come alſo to pay their homage to him upon earth; and laying aſide their flaming ſwords, they take into their hands inſtruments of muſick, and ſing, *Glory be to God on high.* Firſt ſignifying to us, that the incarnation of the holy Jeſus was a very great inſtrument of the glorification of God, and thoſe divine perfections in which he is chiefly pleaſed to communicate himſelf to us, were in nothing manifeſted ſo much as in the myſteriouſneſs of this work. Secondly, And in vain doth man ſatisfy himſelf with complacencies and ambitious deſigns upon earth, when he ſees before him God in the form of a ſervant, humble, and poor, and crying, and an infant full of need and weakneſs.

4. BUT God hath pleaſed to reconcile his glory with our eternal benefit; and that alſo was part of the angels ſong, *In earth peace to men of good will.* For now we need not with Adam to fly from the preſence of the Lord, ſaying, *I heard thy voice, and I was afraid, and hid myſelf:* for he from whom our ſins made us once to fly, now weeps, and is an infant in his mother's arms, ſeeking ſtrange means to be reconciled to us, hath forgotten all his anger, and is ſwallowed up with love, and incircled with irradiations of amorous affections and good will. And the effects of this good will are not referred only to perſons of heroical and eminent graces and operations, of vaſt and expenſive charities, of prodigious abſtinencies, of eremitical retirements, of aſcetical diet, of perfect religion, and canonized perſons; but to all men of good will, whoſe ſouls are hallowed with holy purpoſes and pious deſires, though the beauties of the religion and holy thoughts were not ſpent in exteriour acts, nor called out by the opportunities of a rich and expreſſive fortune.

5. BUT here we know where the ſeat and regiment of peace is placed, and all of it muſt paſs by us and deſcend upon us as duty and reward. It proceeds from the Word incarnate, from the ſon of God undertaking to reconcile us to his father; and it is miniſtred and conſigned unto us by every event and act of providence, whether it be decyphered in characters of paternal indulgence, or of correction, or abſolution. For that is not peace from above, to have all things according to our human and natural wiſhes; but to be in favour with God, that is peace: always remembring, that to be chaſtiſed by him is not a certain teſtimony of his mere wrath, but to all his ſervants a character of love and of paternal proviſion, ſince *he chaſtiſes every ſon whom he receives.* Whoſoever ſeeks to avoid all this world's adverſity, can never find peace: but he only who hath reſolved all his affections, and placed them in the heart of God, he who denies his own will, and hath killed ſelf-love, and all thoſe enemies within that make afflictions to become miſeries indeed and full of bitterneſs, he only enjoys this peace; and in proportion to every man's mortification and ſelf-denial, ſo are the degrees of his peace. And this is the peace which the angel proclaimed at the enunciation of that birth, which taught humility and contempt of things below, and all their vainer glories, by the greateſt argument in the world, even the poverty of God incarnate. And if God ſent his own, natural, only-begotten and beloved ſon, in all the dreſſes of poverty and contempt; that perſon is vain who thinks God will love him better than he loved his own ſon, or that he will expreſs his love any other or gentler way than to make him partaker of the fortune of his eldeſt ſon. There is one other poſtern to the dwellings of peace, and that is, *Good will to men*; for ſo much charity as we have to others, ſuch a meaſure of peace alſo we may enjoy at home: For peace was proclaimed only to *Men of good will*, to them that are at peace with God and all the world.

6. BUT the angel brought the meſſage to ſhepherds, to perſons ſimple and mean and humble, perſons likely to be more apprehenſive of the myſtery, and leſs of the ſcandal of the poverty of the Meſſias. For they whoſe cuſtom or affections dwell in ſecular pomps, who are not uſed by charity or humility to ſtoop to an evenneſs and conſideration of their brethren, of equal natures though of unequal fortunes, are perſons of all the world moſt indiſpoſed and removed from the underſtanding of ſpiritual excellencies, eſpecially when they do not come cloathed with advantages of the world, and of ſuch beauties which they admire. God himſelf in poverty comes in a prejudice to them that love riches, and

ſimplicity

[o] ſimplicity is folly to crafty perſons, a mean birth is an ignoble ſtain, beggary is a ſcandal, and the croſs an unanſwerable objection. But the angel's moral in the circumſtance of his addreſs, and inviting the poor ſhepherds to Bethlehem, is, That none are fit to come to Chriſt but thoſe who are poor in ſpirit, deſpiſers of the world, ſimple in their hearts, without craft and ſecular deſigns: and therefore neither did the angel tell the ſtory to Herod, nor to the ſcribes and phariſees, whoſe ambition had ends contradictory to the ſimplicity and poverty of the birth of Jeſus.

7. THESE ſhepherds when they converſed with angels, were *watching over their flocks by night*; no revellers, but in a painful and dangerous employment, the work of an honeſt calling, ſecuring their folds againſt incurſions of wild beaſts, which in thoſe countries are not ſeldom or infrequent. And Chriſt, being the great ſhepherd, (and poſſibly for the analogy's ſake the ſooner manifeſted to ſhepherds,) hath made his miniſters overſeers of their flocks, diſtinguiſhed in their particular folds, and conveys the myſteriouſneſs of his kingdom firſt to the paſtors, and by their miniſtry to the flocks. But although all of them be admitted to the miniſtry, yet thoſe only to the interior receſſes and nearer imitations of Jeſus, who are watchful over their flocks, aſſiduous in their labours, painful in their ſufferings, preſent in the dangers of the ſheep, ready to interpoſe their perſons and ſacrifice their lives: theſe are ſhepherds who firſt converſe with angels, and finally ſhall enter into the preſence of the Lord. But beſides this ſymbol, we are taught in the ſignifications of the letter, That he that is diligent in the buſineſs of an honeſt calling, is then doing ſervice to God, and a work ſo pleaſing to him who hath appointed the ſons of men to labour, that to theſe ſhepherds he made a return and recompence by the converſation of an angel; and hath advanced the reputation of an honeſt and a mean employment to ſuch a teſtimony of acceptance, that no honeſt perſon, though buſied in meaner offices, may ever hereafter in the eſtimation of Chriſt's diſciples become contemptible.

8. THE ſigns which the angel gave to diſcover the babe were no marks of luſtre and vanity; but they ſhould find, 1. *a babe*, 2. *ſwaddled*, 3. *lying in a manger*: the firſt a teſtimony of his humility, the ſecond of his poverty, third of his incommodity and uneaſineſs: for Chriſt came to combat the whole body of ſin, and to deſtroy every province of Satan's kingdom; for theſe are direct antinomies to *the luſts of the fleſh, the luſt of the eyes, and the pride of life*. Againſt the firſt Chriſt oppoſed his hard and uneaſy lodging; againſt the ſecond, the poorneſs of his ſwaddling-bands and mantle; and the third is combated by the great dignation and deſcent of Chriſt from a throne of majeſty to the ſtate of a ſucking babe. And theſe are the firſt leſſons he hath taught us for our imitation; which that we may the better do, as we muſt take him for our pattern, ſo alſo for our helper, and pray to the holy child, and he will not only teach us, but alſo give us power and ability.

The PRAYER.

O *Bleſſed and eternal Jeſu, at whoſe birth the quires of angels ſang praiſes to God, and proclaimed peace to men, ſanctify my will and inferior affections, make me to be within the conditions of peace, that I be holy and mortified, a deſpiſer of the world, and exterior vanities, humble and charitable; that by thy eminent example I may be ſo fixed in the deſigns and proſecution of the ends of God and a bliſsful eternity, that I may be unmoved with the terrors of the world, unaltered with its allurements and ſeductions, not ambitious of its honour, not deſirous of its fulneſs and plenty: but make me diligent in the employment thou giveſt me, faithful in diſcharge of my truſt, modeſt in my deſires, content in the iſſues of thy providence: that in ſuch diſpoſitions I may receive and entertain viſitations from heaven, and revelations of the myſteries and bliſſes evangelical; that by ſuch directions I may be brought into thy preſence, there to ſee thy beauties and admire thy graces, and imitate all thy imitable excellencies, and reſt in thee for ever, in this world by the perſeverance of a holy and comfortable life, and in the world to come in the participation of thy eſſential glories and felicities, O bleſſed and eternal* Jeſu.

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[o] At nos virtutes ipſas invertimus, atque
Sincerum cupimus vas incruſtare. Probus quis
Nobiſcum vivit? multùm eſt demiſſus homo, illi
Tardo cognomen pinguis damus ——— Simplicior ſi quis ——— ut fortè legentem
Aut tacitum impellat, quovis ſermone moleſtus;
Communi ſenſu planè caret, inquimus. ———
Horat. Serm. l. 1. Sat. 3.

Conſiderations on the Epiphany of the B. Jeſus *by a Star, and the Adoration of* Jeſus *by the Eaſtern* Magi.

1. GOD, who is the univerſal father of all men, at the nativity of the Meſſias gave notice of it to all the world, as they were repreſented by the grand diviſion of Jews and Gentiles; to the Jewiſh ſhepherds by an angel, to the eaſtern Magi by a ſtar. For the goſpel is of univerſal diſſemination, not confined within the limits of a national prerogative, but catholic and diffuſed. As God's love was, ſo was the diſpenſation of it, without reſpect of perſons: for all being included under the curſe of ſin, were to him equal and indifferent, undiſtinguiſhable objects of mercy. And Jeſus, deſcended of the Jews, was alſo the *expectation of the Gentiles*, and therefore communicated to all; *the grace of God* being like the air we breathe, and *it hath appeared to all men*, [a] ſaith St. Paul; but the conveyances and communications of it were different in the degrees of clarity and illuſtration. The angel told the ſhepherds the ſtory of the nativity plainly and literally: The ſtar invited the wiſe men by its rareneſs and ſupernatural apparition; to which alſo, as by a foot-path, they had been led by the prophecy of Balaam.

2. BUT here firſt the grace of God prevents us; without him we can do nothing; he lays the firſt ſtone in every ſpiritual building, and then expects by that ſtrength he firſt gave us that we make the ſuperſtructures. But as a ſtone thrown into a river firſt moves the water, and diſturbs its ſurface into a circle, and then its own force wafts the neighbouring drops into a larger figure by its proper weight; ſo is the grace of God the firſt principle of our ſpiritual motion, and when it moves us into its own figure, and hath actuated and ennobled our natural powers by the influence of that firſt incentive, we continue the motion, and enlarge the progreſs. But as the circle on the face of the waters grows weaker till it hath ſmoothed it ſelf into a natural and even current, unleſs the force be renewed or continued: ſo does all our natural endeavour, when firſt ſet a-work by God's preventing grace, decline to the imperfection of its own kind, unleſs the ſame force be made energetical and operative by the continuation and renewing of the ſame ſupernatural influence.

3. AND therefore the eaſtern Magi, being firſt raiſed up into wonder and curioſity by the apparition of the ſtar, were very far from finding Jeſus by ſuch general and indefinite ſignifications: but then the goodneſs of God's grace increaſed its own influence; for an inſpiration from the ſpirit of God admoniſhed them to obſerve the ſtar, ſhewed the ſtar that they might find it, taught them to acknowledge it, [b] inſtructed them to underſtand its purpoſe, and invited them to follow it, and never left them till they had found the holy Jeſus. Thus alſo God deals with us, he gives us the firſt grace, and adds the ſecond; he enlightens our underſtandings, and actuates our faculties, and ſweetly allures us by the propoſition of rewards, and wounds us with the arrows of his love, and inflames us with fire from heaven; ever giving us new aſſiſtances, or increaſing the old, refreſhing us with comforts, or arming us with patience; ſometimes ſtirring our affections by the lights held out to our underſtanding, ſometimes bringing confirmation to our underſtanding by the motion of our affections; till by variety of means we at laſt arrive at Bethlehem, in the ſervice and entertainments of the holy Jeſus. Which we ſhall certainly do if we follow the invitations of grace, and exteriour aſſiſtances, which are given us to inſtruct us, to help us, and to invite us, but not to force our endeavours and co-operations.

4. As it was an unſearchable wiſdom, ſo it was an unmeaſurable grace of providence and diſpenſation which God did exhibit to thoſe wiſe men, to them, as to all men, diſpoſing the miniſteries of his grace ſweetly, and by proportion to the capacities of the perſon ſuſcipient. For God called the Gentiles by ſuch means as their cuſtoms and learning had made prompt and eaſy. For theſe Magi were great philoſophers and aſtronomers; and therefore God ſent a miraculous ſtar to invite and lead them to a new and more glorious light, the lights of grace and glory. And God ſo bleſſed them in following the ſtar, to which their innocent curioſity and national cuſtoms were apt to lead them; that their cuſtom was changed to grace, and their learning heightned with inſpiration, and God crowned all with a ſpiritual and glorious event. It was not much unlike, which God did to the princes and diviners among the Philiſtines, who ſent the ark back with five

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[a] *Tit.* 2. 11.

[b] Dedit intellectum, qui præſtitit ſignum. S. *Leo*, Ser. 1. de Epiph.

golden emrods and five golden mice; an act proportionable to the cuſtom and ſenſe of their nation and religion: yet God accepted their opinion and divination to the utmoſt end they deſigned it, and took the plagues of emrods and mice from them. For oftentimes the cuſtom or the philoſophy of the opinions of a nation are made inſtrumental, through God's acceptance, to ends higher than they can produce by their own energy and intendment. And thus the aſtrological divinations of the Magi were turned into the order of a greater deſign than the whole art could promiſe, their employment being altered into grace, and nature into a miracle. But then, when the wiſe men were brought by this means, and had ſeen Jeſus, then God takes ways more immediate and proportionable to the kingdom of grace: the next time God ſpeaks to them by an angel. For ſo is God's uſual manner to bring us to him; firſt, by ways agreeable to us, and then to increaſe, by ways agreeable to himſelf. And when he hath furniſhed us with new capacities, he gives new lights in order to more perfect employments: and, *To him that hath ſhall be given full meaſure, preſſed down, ſhaken together, and running over:* the eternal kindneſs of God being like the ſea, which delights to run in its old channel, and to fill the hollowneſſes of the earth which it ſelf hath made, and hath once watered.

5. THIS ſtar, which conducted the wiſe men to Bethlehem, (if at leaſt it was properly a ſtar, and not an angel,) was ſet in its place to be ſeen by all; but was not obſerved, or not underſtood, nor its meſſage obeyed, by any but the three wiſe men. And indeed no man hath cauſe to complain of God, as if ever he would be deficient in aſſiſtances neceſſary to his ſervice: but firſt the grace of God ſeparates us from the common condition of incapacity and indiſpoſition, and then we ſeparate ourſelves one from another by the uſe or neglect of this grace: and God doing his part to us, hath cauſe to complain of us, who neglect that which is our portion of the work. And however even the iſſues and the kindneſſes of God's predeſtination and antecedent mercy do very much towards the making grace to be effective of its purpoſe; yet the manner of all thoſe influences and operations being moral, perſuaſive, reaſonable and diviſible, by concourſe of various circumſtances, the cauſe and the effect are brought nearer and nearer in various ſuſcipients; but not brought ſo cloſe together, but that God expects us to do [c] ſomething towards it. So that we may ſay with St. *Paul, It is not I, but the grace of God that is with me.* And at the ſame time, when by reaſon of our co-operation we actuate and improve God's grace, and become diſtinguiſhed from other perſons more negligent under the ſame opportunities, God is he who alſo does diſtinguiſh us by the proportions and circumſtantiate applications of his grace to every ſingular capacity; that we may be careful not to neglect the grace, and yet to [d] return the entire glory to God.

6. ALTHOUGH God, to ſecond the generous deſign of theſe wiſe perſonages in their enquiry after the new prince, made the ſtar to guide them through the difficulties of their journey; yet when they came to Jeruſalem, the ſtar diſappeared: God ſo reſolving to try their faith, and the activity of their deſires; to demonſtrate to them that God is the Lord of all his creatures, and a voluntary diſpenſer of his own favours, and can as well take them away as indulge them; and to engage them upon the uſe of ordinary means and miniſteries when they are to be had: for now the extraordinary and miraculous guide for a time did ceaſe, that they being at Jeruſalem might enquire of them whoſe office and profeſſion of ſacred myſteries did oblige them to publiſh the Meſſias. For God is ſo great a lover of order [e], ſo regular and certain an exactor of us to uſe thoſe ordinary miniſtries of his own appointing, that he, having uſed the extraordinary but as architects do frames of wood, to ſupport the arches till they be built, takes them away when the work is ready, and leaves us to thoſe other of his deſignation, and hath given ſuch efficacy to theſe, that they are as perſuaſive and operative as a miracle; and St. Paul's ſermon would convert as many, as if Moſes ſhould riſe from the grave. And now the doctrines of chriſtianity have not only the ſame truth, but the ſame evidence and virtue alſo they had in the midſt of thoſe prime demonſtrations extraordinary by miracle and prophecy, if men were equally diſpoſed.

7. WHEN they were come to the doctors of the Jews, they aſked confidently, and with great openneſs, under the ear and eye of a tyrant prince, bloody and timorous, jealous and ambitious, *Where is he that is born king of the Jews?* and ſo gave evidence of their faith,

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[c] Ἀλλ' ὅταν σπεύδῃ τις, αὐτὸς χὠ θεὸς συνάπτεται.
Ὡς τοῖς θανοῦσι πλοῦτος οὐδὲν ὠφελεῖ. *Æſchyl.* Perſis.

[d] Θεοῦ δὲ δῶρόν ἐστιν εὐτυχεῖν βροτοῖς. *Æſchyl.* Ἑπτὰ ἐπὶ Θήβ.

[e] Τοῦτο γάρ ἐστιν αὐτὴ καὶ τὸ εἶναι σοφία, τὸ ἐν τάξει καὶ τελειότητι προάγειν τὴν ποίησιν· ὥστε συνεισιέναι ἀλλήλαις σοφίαν, καὶ τάξιν, καὶ τελειότητα. *Hierocl.*

of their magnanimity, and fearleſs confidence and profeſſion of it, and of their love of the myſtery and object, in purſuance of which they had taken ſo troubleſome and vexatious journeys. And beſides that they upbraided the tepidity and infidel baſeneſs of the Jewiſh nation, who ſtood unmoved and unconcerned by all the circumſtances of wonder, and ſtirred not one ſtep to make enquiry after or to viſit the new-born king; they alſo teach us to be open and confident in our religion and faith, and not to conſider our temporal, when they once come to conteſt againſt our religious intereſts.

8. THE doctors of the Jews told the wiſe men where Chriſt was to be born; the Magi they addreſs themſelves with haſte to ſee him and to worſhip, and the doctors themſelves ſtir not: God not only ſerving himſelf with truth out of the mouths of impious perſons, but magnifying the receſſes of his counſel and wiſdom and predeſtination, who uſes the ſame doctrine to glorify himſelf, and to confound his enemies, to ſave the ſcholars, and to condemn the tutors, to inſtruct one, and upbraid the other; making it an inſtrument of faith, and a conviction of infidelity; the ſermons of the doctors in ſuch caſes being like the ſpoils of bevers, ſheep and ſilk-worms, deſign'd to cloath others, and are made the occaſions of their own nakedneſs, and the cauſes of their death. But as it is a demonſtration of the divine wiſdom, ſo it is of human folly; there being no greater imprudence in the world, than to do others advantage, and to neglect our own. If thou doeſt well unto thy ſelf, men will ſpeak good of thee[f]: but if thou beeſt like a chanel in a garden, through which the water runs to cool and moiſten the herbs, but nothing for its own uſe; thou buildeſt a fortune to them upon the ruins of thine own houſe, while *after thy preaching to others, thou thy ſelf doſt become a caſt-away.*

9. WHEN the wiſe men departed from Jeruſalem, the ſtar again appeared, and they rejoiced with exceeding great joy. And indeed to new converts, and perſons in their firſt addreſſes to the worſhip of God, ſuch ſpiritual and exteriour comforts are often indulged; becauſe when God judges them to be moſt neceſſary, as being invitations to duty by the entertainments of our affections with ſuch ſweetneſſes, which repreſent the glory of the reward by the antepaſts and refreſhments diſpenſed even in the ruggedneſs of the way, and incommodities of the journey. All other delights are the pleaſures of beaſts or the ſports of children; theſe are the antepaſts and preventions of the full feaſts and overflowings of eternity.

10. When they came to Bethlehem, and the ſtar pointed them to a ſtable, they entred in; and being enlightned with a divine ray proceeding from the face of the holy child, and ſeeing through the cloud, and paſſing through the ſcandal of his mean lodging and poor condition, they bowed themſelves to the earth; firſt giving themſelves an oblation to this great king, then they made offering of their gifts: for a man's perſon is firſt accepted, then his gift; God firſt regarded Abel, and then accepted his offering. Which we are beſt taught to underſtand by the preſent inſtance; for it means no more, but that all our outward ſervices and oblations are made acceptable by the prior preſentation of an inward ſacrifice. If we have firſt preſented ourſelves, then our gift is pleaſant, as coming but to expreſs the truth of the firſt ſacrifice: but if our perſon be not firſt made an holocauſt to God, the leſſer oblations of outward preſents are like ſacrifices without ſalt and fire, nothing to make them pleaſant or religious. For all other ſenſes of this propoſition charge upon God the diſtinguiſhing and acceptation of perſons, againſt which he ſolemnly proteſts. God regards no man's perſon, but according to the doing of his duty: but then God is ſaid firſt to accept the perſon, and then the gift, when the perſon is firſt ſanctified and given to God by the vows and habits of a holy life, and then all the actions of his religion are homogeneal to their principle, and accepted by the acceptation of the man.

11. THESE Magi preſented to the holy babe gold, frankincenſe and myrrh, proteſting their faith of three articles by the ſymbolical oblation: by gold, that he was a king; by incenſe, that he was a God; by myrrh, that he was a man. And the preſents alſo were repreſentative of interiour vertues: the myrrh ſignifying faith, mortification, chaſtity, compunction, and all the actions of the purgative way of ſpiritual life; the incenſe ſignifying hope, prayer, obedience, good intention, and all the actions and devotions of the illuminative; the giving the gold repreſenting love to God and our neighbours, the contempt of riches, poverty of ſpirit, and all the eminencies and ſpiritual riches of the unitive life. And theſe oblations if we preſent to the holy Jeſus, both our perſons and our gifts ſhall be accepted, our ſins ſhall be purged, our underſtandings enlightned, and our wills united to this holy child, and entitled to a communion of all his glories.

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[f] Piaga mortale che ſi non puo guarire, Vivere in altrui, & in ſe ſteſſo morire.

12. AND thus in one view and two inſtances God hath drawn all the world to himſelf by his ſon Jeſus, in the inſtance of the ſhepherds and the Arabian Magi, Jews and Gentiles, learned and unlearned, rich and poor, noble and ignoble; that in him all nations, and all conditions, and all families, and all perſons might be bleſſed[g]; having called all by one ſtar or other, by natural reaſon or by the ſecrets of philoſophy, by the revelations of the goſpel, or by the miniſtry of angels, by the illuminations of the ſpirit, or by the ſermons and dictates of ſpiritual fathers: and hath conſigned this leſſon to us, That we muſt never *appear before the Lord empty*, offering gifts to him by the expences or by the affections of charity, either the worſhipping or the oblations of religion, either the riches of the world or the love of the ſoul. For if we cannot bring gold with the rich Arabians, we may with the poor ſhepherds come and *kiſs the ſon, leſt he be angry*; and in all caſes come and *ſerve him with fear and reverence*, and ſpiritual rejoicings.

The PRAYER.

M*OST holy Jeſu, Thou art the glory of thy people Iſrael, and a light to the Gentiles, and wert pleaſed to call the Gentiles to the adoration and knowledge of thy ſacred perſon and laws, communicating the ineſtimable riches of thy holy diſcipline to all, with an univerſal undiſtinguiſhing love. Give unto us ſpirits docible, pious, prudent, and ductile; that no motion or invitation of grace be ineffectual, but may produce excellent effects upon us, and the ſecret whiſpers of thy ſpirit may prevail upon our affections in order to piety and obedience, as certainly as the loudeſt and moſt clamorous ſermons of the goſpel. Create in us ſuch excellencies as are fit to be preſented to thy glorious majeſty: accept of the oblation of my ſelf, and my entire ſervices. But be thou pleaſed to verify my offering, and ſecure the poſſeſſion to thy ſelf, that the enemy may not pollute the ſacrifice, or divide the gift, or queſtion the title: but that I may be wholly thine, and for ever, clarify my underſtanding, ſanctify my will, repleniſh my memory with arguments of piety; then ſhall I preſent to thee an oblation rich and precious as the treble gift of the Levantine princes. Lord, I am thine, reject me not from thy favour, exclude me not from thy preſence: then ſhall I ſerve thee all the days of my life, and partake of the glories of thy Kingdom, in which thou reigneſt glorioully and eternally.* Amen.

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[g] Nam ſimul terris animiſque duri,
Et ſuâ Beſſi nive duriores,
Nunc oves facti, duce te, gregantur
Pacis in aulam.

Nox ubi quondam fuerat ferarum,
Nunc ibi ritus viget Angelorum;
Et latet Juſtus quibus ipſe latro
Vixit in antris.
S. *Paulinus* in reditu Nicetæ.

SECT. V.

Of the Circumciſion of JESUS, and his Preſentation in the Temple.

1. AND now the bleſſed Saviour of the world began to do the work of his miſſion and our redemption: and becauſe man had prevaricated all the divine commandments, to which all human nature reſpectively to the perſons of ſeveral capacities was obliged, and therefore the whole nature was obnoxious to the juſt rewards of its demerits; firſt Chriſt was to put that nature he had aſſumed into a ſaveable condition, by fulfilling his father's preceptive will; and then to reconcile it actually, by ſuffering the juſt deſervings of its prevarications. He therefore addreſſes himſelf to all the parts of an active obedience, *and when eight days were accompliſhed for the circumciſing of the child*, he expoſed his tender body to the ſharpneſs of the circumciſing ſtone, and ſhed his blood in drops, giving an earneſt of thoſe rivers which he did afterwards pour out for the cleanſing all human nature, and extinguiſhing the wrath of God.

2. He that had no ſin, nor was conceived by natural generation, could have no adherences to his ſoul or body which needed to be pared away by a rite, and cleanſed by a myſtery. Neither indeed do we find it expreſſed, that [*] circumciſion was ordained for abolition or pardon of original ſin, (it is indeed preſumed ſo) but it was inſtituted to be a ſeal of a covenant between God and Abraham, and Abraham's poſterity, *a ſeal of the righteouſneſs of faith*; and therefore was not improper for him to ſuffer who was the child of Abraham, and who was the prince of the covenant, and *the author and finiſher of that faith*, which was conſigned to Abraham in circumciſion. But ſo myſterious were all the actions of Jeſus, that this one ſerved many ends. For, 1. It gave demonſtration of the verity of human nature. 2. So he began to fulfil the law. 3. And took from himſelf the ſcandal of uncircumciſion, which would eternally have prejudiced the Jews againſt his entertainment and communion. 4. And then he took upon him that name which declared him to be the Saviour of the world; which as it was conſummate in the blood of the croſs, ſo was it inaugurated in the blood of circumciſion. For *when the eight days were accompliſhed for circumciſing the child, his name was called JESUS.*

3. BUT this holy family, who had laid up their joys in the eyes and heart of God, longed till they might be permitted an addreſs to the temple, that there they might preſent the holy babe unto his father; and indeed that he, who had no other, might be brought to his own houſe. For although, while he was a child he did differ nothing from a ſervant, yet he was the Lord of the place: it was his *father's houſe*, and he was *the Lord of all. And* therefore *when the days of the purification were accompliſhed, they brought him to Jeruſalem to preſent him to the Lord*, to whom he was holy, as being the firſt born; *the firſt born of his mother*, the *only begotten ſon of his father*, and *the firſt born of every creature*. And they *did with him according to the law of Moſes, offering a pair of turtle doves* for his redemption.

4. BUT there was no public act about this holy child, but it was attended by ſomething miraculous and extraordinary. And at this inſtant the ſpirit of God directed a holy perſon into the temple, that he might feel the fulfilling of a prophecy made to himſelf, that he might *before his death behold the Lord's CHRIST*, and imbrace *the glory and conſolation of Iſrael and the light of the Gentiles* in his arms. For old *Simeon came by the ſpirit into the temple, and when the parents brought in the child Jeſus, then took he him up in his arms, and bleſſed God*, and propheſied, and ſpake glorious things of that child, and ſad things and glorious concerning his mother: that the *child was ſet for the riſing and falling of many in Iſrael, for a ſign that ſhould be ſpoken againſt*; and the bitterneſs of that contradiction ſhould *pierce the heart* of the holy Virgin-Mother like *a ſword*, that her joy at the preſent accidents might be attempered with preſent revelation of her future trouble, and the excellent favour of being the mother of God might be crowned with the reward of martyrdom, and a mother's love be raiſed up to an excellency great enough to make her ſuffer the bitterneſs of being transfixed with his love and ſorrow as with a ſword.

5. BUT

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[*] Ὅς ποθ᾽ ἑῆς πάτρης ἐξήγαγε δῖον Ἀβραάμ,
Αὐτὸς ἀπ᾽ οὐρανόθεν κέλετ᾽ ἀνέρα παντὶ σὺν οἴκῳ
Σάρκ᾽ ἀποσυλῆσαι πόσθης ἄπο, καὶ ῥ᾽ ἐτέλεσσεν.
Euſeb. l. 9. c. 22. Præpar. Evangel.

M. V.dr Gucht Sculp.

And when eight Days were accompliſhed for the Circumcising of ye Child, his Name was called JESUS
St Luke Chap: 2. v: 21.

Clark & Pine Sc.

And when the Days of her Purification, according to the Law of Moses were accomplished, they brought him *to Jerusalem, to present* him *to the* Lord.

S.^t Luke, Chap. 2.^d Ver: 22.

BRITISH MUSEUM 5 AU 70

Clark & Pine sc.

And when the Days of her Purification, according to the Law of Moses were accomplished, they brought him to Jerusalem, to present him to the Lord.

St. Luke Chap. 2. Ver. 22.

5. But old Anna the propheteſs came alſo in, full of years and joy, and found the reward of her long prayers and faſting in the temple: the long-looked-for redemption of Iſrael was now in the temple, and ſhe ſaw with her eyes the light of the world, the heir of heaven, the long-looked-for Meſſias, whom the nations had deſired and expected till their hearts were faint, and their eyes dim with looking farther, and apprehending greater diſtances. She alſo propheſied, and *gave thanks unto the Lord. But* Joſeph *and his mother marvelled at thoſe things which were ſpoken of him.*

Ad SECT. V.

Conſiderations upon the Circumciſion of the Holy Child JESUS.

1. WHEN *eight days were come*, the holy Jeſus was circumciſed, and ſhed the firſt-fruits of his blood, offering them to God like the prelibation of a ſacrifice, and earneſt of the great ſeas of effuſion deſigned for his paſſion: not for the expiation of any ſtain himſelf hath contracted, for he was ſpotleſs as the face of the ſun, and had contracted no wrinkle from the aged and polluted brow of Adam; but it was an act of obedience, and yet of choice and voluntary ſuſception, to which no obligation had paſſed upon him in the condition of his own perſon. For as he was included in the verge of Abraham's poſterity, and had put on the common outſide of his nation, his parents had intimation enough to paſs upon him the ſacrament of the national covenant, and it became an act of excellent obedience: but becauſe he was a perſon extraordinary, and exempt from the reaſons of circumciſion, and himſelf in perſon was to give period to the rite, therefore it was an act of choice in him; and in both the capacities becomes a precedent of duty to us, in the firſt of obedience, in the ſecond of humility.

2. But it is conſiderable, that the holy Jeſus, who might have pleaded his exemption, eſpecially in a matter of pain and diſhonour, yet choſe that way which was more ſevere and regular; ſo teaching us to be ſtrict in our duties, and ſparing in the rights of privilege and diſpenſation. We pretend every indiſpoſition of body to excuſe us from penal duties, from faſting, from going to church; and inſtantly we ſatisfy our ſelves with ſaying, *God will have mercy, and not ſacrifice:* ſo making our ſelves judges of our own privileges, in which commonly we are parties againſt God, and therefore likely to paſs unequal ſentence. It is not an eaſy argument that will bring us to the ſeverities and rigours of duty, but we ſnatch at occaſions of diſpenſation; and therefore poſſibly may miſtake the juſtice of the opportunities by the importunities of our deſires. However, if this too much eaſineſs be in any caſe excuſable from ſin, yet in all caſes it is an argument of infirmity; and the regular obſervation of the commandment is the ſurer way to perfection. For not every inconvenience of body is fit to be pleaded againſt the inconvenience of loſing ſpiritual advantages, but only ſuch which upon prudent account does intrench upon the laws of charity; or ſuch whoſe conſequent is likely to be impediment of a duty in a greater degree of loſs than the preſent omiſſion. For the ſpirit being in many perfections more eminent than the body, all ſpiritual improvements have the ſame proportions; ſo that if we were juſt eſtimators of things, it ought not to be leſs than a great incommodity to the body which we mean to prevent by the loſs of a ſpiritual benefit, or the omiſſion of a duty. He were very improvident, who would loſe a finger for the good-huſbandry of ſaving a ducat; and it would be an unhandſome excuſe from the duties of repentance, to pretend care of the body. The proportions and degrees of this are ſo nice and of ſo difficult determination, that men are more apt to untie the girdle of diſcipline with the looſe hands of diſpenſation and excuſe, than to ſtrain her too hard by the ſtrictures and bindings of ſeverity: but the error were the ſurer on this ſide.

3. The bleſſed Jeſus refuſed not the ſignature of this bloody covenant, though it were the character of a ſinner, and did ſacramentally reſcind the impure reliques of Adam, and the contractions of evil cuſtoms: which was the greateſt deſcent of humility that is imaginable, that he ſhould put himſelf to pain to be reckoned amongſt ſinners, and to have their ſacraments and their proteſtations, though his innocence was purer than the flames of cherubim. But we uſe arts to ſeem more righteous than we are, deſiring rather to be

accounted holy than to be ſo; as thinking the vanity of reputation more uſeful to us than the happineſs of a remote and far-diſtant eternity. But if (as it is ſaid) circumciſion was ordained, beſides the ſigning of the covenant, to aboliſh the guilt of original ſin, we are willing to confeſs that; it being no act of humiliation to confeſs a crime that all the world is equally guilty of, that could not be avoided by our timelieſt induſtry, and that ſerves us for ſo many ends in the excuſe and minoration of our actual impieties: ſo that as Diogenes trampled upon Plato's pride with a greater faſtuouſneſs and humorous oſtentation; ſo we do with original ſin, declaim againſt it bitterly, to ſave the others harmleſs, and are free in the publication of this, that we may be inſtructed how to conceal the actual. The bleſſed Jeſus had in him no principle of ſin, original nor actual, and therefore this deſignation of his, in ſubmitting himſelf to the bloody covenant of circumciſion, which was a juſt, expreſs and ſacramental abſciſſion of it, was an act of glorious humility: yet our charging of our ſelves ſo promptly with Adam's fault, whatever truth it may have in the ſtrictneſs of theology, hath (*forſitan*) but an ill end in morality; and ſo I now conſider it, without any reflexion upon the preciſe queſtion.

4. FOR though the fall of Adam loſt to him all thoſe ſupernatural aſſiſtances which God put into our nature by way of grace; yet it is by accident that we are more prone to many ſins than we are to virtue. Adam's ſin did diſcompoſe his underſtanding and affections; and every ſin we do does ſtill make us more unreaſonable, more violent, more ſenſual, more apt ſtill to the multiplication of the ſame or the like actions. The firſt rebellion of the inferiour faculties againſt the will and underſtanding, and every victory the fleſh gets over the ſpirit, makes the inferiour inſolent, ſtrong, tumultuous, domineering and triumphant upon the proportionable ruins of the ſpirit, blinding our reaſon, and binding our will: and all theſe violations of our powers are encreaſed by the perpetual ill cuſtoms, and falſe principles, and ridiculous guiſes of the world: which makes the latter ages to be worſe than the [a] former, unleſs ſome other accident do intervene to ſtop the ruin and declenſion of virtue; ſuch as are God's judgments, the ſending of prophets, new impoſition of laws, meſſages from heaven, diviner inſtitutions, ſuch as in particular was the great diſcipline of chriſtianity. And even in this ſenſe here is origination enough for ſin, and impairing of the reaſonable faculties of human ſouls, without charging our faults upon Adam.

5. BUT beſides this, God, who hath propounded to man glorious conditions, and deſign'd him to an excellent ſtate of immortality, hath required of him ſuch a duty as ſhall put man to labour, and preſent to God a ſervice of a free and difficult obedience. For therefore God hath given us laws which come croſs and are reſtraints to our natural inclinations, that we may part with ſomething in the ſervice of God which we value. For although this is nothing in reſpect of God, yet to man it is the greateſt he can do. What thanks were it to man to obey God in ſuch things which he would do though he were not commanded? But to leave all our own deſires, and to take up objects of God's propounding contrary to our own, and deſires againſt our nature, this is that which God deſign'd as a ſacrifice of our ſelves to him. And therefore God hath made many of his laws to be prohibitions in the matter of natural pleaſure, and reſtraints of our ſenſitive appetite. Now this being become the matter of divine laws, that we ſhould in many parts and degrees abſtain from what pleaſes our ſenſes, by this ſupervening accident it happens that we are very hardly weaned from ſin, but moſt eaſily tempted to a vice. And then we think we have reaſon to lay the fault upon original ſin, and natural averſation from goodneſs; when this inclination to vice is but accidental, and occaſional upon the matter and ſanction of the laws. Our nature is not contrary to virtue, for the laws of nature and right reaſon do not only oblige us, but [b] incline us to it: but the inſtances of ſome virtues are made to come croſs to our nature, that is, to our natural appetites, by reaſon of which it comes to paſs that (as [c] St. Paul ſays) *we are by nature the children of wrath*; meaning, that by our natural inclinations we are diſpoſed to contradict thoſe laws which lay fetters upon them, we are apt to ſatiſfy the *luſts of the fleſh*, for in theſe he there inſtances.

6. BUT in things intellectual and ſpiritual, where neither the one nor the other ſatiſfy the ſenſual part, we are indifferent to virtue or to vice; and when we do amiſs, it is wholly and in all degrees inexcuſably our own fault. In the old law, when it was a duty to ſwear by the God of Iſrael in ſolemn cauſes, men were apt enough to ſwear by him only:

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[a] Τοὺς παλαιοὺς καὶ ἐγγὺς θεῶν γεγονότας, βελτίστους τε ὄντας φύσει, καὶ τὸν ἄριστον ἐζηκότας βίον, ὡς χρυσοῦν γένος νομίζεσθαι. *Porphyr.* l. 4. de Non eſu animalium.

[b] Τοιοῦτος μὲν οὖν ὁ τοῖς λογικοῖς γένεσι ἐνουσιωμένος ὅρκος, μὴ παραβαίνειν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ [Θεοῦ] διορισθέντας νόμους. *Hieroc.*

[c] *Epheſ.* ii. 3.

and that ſometimes the Iſraelites did ſwear by the Queen of Heaven, it was by the ill example and deſires to comply with the neighbour nations, whoſe daughters they ſometimes married, or whoſe arms they feared, or whoſe friendſhip they deſired, or with whom they did negotiate. It is indifferent to us to love our fathers and to love ſtrangers, according as we are determined by cuſtom or education. Nay, for ſo much of it as is natural and original, we are more inclined to love them than to diſrepute them: and if we diſobey them, it is when any injunction of theirs comes croſs to our natural deſires and purpoſes. But if from our infancy we be told concerning a ſtranger that he is our father, we frame our affections to nature, and our nature to cuſtom and education, and are as apt to love him who is not, and yet is ſaid to be, as him who is ſaid not to be, and yet indeed is our natural father.

7. AND in ſenſual things, if God had commanded polygamy or promiſcuous concubinage, or unlimited eatings and drinkings, it is not to be ſuppoſed but that we ſhould have been ready enough to have obeyed God in all ſuch impoſitions; and the ſons of Iſrael never murmured when God bade them borrow jewels and ear-rings, and ſpoil the Egyptians. But becauſe God reſtrained theſe deſires, our duties are the harder, becauſe they are fetters to our liberty, and contradictions to thoſe natural inclinations, which alſo are made more active by evil cuſtom and unhandſome educations. From which premiſes we ſhall obſerve in order to practice, that ſin creeps upon us in our education [d] ſo tacitly and undiſcernably, that we miſtake the cauſe of it; and yet ſo prevalently and effectually, that we judge it to be our very nature, and charge it upon Adam, to leſſen the imputation upon us, or to encreaſe the licence or the confidence; when every one of us is the Adam, the man of ſin, and the parent of our own impurities. For it is notorious, that our own iniquities do ſo diſcompoſe our naturals, and [e] evil cuſtoms and examples do ſo encourage impiety: and the law of God enjoins ſuch virtues which do violence to nature, that our proclivity to ſin is occaſioned by the accident, and is cauſed by ourſelves; whatever miſchief Adam did to us, we do more to our ſelves. We are taught to be revengeful in our cradles, and are taught to ſtrike our neighbour as a means to ſtill our frowardneſs, and to ſatisfy our wranglings. Our nurſes teach us to know the greatneſs of our birth, or the riches of our inheritance, or they learn us to be proud, or to be impatient, before they learn us to know God, or to ſay our prayers. And then, becauſe the uſe of reaſon comes at no definite time, but inſenſibly and diviſibly, we are permitted ſuch acts with impunity too long, deferring to repute them to be ſins, till the habit is grown ſtrong, natural and maſculine: and becauſe from the infancy it began in inclinations, and tender overtures and ſlighter actions, Adam is laid in the fault, and original ſin did all. And this clearly we therefore confeſs, [f] that our faults may ſeem the leſs, and the miſery be pretended natural, that it may be thought to be irremediable, and therefore we not engaged to endeavour a cure. So that the confeſſion of our original ſin is no imitation of Chriſt's humility in ſuffering circumciſion, but too often an act of pride, careleſſneſs, ignorance and ſecurity.

8. At the circumciſion his parents impoſed the holy name told to the Virgin by the Angel, *his name was called JESUS; a name above every name.* For in old times God was known by names of power, of nature, of majeſty: But his name of mercy was reſerved till now, when God did purpoſe to pour out the whole treaſure of his mercy by the mediation and miniſtry of his holy ſon. And becauſe God gave to the holy babe the name in which the treaſures of mercy were depoſited, and exalted *this name above all names* [g]; we are taught that the purpoſe of his counſel was, to exalt and magnify his mercy above all his other works, he being delighted with this excellent demonſtration of it, in the miſſion, and manifeſtation, and crucifixion of his ſon: he hath changed the ineffable name into a

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[d] Non enim nos tarditatis natura damnavit, ſed ultro nobis quod oportebat indulſimus: ità non tam ingenio nos illi ſuperârunt quàm propoſito. *Quintil.*

Ξενοκράτης φησὶν, εὐδαίμονα εἶναι τὸν τὴν ψυχὴν ἔχοντα σπουδαίαν, ταύτην γὰρ ἑκάστῳ εἶναι δαίμονα. *Ariſt.* 2. Top c. 3.

Ἡράκλειτος ἔφη, ὡς ἦθος ἀνθρώπῳ δαίμων. *Stob.* Serm 250.

——————— Denique teipſum
Concute, num qua tibi vitiorum inſeverit olim
Natura; aut etiam conſuetudo mala: namque
Neglectis urenda filix innaſcitur agris. *Horat.*

Ante palatum eorum quam os inſtituimus. Gaudemus, ſi quid licentius dixerint. Verba nè Alexandrinis quidem permittenda deliciis riſu & oſculo excipimus. Fit ex his conſuetudo, deinde natura. Diſcunt hæc miſeri, antequam ſciunt vitia eſſe. *Quintil.* l. 1. c 2.

[e] Tanta eſt corruptela malæ conſuetudinis, ut ab ea tanquam igniculi extinguantur, à natura dati, exoriantúrque & confirmentur contraria vitia. *Cicero.*

[f] Εἰώθασι γὰρ οἱ πλεῖστοι τῶν ἀνθρώπων, οὐχ οὕτως ἐπαινεῖν καὶ τιμᾶν τοὺς ἐκ τῶν πατέρων τῶν εὐδοκιμούντων γεγονότας, ὡς τοὺς ἐκ τῶν δυσκόλων καὶ χαλεπῶν, ἤνπερ φαίνωνται μηδὲν ὅμοιοι τοῖς γονεῦσιν ὄντες. *Iſocrates* Ep. Timoth.

[g] Nomen enim JESU Hebraicè prolatum nihil aliud eſt niſi Τετραγράμματον vocatum per Schin. Videat, cui animus eſt, multa de myſterio hujus nominis apud Galatinum. Ad eundem ſenſum fuit vaticinium Sibyllæ:

Δὴ τότε γὰρ μεγάλοιο Θεοῦ τοῖς ἀνθρώποισιν
Ἥξει σαρκοφόρος, θνητοῖς ὁμοιούμενος ἐν γῇ,
Τέσσαρα φωνήεντα φέρων, τὸ δ' ἄφωνον ἐν αὐτῷ.

name utterable by man, and deſirable by all the world; the majeſty is all arrayed in robes of mercy, the Tetragrammaton or adorable myſtery of the patriarchs is made fit for pronunciation and expreſſion, when it becometh the name of the Lord's CHRIST. And if JEHOVAH be full of majeſty and terror, the name of JESUS is full of ſweetneſs and mercy. It is GOD cloathed with circumſtances of facility, and opportunities of approximation. The great and higheſt name of GOD could not be pronounced truly, till it came to be finiſhed with a guttural that made up the name given by this angel to the holy child; nor God received or entertained by men, till he was made human and ſenſible by the adoption of a ſenſitive nature; like vowels pronunciable by the intertexture of a conſonant. Thus was his perſon made tangible, and his name utterable, and his mercy brought home to our neceſſities, and the myſtery made explicate, at the circumciſion of this holy babe.

9. BUT now God's mercy was at full ſea, now was the time when God made no reſerves to the effuſion of his mercy. For to the patriarchs and perſons of eminent ſanctity and employment in the elder ages of the world, God, according to the degrees of his manifeſtation or preſent purpoſe, would give them one letter of this ineffable name. For the reward that Abraham had in the change of his name, was, that he had the honour done him to have one of the letters of Jehovah put into it; and ſo had Joſhua, when he was a type of Chriſt, and the prince of the Iſraelitiſh armies. And when God took away one of theſe letters[h], it was a curſe. But now he communicated all the whole name to this holy child, and put a letter more to it, to ſignify that he was the glory of God, *the expreſs image of his father's perſon*, God eternal, and then manifeſted to the world in his humanity; that all the intelligent world who expected beatitude, and had treaſured all their hopes in the ineffable name of GOD, might find them all with ample returns in this name of JESUS, which God *hath exalted above every name*, even above that by which God in the Old Teſtament did repreſent the greateſt awfulneſs of his majeſty. This miraculous name is above all the powers of magical inchantments, the nightly rites of ſorcerers, the ſecrets of Memphis, the drugs of Theſſaly, the ſilent and myſterious murmurs of the wiſe Chaldees, and the ſpells of Zoroaſtres: This is the name at which the devils did tremble, and pay their inforced and involuntary adorations, by confeſſing the divinity, and quitting their poſſeſſions and uſurped habitations. If our prayers be made in this name, God opens the windows of heaven, and rains down benediction. At the mention of this name the bleſſed apoſtles, and Hermione the daughter of St. Philip, and Philotheus the ſon of Theophila, and St. Hilarion, and St. Paul the Eremite, and innumerable other lights who followed hard after the ſun of righteouſneſs, wrought great and prodigious miracles: *Signs and wonders and healings were done by the name of the holy child JESUS.* This is the name which we ſhould ingrave in our hearts, and write upon our foreheads, and pronounce with our moſt harmonious accents, and reſt our faith upon, and place our hopes in, and love with the overflowings of charity, and joy, and adoration. And as the revelation of this name ſatisfied the hopes of all the world, ſo it muſt determine our worſhippings, and the addreſſes of our exteriour and interiour religion: it being that name whereby God and God's mercies are made preſential to us, and proportionate objects of our religion and affections.

The PRAYER.

MOST holy and ever-bleſſed Jeſu, who art infinite in eſſence, glorious in mercy, myſterious in thy communications, affable and preſential in the deſcents of thy humanity, I adore thy glorious name, whereby thou haſt ſhut up the abyſſes, and opened the gates of heaven, reſtraining the power of hell, and diſcovering and communicating the treaſures of thy father's mercies. O Jeſu, be thou a JESUS unto me, and ſave me from the precipices and ruins of ſin, from the expreſſes of thy father's wrath, from the miſeries and unſufferable torments of accurſed ſpirits, by the power of thy majeſty, by the ſweetneſſes of thy mercy, and ſacred influences and miraculous glories of thy name. I adore and worſhip thee in thy excellent obedience and humility, who haſt ſubmitted thy innocent and ſpotleſs fleſh to the bloody covenant of circumciſion. Teach me to practiſe ſo bleſſed and holy a precedent, that I may be humble and obedient to thy ſacred laws, ſevere and regular in my religion, mortified in my body and ſpirit, of circumciſed heart and tongue: that what thou didſt repreſent in ſymbol and myſtery, I may really expreſs in the exhibition of an exemplary, pious and mortified life, cutting off all excreſcencies of my ſpirit, and whatſoever may miniſter to the fleſh, or any of its ungodly deſires: that now thy holy name is called upon me, I may do no diſhonour to the name, nor ſcandal to the inſtitution, but may do thee honour and worſhip and adorations of a pure religion, O moſt holy and ever-bleſſed Jeſu. Amen.

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[h] *Iſa.* xxi. 11. in caſu Idumeæ; Duma vocatur, dempto H.

DISCOURSE II.

Of the Virtue of Obedience.

1. THERE are certain excellencies either of habit or conſideration, which ſpiritual perſons uſe to call general ways, being a diſperſed influence into all the parts of good life, either directing the ſingle actions to the right end, or managing them with right inſtruments, and adding ſpecial excellencies and formalities to them, or morally inviting to the repetition of them; but they are like the general medicaments in phyſick, or the prime inſtruments in mathematical diſciplines: ſuch as are the conſideration of the divine preſence, the example of JESUS, right intention. And ſuch alſo is the virtue of obedience, which perfectly unites our actions to God, and conforms us to the divine will; which is the original of goodneſs, and ſanctifies and makes a man an holocauſt to God; which contains in it eminently all other graces, but eſpecially thoſe graces whoſe eſſence conſiſts in a conformity of a part or the whole (ſuch are faith, humility, patience and charity;) which gives quietneſs and tranquillity to the ſpirit, and is an antepaſt of paradiſe, (where their Jubilee is the perpetual joys of obedience, and their doing is the enjoying the divine pleaſure;) which adds an excellency and luſtre to pious actions, and hallows them which are indifferent, and lifts up ſome actions from their unhallowed nature to circumſtances of good and of acceptation. If a man ſays his prayers or communicates out of cuſtom, or without intuition of the precept and divine commandment; the act is like a ſhip returning from her voyage without her venture and her burthen, as unprofitable as without ſtowage. But if God commands us either to eat or to abſtain, to ſleep or to be waking, to work or to keep a ſabbath; theſe actions, which are naturally neither good nor evil, are ſanctified by the obedience, and ranked amongſt actions of the greateſt excellency. And this alſo was it which made Abraham's offer to kill his ſon, and the Iſraelites ſpoiling the Egyptians, to become acts laudable, and not unjuſt: they were acts of obedience, and therefore had the ſame formality and eſſence with actions of the moſt ſpiritual devotions. God's command is all our rule for practice, and our obedience united to the obedience of Jeſus is all our title to acceptance.

2. BUT by obedience I do not here mean the exterior execution of the work, for ſo obedience is no grace diſtinct from the acting any or all the commandments: but beſides the doing of the thing, (for that alſo muſt be preſuppoſed,) it is a ſacrifice of our proper will to God, a chuſing the duty becauſe God commands it. For beaſts alſo carry burthens and do our commands by compulſion: and the fear of ſlaves and the rigour of taſk-maſters made the number of bricks to be compleated, when Iſrael groaned and cried to God for help. But ſons that labour under the ſweet paternal regiment of their fathers, and the influence of love, they love the precept, and do the impoſition with the ſame purpoſes and compliant affections with which the fathers made it. When Chriſt commanded us to renounce the world, there were ſome that did think it a hard ſaying, and do ſo ſtill; and the young rich man forſook him upon it. But Ananias and Sapphira, upon whom ſome violences were done by cuſtom, or the excellent ſermons of the apoſtles, ſold their poſſeſſions too; but it was ſo againſt their will, that they retain'd part of it. But St. Paul did not only forſake all his ſecular fortunes, but *counted all to be droſs that he might gain Chriſt*; he gave his will, made an offertory of that, as well as of his goods, chuſing the act which was enjoined. This was the obedience the holy Jeſus paid to his heavenly father, ſo voluntary, that it was *meat to him to do his father's will*[a].

3. AND this was intended always by God, [*My ſon, give me thy heart*;] and particularly by the holy Jeſus: for in the ſaddeſt inſtance of all his precepts, even that of ſuffering perſecution, we are commanded to *rejoice, and to be exceeding glad.* And ſo did thoſe holy martyrs in the primitive ages[b], who upon juſt grounds, when God's glory or the edification of the church had intereſt in it, offered themſelves to tyrants, and dared the violence of the moſt cruel and bowelleſs hang-men. And this is the beſt oblation we can preſent to God. *To offer gold is a preſent fit to be made by young beginners in religion, not by Men in chriſtianity*[c]; yea, Crates the Theban threw his gold away, and ſo did Antiſthenes: *but to offer our will to God, to give our ſelves, is the act of an apoſtle, the proper act*

[a] *John* iv. 34.

[b] *S. Hieron.* Epiſt. ad Licin. Hiſpan.

[c] Idem in *Mat.* xix. 28.

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act of chriſtians. And therefore when the apoſtles made challenge of a reward for leaving all their poſſeſſions, Chriſt makes no reply to the inſtance, nor ſays, *You who have left all*, but, *You who have followed me in the regeneration, ſhall ſit upon twelve thrones, and judge the twelve tribes of Iſrael:* meaning that the quitting the goods was nothing; but the obedience to Chriſt, that they followed Jeſus in the regeneration, going themſelves in purſuit of him, and giving themſelves to him, that was it which intitled them to a throne.

4. AND this therefore God enjoins, that our offerings to him may be entire and compleat, that we pay him a holocauſt, that we do his work without murmuring, and that his burthen may become eaſy, when it is borne up with the wings of love, and alacrity of ſpirit. For in effect this obedience of the will is in true ſpeaking and ſtrict theology nothing elſe but that charity which gives excellency to alms, and energy to faith, and acceptance to all graces. But I ſhall reduce this to particular and more minute conſiderations.

5. FIRST, We ſhall beſt know that our will is in the obedience by our prompt undertaking, by our chearful managing, by our ſwift execution: for all degrees of delay [a] are degrees of immorigerouſneſs and unwillingneſs. And ſince time is extrinſecal to the act, and alike to every part of it, nothing determines an action but the opportunity without, and the deſires and willingneſs within. And therefore he who deliberates beyond his firſt opportunity, and exterior determination and appointment of the act, brings fire and wood, but wants a lamb for the ſacrifice; and unleſs he offer up his Iſaac, his beloved will, he hath no miniſtry prepared for God's acceptance. He that does not repent to-day, puts it to the queſtion whether he will repent at all or no. He that defers reſtitution when all the circumſtances are fitted, is not yet reſolved upon the duty. And when he does, if he does it againſt his will, he does but do honorary penance with a paper upon his hat, and a taper in his hand; it may ſatisfy the law, but not ſatify his conſcience: it neither pleaſes himſelf, and leſs pleaſes God. A Sacrifice without a heart was a ſad and ominous preſage in the ſuperſtition of the Roman Augurs; and ſo it is in the ſervice of God: for what the exhibition of the work is to man, that the preſentation of the will is to God. It is but a cold charity to a naked beggar to ſay, God help thee, and do nothing: Give him clothes, and he feels your charity. But God, who is the ſearcher of the heart, his apprehenſion of actions relative of him is of the inward motions and addreſſes of the will; and without this, our exterior ſervices are like the paying of a piece of money in which we have defaced the image, it is not current.

6. SECONDLY, But beſides the willingneſs to do the acts of expreſs command, the readineſs to do the intimations and tacite ſignifications of God's pleaſure, is the beſt teſtimony in the world that our will is in the obedience. Thus did the holy Jeſus undertake a nature of infirmity, and ſuffer a death of ſhame and ſorrow, and became obedient from the circumciſion even unto the death of the croſs; not ſtaying for a command, but becauſe it was his father's pleaſure mankind ſhould be redeemed. For before the ſuſception of it, he was not a perſon ſubjicible to a command: It was enough that he underſtood the inclinations and deſigns of his father's mercies. And therefore God hath furniſhed us with inſtances of uncommanded piety to be a touchſtone of our obedience. He that does but his endeavour about the expreſs commands, hath a bridle in his mouth, and is reſtrained by violence: but a willing ſpirit is like a greedy eye, devours all it ſees, and hopes to make ſome proportionable returns and compenſations of duty for his infirmity, by taking in the intimations of God's pleaſure. When God commands chaſtity, he that undertakes a holy celibate hath great obedience to the command of chaſtity. God bids us give alms of our encreaſe: he obeys this with great facility that ſells all his goods, and gives them to the poor. And, provided our haſtineſs to ſnatch at too much does not make us let go our duty, like the indiſcreet loads of too forward perſons, too big, or too inconvenient and uncombin'd, there is not in the world a greater probation of our prompt obedience, than when we look farther than the preciſe duty, ſwallowing that and more with our ready and hopeful purpoſes: nothing being ſo able to do miracles as love; and yet nothing being ſo certainly accepted as love, though it could do nothing in productions and exterior miniſtries.

7. THIRDLY, But God requires that our obedience ſhould have another excellency to make it a becoming preſent to the divine acceptance; our underſtanding muſt be ſacrificed too, and become an ingredient of our obedience. We muſt alſo believe that whatſoever God commands is moſt fitting to be commanded, is moſt excellent in it ſelf, and the beſt for us to do. The firſt gives our affections and deſires to God; and this alſo gives our

ſeaſon,

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[a] Fidelis obediens neſcit moras, fugit craſtinum, ignorat tarditatem, præcipit præcipientem, parat oculos viſui, aures auditui, linguam voci, manus operi, itineri pedes: totum ſe colligit, ut imperantis colligat voluntatem. S. *Bernard.* Serm. de Obedient. Et barbaris cunctatio ſervilis, ſtatim exſequi Regium. *Tacit.* l. 6. Annal.

reaſon, and is a perfection of obedience not communicable to the duties we owe to man. For God only is Lord of this faculty, and, being the fountain of all wiſdom, therefore commands our underſtanding, becauſe he alone can ſatisfy it. We are bound to obey human laws, but not bound to think the laws we live under are the moſt prudent conſtitutions in the world. But God's commandments are not only *a lanthorn to our feet*, and *a light unto our paths*, but a rule to our reaſon, and ſatisfaction to our underſtandings, as being the inſtruments of our addreſs to God, and conveyances of his grace, and manuductions to eternity. And therefore S. John Climacus defines obedience to be, *An unexamined and unqueſtioned motion, a voluntary death and ſepulture of the will, a life without curioſity, a laying aſide our own diſcretion in the midſt of the riches of the moſt excellent underſtandings.*

8. AND certainly there is not in the world a greater ſtrength againſt temptations than is depoſited in an obedient underſtanding, becauſe that only can regularly produce the ſame affections, it admits of fewer degrees, and an infrequent alteration. But the actions proceeding from the appetite, as it is determined by any other principle than a ſatisfied underſtanding, have their heightnings and their declenſions, and their changes and mutations, according to a thouſand accidents. Reaſon is more laſting than deſire, and with fewer means to be tempted: but affections and motions of appetite, as they are procured by any thing, ſo may they expire by as great variety of cauſes. And therefore to ſerve God by way of underſtanding is ſurer, and in it ſelf, unleſs it be by the accidental increaſe of degrees, greater, than to ſerve him upon the motion and principle of paſſions and deſires; though this be fuller of comfort and pleaſure than the other. When Lot lived amongſt the impure Sodomites, where his righteous ſoul was in a continual agony, he had few exterior incentives to a pious life, nothing to enkindle the ſenſible flame of burning deſires towards piety; but in the midſt of all the diſcouragements of the world, nothing was left him but the way and precedency of a truly-informed reaſon and conſcience. Juſt ſo is the way of thoſe wiſe ſouls who live in the midſt of a crooked and perverſe generation. Where piety is out of countenance, where auſterity is ridiculous, religion under perſecution, no examples to lead us on, there the underſtanding is left to be the guide, and it does the work the ſureſt; for this makes the duty of many to be certain, regular, and choſen, conſtant, integral, and perpetual: but this way is like the life of an unmarried or a retired perſon, leſs of grief in it, and leſs of joy. But the way of ſerving God with the affections, and with the pleaſures and entertainments of deſires, is the way of the more paſſionate and imperfect, not in a man's power to chuſe or to procure; but comes by a thouſand chances, meeting with a ſoft nature, credulous or weak, eaſy or ignorant, ſoftned with fears, or invited by forward deſires.

9. THOSE that did live amidſt the fervours of the primitive charity, and were warmed by their fires, grew inflamed by contact and vicinity to ſuch burning and ſhining lights. And they therefore grew to high degrees of piety, becauſe then every man made judgment of his own actions by the proportions which he ſaw before him, and believed all deſcents from thoſe greater examples to be ſo many degrees from the rule. And he that lives in a college of devout perſons will compare his own actions with the devotion and cuſtoms of that ſociety, and not with the remiſſneſs of perſons he hears of in ſtory, but what he ſees and lives with. But if we live in an age of indevotion, we think our ſelves well aſſoiled if we be warmer than their ice; every thing which is above our example being eminent and conſpicuous, though it be but like the light of a gloworm, or the ſparkling of a diamond, yet if it be in the midſt of darkneſs, it is a goodly beauty. This I call the way of ſerving God by deſires and affections. And this is altered by example, by public manners, by external works, by the aſſignment of offices, by deſignation of conventions for prayer, by periods and revolutions of times of duty, by hours and ſolemnities: ſo that a man ſhall owe his piety to theſe chances, which although they are graces of God and inſtruments of devotion, yet they are not always in our power; and therefore they are but accidental miniſtries of a good life, and the leaſt conſtant or durable. But when the principle of our piety is a conformity of our underſtanding to God's laws, when we are inſtructed what to do, and therefore do it becauſe we are ſatisfied it is moſt excellent to obey God; this will ſupport our piety againſt objections, lead it on in deſpite of diſadvantages; this chuſes God with reaſon, and is not determined from without: and as it is in ſome degree neceſſary for all times, ſo it is the greateſt ſecurity againſt the change of laws and princes, and religions and ages. When all the incentives of affection and exterior determinations of our piety ſhall ceaſe, and perhaps all external offices, and the daily ſacrifice and piety it ſelf ſhall fail from the face of the land; then the obedience founded in the underſtanding is the only laſting ſtrength left us to make retreat to, and to ſecure

our conditions. Thus from the compoſition of the will and affections with our exterior acts of obedience to God, our obedience is made willing, ſwift and chearful; but from the compoſition of the underſtanding, our obedience becomes ſtrong, ſincere and perſevering: and this is that which St. Paul calls our reaſonable ſervice.

10. FOURTHLY, To which if we add, that our obedience be univerſal, we have all the qualifications which make the duty to be pious and prudent. The meaning is, that we obey God in all his ſanctions, though the matter be in common account ſmall and inconſiderable, and give no indulgence to our ſelves to recede from the rule in any matter whatſoever. For the varieſt minute of obedience is worth our attention, as being by God eſteemed the tryal of our obedience in a greater affair. *He that is unjuſt in a little, will be unjuſt in a greater* [e], ſaid our bleſſed Saviour. And ſince to God all matter is alike, and no more accrues to him in an hecatomb than in a piece of gum, in an aſcetick ſeverity than in a ſecular life; God regards not the matter of a precept, but the obedience, which in all inſtances is the ſame: and he that will prevaricate when the matter is trifling, and by conſequence the temptations to it weak and impotent, and ſoon confuted, will think he may better be excuſed when the temptations are violent and importunate, as it commonly happens in affairs of greater importance. He that will lye to ſave ſix-pence, will not ſtick at it when a thouſand pound is the purchaſe. And poſſibly there is more contempt and deſpite done to the divine authority, when we diſobey it in ſuch particulars wherein the obedience is moſt eaſy, and the temptations leſs troubleſome. I do not ſay there is more injuſtice or more malice in a ſmall diſobedience than in a greater; but there is either more contempt, or more negligence and diſſolution of diſcipline, than in the other.

11. AND it is no ſmall temptation of the devil, ſoliciting of us not to be curious of ſcruples and grains, not to diſturb our peace for lighter diſobediences; perſuading us that ſomething muſt be indulged to public manners, ſomething to the civilities of ſociety, ſomething to nature, and to the approaches of our paſſions, and the motions of our firſt deſires; but that we be not over-righteous. And true it is, that ſometimes ſuch ſurreptions and ſmaller indecencies are therefore pardon'd and leſſen'd almoſt to a nullity, becauſe they dwell in the confines of things lawful and honeſt, and are not ſo notorious as to be ſeparated from permiſſions by any public, certain and univerſal cognizance, and therefore may paſs upon a good man ſometimes without obſervation. But it is a temptation, when we think of neglecting them by a predetermined incurioufneſs, upon pretence they are ſmall. But this muſt be reduced to more regular concluſions.

12. FIRST, Although ſmaller diſobediences, expreſſed in ſlight miſbecoming actions, when they come by ſurprize and ſudden invaſion, are through the mercies of God daſhed in the very approach, their bills of accuſation are thrown out, and they are not eſteemed as competent inſtruments of ſeparation from God's love: yet when a ſmaller ſin comes by deſign, and is acted with knowledge and deliberation, (for then it is properly an act of diſobedience,) *Malitia ſupplet defectum ætatis*, the malice of the agent heightens the ſmallneſs of the act, and makes up the iniquity. To drink liberally once, and ſomething more freely than the ſtrict rules of chriſtian ſobriety and temperance permit, is pardoned the eaſier, when without deliberation and by ſurprize the perſon was abuſed, who intended not to tranſgreſs a minute, but by little and little was miſtaken in his proportions: but if a man by deſign ſhall eſtimate his draughts, and his good fellowſhip, and ſhall reſolve upon a little intemperance, thinking becauſe it is not very much, it is therefore none at all; that man hath miſtaken himſelf into a crime. And although a little wound upon the finger is very curable, yet the ſmalleſt prick upon the heart is mortal; ſo is a deſign and purpoſe of the ſmalleſt diſobedience in its formality as malicious and deſtructive, as in its matter it was pardonable and excuſable.

13. SECONDLY, Although every leſſer diſobedience, when it comes ſingly, deſtroys not the love of God; (for although it may leſſen the habit, yet it takes not away its natural being, nor interrupts its acceptation, leſt all the world ſhould in all inſtants of time be in a damnable condition:) yet when theſe [f] ſmaller obliquities are repeated, and no repentance intervenes, this repetition combines and unites the leſſer till they be concentred, and by their accumulation make a crime: and therefore a careleſs re-iterating and an incurious walking in miſ-becoming actions is deadly and damnable in the return, though

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[e] *Luke* xvi. 10.

[f] Quæ humanæ fragilitati, quamvis parva, tamen crebra ſubrepunt, ſi collecta contra nos fuerint, ita nos gravabunt & oppriment, ſicut unum aliquod grande peccatum. *S. Aug.* l. 50. hom. 50. Idem lib. de Pœnit. Peccata venialia ſi multiplicentur, decorum noſtrum ita exterminant, ut à cœleſtis ſponſi amplexibus nos ſeparent.

it was not ſo much at the ſetting forth. Every idle word is to be accounted for, but we hope in much mercy: and yet he that gives himſelf over to immoderate talking, [g] will ſwell his account to a vaſt and mountainous proportion, and call all the leſſer eſcapes into a ſtricter judgment. He that extends his recreation an hour beyond the limits of chriſtian prudence, and the analogy of its ſeverity and employment, is accountable to God for that improvidence and waſte of time: but he that ſhall miſ-ſpend a day, and becauſe that ſin is not ſcandalous like adultery, or clamorous like oppreſſion, or unuſual like beaſtiality, or crying for revenge like detaining the portion of orphans, ſhall therefore miſ-ſpend another day without revocation of the firſt by an act of repentance and redemption of it, and then ſhall throw away a week, ſtill adding to the former account upon the firſt ſtock, will at laſt be anſwerable for a habit of idleneſs, and will have contracted a vain and impertinent ſpirit. For ſince things which in their own kind are lawful, become ſinful by the degree; if the degree be heightned by intenſion, or become great like a heap of ſand by a coacervation of the innumerable atoms of duſt, the actions are as damnable as any of the natural daughters and productions of hell, when they are entertained without ſcruple, and renewed without repentance, and continued without dereliction.

14. THIRDLY, Although ſome inadvertencies of our life and leſſer diſobedience accidentally become leſs hurtful, and becauſe they are entailed upon the infirmities of a good man, and the leſs wary cuſtoms and circumſtances of ſociety, are alſo conſiſtent with the ſtate of grace; yet all affection to the ſmalleſt ſins becomes deadly and damnable [h]. *He that loves his danger ſhall periſh in it*, ſaith the wiſe man. And every friendly entertainment of an undecency invites in a greater crime; for no man can love a ſmall ſin, but there are in the greater crimes of its kind more deſirable flatteries, and more ſatisfactions of ſenſuality than in thoſe ſuckers and ſprigs of ſin. At firſt a little diſobedience is proportionable to a man's temper, and his conſcience is not fitted to the bulk of a rude crime: but when a man hath accepted the firſt inſinuation of delight and ſwallowed it, that little ſin is paſt, and needs no more to diſpute for entrance; then the next deſign puts in and ſtands in the ſame probability to ſucceed the firſt, and greater than the firſt had to make the entry. However, to love any thing that God hates is direct enmity with him; and whatſoever the inſtance be, it is abſolutely inconſiſtent with charity, and therefore incompetent with the ſtate of grace. So that if the ſin be ſmall, it is not a ſmall thing that thou haſt given thy love to it: every ſuch perſon periſhes like a fool, cheaply and ingloriouſly.

15. FOURTHLY, But it alſo concerns the niceneſs and prudence of obedience to God, to ſtand at farther diſtance from vice than we uſually attend to. For many times virtue and vice differ but one degree [i], and the neighbourhood is ſo dangerous, that he who deſires to ſecure his obedience and duty to God, will remove farther from the danger. For there is a rule of juſtice, to which if one degree more of ſeverity be added, it degenerates into cruelty; and a little more mercy is remiſſneſs, and want of diſcipline introduces licentiouſneſs, and becomes unmercifulneſs as to the public, and unjuſt as to the particular. Now this conſideration is heightned, if we obſerve that virtue and vice conſiſt not in an indiviſible point, but there is a latitude for either, which is not to be judged by any certain rules drawn from the nature of the thing, but to be eſtimated in proportion to the perſons and other accidental circumſtances. He that is burthened with a great charge, for whom he is bound under a curſe and the crime of infidelity, to provide, may go farther in the acquiſition, and be more provident in the uſe of his money, than thoſe perſons for whom God hath made more ample proviſions, and hath charged them with fewer burthens and engagements œconomical. And yet no man can ſay, that juſt beyond ſuch a degree of care ſtands covetouſneſs, and thus far on this ſide is careleſſneſs: and a man may be in the confines of death before he be aware. Now the only way to ſecure our obedience and duty in ſuch caſes is, to remove farther off, and not to dwell upon the confines of the enemy's country. My meaning is, that it is not prudent nor ſafe for a man to do whatſoever he lawfully may do.

16. FOR beſides that we are often miſtaken in our judgments concerning the lawfulneſs or unlawfulneſs of actions, he that will do all that he thinks he may lawfully do, if ever he does change his ſtation, and encreaſe in giving himſelf liberty, will quickly arrive at doing things unlawful. It is good to keep a reſerve of our liberty, and to reſtrain our ſelves within bounds narrower than the largeſt ſenſe of the commandment;

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[g] Γλώσσῃ ματαίᾳ ζημία προστρίβεται. *Æſch.* Prom.
Ἀχαλίνων στομάτων τέλος δυστυχία. *Eurip.*

[h] Nullum peccatum eſt adeo veniale quod non fiat criminale dum placet. *Diſt.* 25. ſect. Nunc autem, ex St. *Auguſt.*

[i] Cùm fas atque nefas exiguo fine libidinum
Diſcernunt avidi. *Horat.* Ode 18. l. 1.

that when our affections wander and enlarge themſelves, (as ſometime or other they will do,) then they may enlarge beyond the ordinary, and yet be within the bounds of lawfulneſs. That of which men make a ſcruple and a queſtion at firſt, after an habitual reſolution of it, ſtirs no more; but then their queſtion is of ſomething beyond it. When a man hath accuſtomed himſelf to pray ſeven times a day, it will a little trouble his peace if he omits one or two of thoſe times; but if it be reſolved then that he may pleaſe God with praying devoutly though but thrice every day, after he hath digeſted the ſcruples of this firſt queſtion, poſſibly ſome accidents may happen that will put his conſcience and reaſon to diſpute whether three times be indiſpenſably neceſſary, and ſtill if he be far within the bounds of lawfulneſs, 'tis well: but if he be at the margent of it, his next remove may be into diſſolution and unlawfulneſs. He that reſolves to gain all that he may lawfully this year, it is odds but next year he will be tempted to gain ſomething unlawfully. He that, becauſe a man may be innocently angry, will never reſtrain his paſſion, in a little time will be intemperate in his anger, and miſtake both his object and the degree. Thus facetiouſneſs and urbanity entertained with an open hand, will turn into jeſtings that are uncomely.

17. IF you will be ſecure, remove your tent, dwell farther off. God hath given us more liberty than we may ſafely uſe. And although God is ſo gracious as to comply much with our infirmities; yet if we do ſo too, as God's goodneſs in indulging liberty to us was to prevent our ſinning, our complying with our ſelves will engage us in it. But if we impriſon and confine our affections into a narrower compaſs, then our extravagances may be imperfect, but will not eaſily be criminal. The diſſolution of a ſcrupulous and ſtrict perſon is not into a vice, but into a leſs degree of virtue. He that makes a conſcience of loud laughter, will not eaſily be drawn into the wantonneſſes of balls and revellings, and the longer and more impure carnivals. This is the way to ſecure our obedience; and no men are ſo curious of their health, as they that are ſcrupulous of the air they breathe in.

But now for our obedience to man, that hath diſtinct conſiderations, and apart.

18. FIRST, All obedience to man is for God's ſake: for God imprinting his authority upon the ſons of men, like the ſun reflecting upon a cloud[k], produces a Parelius, or a repreſentation of his own glory, though in great diſtances and imperfection: it is the divine authority, though character'd upon a piece of clay, and imprinted upon a weak and imperfect man. And therefore obedience to our ſuperiors muſt be univerſal in reſpect of perſons; to all ſuperiors. This precept is expreſly apoſtolical, *Be ſubject to every conſtitution and authority of man for the Lord's ſake*[l]: It is for God's ſake, and therefore to every one, *Whether it be to the king, as ſupreme, or to his miniſters in ſubordination.* That's for civil government. For eccleſiaſtical this; *Obey them that have the rule over you, and ſubmit your ſelves: for they watch for your ſouls, as they that muſt give account*[m]. All upon whom any ray of the divine authority is imprinted, whether it be in greater or ſmaller characters, are in proportion to their authority to be obeyed; all upon the ſame ground: [[n] *for there is no power but of God.*] [o] So that no infirmity of perſon, no undervaluing circumſtance, no exterior accident is an excuſe for diſobedience: and to obey the divine authority paſſing through the dictates of a wiſe, excellent and prudent governour, but to neglect the impoſitions of a looſer head, is to worſhip Chriſt only upon the mount Tabor, and in the glories of his transfiguration, and to deſpiſe him upon mount Calvary, and in the clouds of his inglorious and humble paſſion. *Not only to the good and gentle,* (ſo [p] St. *Peter,*) *but to the harſh and rigid.* And it was by divine providence that all thoſe many and ſtricter precepts of obedience to governors in the New Teſtament were verified by inſtances of tyrants, perſecutors, idolaters, and heathen princes; and for others amongſt whom there was variety of diſpoſition, there is no variety of impoſition, but all excuſes are removed, and all kinds of governours drawn into the ſanction and ſacredneſs of authority.

19. SECONDLY, Not only to all governours, but in all things we muſt obey. *Children, obey your parents in all things*[q]: and, *ſervants, obey your maſters in all things.* And this alſo is upon the ſame ground: Do it *as unto Chriſt*; *as unto the Lord, and not unto men*[r].

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[k] Ἕκαστοι τῶν ἐξ ἔθνους ἔνθεόν τι γένος τὸ βασιλικὸν ὑπολαβόντες, θεοὺς αὐτοῖς πατέρας ἐπέστησαν· καὶ τοίνυν οἷς μὲν τὸ εὐγενὲς καὶ τὸ βασιλικὸν ἄκρως ἐπέπρεπεν, ἐκ Διὸς τούτους ἐποίουν κατάγειν τὸ γένος. *Euſtath.* ad Iliad. 1.

[l] 1 *Pet.* ii. 13. [m] *Heb.* xiii. 1. [n] *Rom.* xiii. 1.

[o] Regum timendorum in proprios greges,
Reges in ipſos imperium eſt Jovis,
Cuncta ſupercilio moventis. *Hor.* l. 3. *Ode* 1.

[p] Ubi ſuprà. [q] *Col.* iii. 20, 22. [r] *Epheſ.* vi. 5, 7.

But then this reſtrains the univerſality of obedience; that it may run within its own channel; *as unto the Lord*, therefore nothing againſt the divine commandment. For if God ſpeaks to us by man, tranſmitting laws for conſervation of civil ſociety, for eccleſiaſtical polity, for juſtice and perſonal advantages, for the intereſts of virtue and religion, for diſcountenancing of vice, we are to receive it with the ſame veneration as if God ſpake himſelf to us immediately. But becauſe by his terror upon mount Sinai he gave teſtimony how great favour it is to ſpeak to us by the miniſtration of our brethren, it were a ſtrange impudence, when we deſire a proportionable and gentle inſtrument of divine commands, we ſhould for this very proportion deſpiſe the miniſter; like the frogs in the apologue inſulting upon their wooden king. But then if any thing come contrary to a divine law, know it is the voice of Jacob, of the ſupplanter, not of the right heir; and though we muſt obey man for God's ſake, yet we muſt never diſobey God for man's ſake. In all things elſe we find no exception; but according as the ſuperiors intend the obligation, and expreſs it by the ſignature of laws, cuſtoms, interpretations, permiſſions, and diſpenſations, that is, ſo far as the law is obligatory in general, and not diſpenſed with in particular, ſo far obedience is a duty in all inſtances of acts where no ſin is ingredient.

20. Thirdly, And here alſo the ſmallneſs and cheapneſs of the duty does not tolerate diſobedience; for the deſpiſing the ſmalleſt injunction is an act of as formal and direct rebellion, as when the prevarication is in an higher inſtance. It is here as in divine laws, but yet with ſome difference: For ſmall things do ſo little co-operate to the end of human laws, that a ſmaller reaſon does by way of interpretation and tacit permiſſion diſpenſe, than can in a divine ſanction, though of the loweſt offices. Becauſe God commands duties not for the end to which they of themſelves do co-operate; but to make ſacred his authority, and that we by our obedience may confeſs him to be Lord: But in human laws the authority is made ſacred not primarily for it ſelf, but principally that the laws made in order to the conſervation of ſocieties may be obſerved. So that in the neglect of the ſmalleſt of divine ordinances we as directly oppoſe God's great purpoſe and intendment as in greater matters; God's dominion and authority (the conſervation of which was his principal intention) is alike neglected[*]: But in omitting an human impoſition of ſmall concernment, the caſe is different; it is certain there is not any conſiderable violence done to the public intereſt by a contemptible omiſſion of a law. The thing is not ſmall, if the commonwealth be not ſafe, and all her great ends ſecured; but if they be, then the authority is inviolate, unleſs a direct contempt were intended, for its being was in order to that end, not for it ſelf, as it is in the caſe of divine laws, but that the public intereſt may be ſafe.

21. And therefore as great matters of human laws may be omitted for great reaſons, ſo may ſmaller matters for ſmaller reaſons, but never without reaſon: for, cauſeleſly and contemptuouſly are all one. But in the application of the particulars, either the laws themſelves, or cuſtom, or the prudence of a ſincere righteous man, or of a wiſe and diſintereſted perſon, is to be the judge. But let no man's confidence encreaſe from the ſmallneſs of the matter to a contempt of the authority: for there are ſome ſins whoſe malignity is accidentally encreaſed by the ſlightneſs of the ſubject matter; ſuch as are blaſphemy, perjury, and the contempt of authority. To blaſpheme God for the loſs of an aſper or a penny, to be forſworn in judgment for the reſcuing of a few maravides or a five-groats fine, is a worſe crime than to be perjur'd for the ſaving ten thouſand pounds: and to deſpiſe authority, when the obedience is ſo eaſy as the wearing of a garment or doing of a poſture, is a greater and more impudent contempt, than to deſpiſe authority impoſing a great burthen of a more conſiderable preſſure, where human infirmity may tempt to a diſobedience, and leſſen the crime. And let this caution alſo be inſerted, that we do not at all neglect ſmall impoſitions, if there be a direct and ſignal injunction in the particular inſtance. For as a great body of light tranſmitting its rays thorough a narrow hollowneſs, does by that ſmall pyramis repreſent all the parts of its magnitude and glory: ſo it may happen that a public intereſt, and the concernments of authority, and the peace of a church, and the integral obedience of the ſubjects, and the conſervation of a community, may be transferred to us by an inſtance in its own nature inconſiderable, ſuch as are wearing of a cognizance, remembring of a word, carrying a branch in time of war, and things of the ſame nature. And therefore when the hand of authority is ſtretched out and held forth upon a precept, and deſigns the duty upon particular reaſon, or with actual intuition; there is not the ſame facility of being diſpenſed with, as in the neglected and unconſidered inſtances of other duties.

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[*] De minimis non curat lex.

THIS only I deſire to be obſerved; That if death or any violent accident, impriſonment, loſs of livelihood, or intolerable inconveniencies, be made accidentally conſequent to the obſerving of a law merely human, the law binds not in the particular inſtance. No man is bound to be a martyr for a ceremony, or to die rather than break a canon, or to ſuffer confiſcation of goods for the pertinacious keeping of a civil conſtitution. And it is not to be ſuppoſed that a law-giver would have decreed a rite, and bound the lives of the ſubjects to it, which are of a far greater value than a rite: not only becauſe it were tyrannical and unreaſonable, but becauſe the evil of the law were greater than the good of it, it were againſt the reaſon of all laws, and deſtroys the privileges of nature, and it puts a man into a condition as bad as the want of all laws: for nothing is civilly or naturally worſe than death, to which the other evils arrive in their proportion. This is to be underſtood in particular and poſitive precepts, introduced for reaſons particular, that is, leſs than thoſe are which combine all ſocieties, and which are the cement of all bodies political; I mean, laws ritual in the church, and accidental and emergent in the ſtate. And that which is the beſt ſign to diſtinguiſh theſe laws from others, is alſo the reaſon of the aſſertion. Laws decreed with a penalty to the tranſgreſſors, cannot bind to an evil greater than that penalty. If it be appointed that we uſe a certain form of liturgy, under the forfeiture of five pound for every omiſſion, I am bound in conſcience to obey it where I can; but I am ſuppoſed legally to be diſabled, if any tyrant-power ſhall threaten to kill me if I do, or make me pay an hundred pound, or any thing greater than the forfeiture of the law. For all the civil and natural power of the law is by its coercion, and the appendent puniſhment. The law operates by rewards and puniſhments, by hope and fear: and it is unimaginable that the law under a leſs penalty can oblige us in any caſe or accident to ſuffer a greater. For the compulſion of the tyrant is greater than the coercion of the lawgiver; and the prince thinking the penalty annexed to be band ſufficient, intended no greater evil to the tranſgreſſor than the expreſſed penalty; and therefore much leſs would he have them that obey the law by any neceſſity be forced to a greater evil: for then, diſobedience ſhould eſcape better than obedience. True it is, every diſobeying perſon that pays the penalty, is not quite diſcharged from all his obligation: but it is then, when his diſobeying is criminal upon ſome other ſtock beſides the meer breach of the law, as contempt, ſcandal, or the like. For the law binds the conſcience indirectly and by conſequence; that is, in plain language, God commands us to obey human laws, and the penalty will not pay for the contempt, becauſe that's a ſin againſt God: it [t] pays for the violation of the law, becauſe that was all the direct tranſgreſſion againſt man. And then who ſhall make him recompence for ſuffering more than the law requires of him? Not the prince: for it is certain, the greateſt value he ſet upon the law was no bigger than the penalty; and the commonwealth is ſuppoſed to be ſufficiently ſecured in her intereſt by the penalty, or elſe the law was weak, impotent, and unreaſonable. Not God: for it is not an act of obedience to him, for he binds us no further to obey human laws than the law-giver himſelf intends or declares; who cannot reaſonably be ſuppoſed ſo over-careful, as to bind hay with cords of ſilk and gold, or ſumptuary laws with the threads of life; nor a father commanding his child to wait on him every meal, be thought to intend his obligation, even though the houſe be ready to fall on his head, or when he is to paſs a ſudden or unfordable flood before he can get to him. And that it may appear man ought not, it is certain God himſelf doth not oblige us in all caſes and in all circumſtances to obſerve every of his poſitive precepts. For aſſembling together [u] is a duty of God's commanding, which we are not to neglect: but if death waits at the door of theſe aſſemblies, we have the practice of the primitive and beſt chriſtians to warrant us to ſerve God in retirements, and cells, and wilderneſſes, and leave the aſſembling together till better opportunities. If I receive more benefit, or the commonwealth, or the church and religion any greater advantage by my particular obedience in theſe circumſtances, (which cannot eaſily be ſuppoſed will be;) it is a great act of charity to do it, and then to ſuffer for it [w]: But if it be no more, that is, if it be not expreſly commanded to be done, (though with loſs of life, or confiſcation;) it is a good charity to ſave my own life, or my own eſtate. And though the other may be better, yet I am not in all caſes obliged to do that which is ſimply the beſt. It is a tolerable infirmity, and allowed amongſt the very firſt permiſſions of nature, that I may preſerve my life, unleſs it be in a very few caſes; which are therefore clearly to be expreſſed, or elſe the contrary is to be preſumed, as being a caſe moſt favourable. And it is conſiderable, that nothing is worſe than death but damnation, or ſomething that partakes of that in ſome of its worſt ingredients; ſuch as is a laſting torment, or a daily great miſery in ſome other kind. And therefore ſince no human law can bind a man to a worſe thing than death, if obedience brings me to death, I cannot be worſe when I diſobey it; and I am not ſo bad, if the penalty of death be not expreſſed. And ſo for other penalties in their own proportions.

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[t] Lucius Veratius pro delectamento habuit os hominis liberi palmâ verberare. Eum ſervus ſequebatur crumenam plenam aſſium geſtans, & quemcunque percuſſerat, juſſit ſtatim numerari 25 aſſes, qui pro mulcta huic offenſæ ex lege xij Tab. imponebantur. *A. Gel.* l. 20. c. 1.

[u] *Heb.* x. 25.

[w] Vide *Par.* 2. *Diſ.* 10. *n.* 11.

THIS diſcourſe is alſo to be underſtood concerning the laws of peace, not of war; not only becauſe every obedience in war may be puniſhed with death, (according as the reaſon may chance,) but alſo becauſe little things may be of great and dangerous conſequence. But in peace it is obſervable, that there is no human poſitive ſuperinduced law, but by the practice of all the world (which, becauſe the permiſſion of the prince is certainly included in it, is the ſureſt interpretation) it is diſpenſed withal by ordinary neceſſities, by reaſon of leſſer inconveniencies and common accidents. Thus the not ſaying of our office daily is excuſed by the ſtudy of divinity, the publiſhing the banns of matrimony by an ordinary incommodity, the faſting-days of the church by a little ſickneſs or a journey: and therefore much rather if my eſtate, and moſt of all if my life be in danger with it. And to ſay that in theſe caſes there is no interpretative permiſſion to omit the particular action, is to accuſe the laws and the law-giver, the one of unreaſonableneſs, the other of uncharitableneſs.

22. FOURTHLY, Theſe conſiderations are upon the execution of the duty: but even towards man our obedience muſt have a mixture of the will and choice, like as our injunction of obedience to the divine command. *With good-will doing ſervice*, (ſaith the apoſtle.) For it is impoſſible to ſecure the duty of inferiors but by conſcience and good-will; unleſs proviſion could be made againſt all their ſecret arts and concealments and eſcapings, which as no providence can foreſee, ſo no diligence can cure. It is but an eye-ſervice whatſoever is compelled and involuntary; nothing rules a man in private but God and his own deſires: and they give laws in a wilderneſs, and accuſe in a cloiſter, and do execution in a cloſet, if there be any prevarication.

23. FIFTHLY, But obedience to human laws goes no further, we are not bound to obey with a direct and particular act of underſtanding, as in all divine ſanctions. For ſo long as our ſuperiors are fallible, though it be highly neceſſary we conform our wills to their innocent laws, yet it is not a duty we ſhould think the laws moſt prudent or convenient, becauſe all laws are not ſo; but it may concern the intereſt of humility and ſelf-denial to be ſubject to an inconvenient, ſo it be not a ſinful command. For ſo we muſt chuſe an affliction when God offers it, and give God thanks for it; and yet we may cry under the ſmart of it, and call to God for eaſe and remedy. And yet it were well if inferiors would not be too buſy in diſputing the prudence of their governors, and the convenience of their conſtitutions. Whether they be ſins or no in the execution, and to our particulars, we are concerned to look to. I ſay, as to our particulars: for an action may be a ſin in the prince commanding it, and yet innocent in the perſon executing; as in the caſe of unjuſt wars, in which the ſubject, who cannot, ought not to be a judge, yet muſt be a miniſter. And it is notorious in the caſe of executing an unjuſt ſentence, in which [x] not the executioner, but the judge is only the unjuſt perſon: and he that ſerves his prince in an unjuſt war, is but the executioner of an unjuſt ſentence. But whatever goes farther, does but undervalue the perſon, ſlight the government, and unlooſe the golden cords of diſcipline. For we are not intruſted in providing for degrees, ſo we ſecure the kind and condition of our actions. And ſince God, having derived rays and beams of majeſty, and tranſmitted it in parts upon ſeveral ſtates of men, hath fixed human authority and dominion in the golden candleſtick of underſtanding; he that ſhall queſtion the prudence of his governor [y], or the wiſdom of his ſanction, does unclaſp the golden rings that tie the purple upon the prince's ſhoulder: he tempts himſelf with a reaſon to diſobey, and extinguiſh the light of majeſty, by overturning the candleſtick, and hiding the opinion of his wiſdom and underſtanding. And let me ſay this: He that is confident of his own underſtanding and reaſonable powers, (and who is more than he that thinks himſelf wiſer than the laws?) needs no other devil in the neighbourhood, no tempter but himſelf to pride and vanity, which are the natural parents of diſobedience.

24. BUT a man's diſobedience never ſeems ſo reaſonable as when the ſubject is forbidden to do an act of piety [z], commanded indeed in the general, but uncommanded in certain circumſtances. And forward piety and aſſiduous devotion, a great and undiſcreet mortifier,

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[x] Is damnum dat qui jubet dare: ejus verò nulla culpa eſt cui parere neceſſe ſit *Ulpian*. l. 130.

[y] Μὴ ἔριζε γονεῦσι, κἂν δίκαια λέγῃς. *Laert.*

[z] Modum autem tenere in eo difficile eſt, quod bonum eſſe credideris. *Sen.* ep. 23.

is often tempted to think no authority can reſtrain the fervours and diſtempers of zeal in ſuch holy exerciſes: and yet it is very often as neceſſary to reſtrain the indiſcretions of a forward perſon, as to excite the remiſſneſs of the cold and frozen. Such perſons were the Sarabites ſpoken of by Caſſian[a], who were greater labourers and ſtricter mortifiers than the religious in families and colleges; and yet they endured no ſuperior, nor laws. But ſuch cuſtoms as theſe are humiliation without humility, humbling the body and exalting the ſpirit: or indeed ſacrifices, and no obedience. It was an argument of the great wiſdom of the fathers of the deſart[b]; when they heard of the prodigious ſeverities exerciſed by Simeon Stylites upon himſelf, they ſent one of the religious to him, with power to enquire what was his manner of living, and what warrant he had for ſuch a rigorous undertaking; giving in charge to command him to give it over, and to live in a community with them, and according to the common inſtitution of thoſe religious families. The meſſenger did ſo, and immediately Simeon removed his foot from his pillar, with a purpoſe to deſcend: but the other, according to his commiſſion, called to him to ſtay, telling him his ſtation and ſeverity was from God. And he that in ſo great a piety was humble and obedient, did not undertake that ſtrictneſs out of ſingularity, nor did it tranſport him to vanity; for that he had received from the fathers to make judgement of the man, and of his inſtitution: whereas if upon pretence of the great holineſs of that courſe he had refuſed the command, the ſpirit of the perſon was to be declared caitive and imprudent, and the man driven from his troubleſome and oſtentous vanity.

25. **Our** faſt, our prayers, our watchings, our intentions of duty, our frequent communions and all exterior acts of religion, are to be guided by our ſuperior, if he ſees cauſe to reſtrain or aſſwage any excreſcence. For a wound may heal too faſt, and then the tumour of the fleſh is proud, not healthful: and ſo may the indiſcretions of religion ſwell to vanity, when we think they grow towards perfection. But when we can endure the cauſticks and correctives of our ſpiritual guides in thoſe things in which we are moſt apt to pleaſe our ſelves, then our obedience is regular and humble, and in other things there is leſs of danger. There is a ſtory told of a very religious perſon[c], whoſe ſpirit in the ecſtaſy of devotion was tranſported to the clarity of a viſion, and he ſeemed to converſe perſonally with the holy Jeſus, feeling from ſuch intercourſe great ſpiritual delights and huge ſatiſfactions. In the midſt of theſe joys the bell call'd to prayers, and he, uſed to the ſtrictneſs, and well inſtructed in the neceſſities of obedience, went to the church, and having finiſhed his devotions, returned, and found the viſion in the ſame poſture of glories and entertainment; which alſo ſaid to him, *Becauſe thou haſt left me, thou haſt found me: for if thou hadſt not left me, I had preſently left thee.* Whatever the ſtory be, I am ſure it is a good parable: For the way to increaſe ſpiritual comforts is, to be ſtrict in the offices of humble obedience; and we never loſe any thing of our joy, by laying it aſide to attend a duty. And Plutarch reports more honour of Ageſilaus's prudence and modeſty, than of his gallantry and military fortune: for he was more honourable by[d] obeying the decree of the Spartan ſenate, recalling him from the midſt of his triumphs, than he could have been by finiſhing the war with proſperous ſucceſs and diſobedience.

26. **Our** obedience, being guided by theſe rules, is urged to us by the conſignation of divine precepts, and the loud voice of thunder, even ſeal'd by a ſignet of God's right hand, the ſignature of greateſt judgments. For God did with greater ſeverity puniſh the Rebellion of Korah and his company, than the expreſs murmurs againſt himſelf, nay, than the high crime of Idolatry. For this crime God viſited them with a ſword; but for diſobedience and mutiny againſt their ſuperiors, God made the earth to ſwallow ſome of them, and fire from heaven to conſume the reſt: to ſhew that rebellion is to be puniſhed by the conſpiration of heaven and earth, as it is hateful and contradictory both to God and man. And it is not amiſs to obſerve, that obedience to man, being it is for God's ſake, and yet to a perſon cloathed with the circumſtances and the ſame infirmities with our ſelves, is a greater inſtance of humility, than to obey God immediately, whoſe authority is divine, whoſe preſence is terrible, whoſe power is infinite, and not at all depreſſed by exterior diſadvantages or leſſening appearances: juſt as it is both greater faith and greater charity to relieve a poor ſaint for Jeſus ſake, than to give any thing to Chriſt himſelf, if he ſhould appear in all the robes of glory and immediate addreſs. For it is to God and to Chriſt, and wholly for their ſakes, and to them that the obedience is done, or the charity expreſſed: but themſelves are perſons whoſe awfulneſs, majeſty and veneration, would rather force than invite obedience or alms. But when God and his only Son ſtand behind the cloud,

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[a] Collat. 18. c. 17.

[b] Apud *Evagrium*. De eodem Stylite conſulat lector *Epiph.* l. 1. c. 13. *Theod.* & 7. Synod. gener. & *Baron.* *ad* A. D. 432.

[c] *Caſſian.* Collat. 4. Abbat. *Dam.* c. 20. & S. *Baſil.* Exhort. ad vitam Monaſt. S. *Greg.* l. 35. Moral. c. 13. S. *Bern.* de or. vitæ & morum inſtit. c. 1.

[d] Titus Manlius ſecuri percuſſit filium, poſtquam hoſtem glorioſè vicerat in interdicta pugna. *A. Gell.* l. 9. c. 13.

and ſend their ſervants to take the homage or the charity, it is the ſame as if it were done to them, but receives the advantage of acceptation by the accidental adherences of faith and humility to the ſeveral actions reſpectively. When a King comes to rebels in perſon, it ſtrikes terror and veneration into them, who are too apt to neglect and deſpiſe the perſons of his miniſters, whom they look upon as their fellow-ſubjects, and conſider not in the exaltation of a deputed majeſty. Charles the Fifth found a happy experience of it at Gaunt in Flanders, whoſe rebellion he appeaſed by his preſence, which he could hardly have done by his Army. But if the King's authority be as much revered in his deputy as it is ſacred in his own perſon, it is the greater humility and more confident obedience. And as it is certain that he is the moſt humble that ſubmits to his inferiors: ſo in the ſame proportion, the lower and meaner the inſtrument upon which God's authority is born, the higher is the grace that teaches us to ſtoop ſo low. I do not ſay that a ſin againſt human laws is greater than a prevarication againſt a divine commandment: as the inſtances may be, the diſtance is next to infinite; and to touch the earth with our foot within the octaves of Eaſter, or to taſte fleſh upon days of abſtinence, (even in thoſe places and to thoſe perſons where they did or do oblige,) have no conſideration if they be laid in ballance againſt the crimes of adultery, or blaſphemy, or oppreſſion: becauſe theſe crimes cannot ſtand with the reputation and ſacredneſs of divine authority; but thoſe others may in moſt inſtances very well conſiſt with the ends of government, which are ſeverally provided for in the diverſity of ſanctions reſpectively. But if we make our inſtances to other purpoſes, we find, that to mutiny in an army, or to keep private aſſemblies in a monarchy, are worſe than a ſingle thought or moroſe delectation in a fancy of impurity; becauſe thoſe others deſtroy government more than theſe deſtroy charity of God or obedience. But then though the inſtances may vary the concluſion, yet the formal reaſon is alike, and diſobedience to man is a diſobedience againſt God: for God's authority and not man's, is imprinted upon the ſuperior; and it is like ſacred fire in an earthen cenſer, as holy as if it were kindled with the fanning of a cherub's wing, or placed juſt under the propitiatory upon a golden altar: and it is but a groſs conceit which cannot diſtinguiſh religion from its porter, Iſis from the beaſt that carried it. So that in all diſobedience to men, in proportion to the greatneſs of the matter, or the malice of the perſon, or his contradiction to the ends of government and combinations of ſociety, we may uſe the words by which the prophet upbraided Iſrael, *Is it not enough that you are grievous unto men, but will you grieve my God alſo*[e]*?* It is a contempt of the Divinity, and the affront is tranſmitted to God himſelf, when we deſpiſe the power which God hath ordained; and all power of every lawful ſuperior is ſuch: the ſpirit of God being witneſs in the higheſt meaſure, *Rebellion is as the ſin of witchcraft, and ſtubbornneſs as Idolatry*[f]. It is ſpoken of rebellion againſt God, and all rebellion is ſo; for, *He that deſpiſeth you, deſpiſeth me*[g], ſaith the bleſſed Jeſus: that is menace enough in the inſtance of ſpiritual regiment. And, *you are gathered together againſt the Lord*, ſaith Moſes to the rebellious princes in the conſpiracy of Dathan: that is for the temporal. And to encourage this duty, I ſhall uſe no other words than thoſe of Achilles in Homer[h], *They that obey in this world, are better than they that command in Hell.*

A PRAYER for the Grace of Holy OBEDIENCE.

I.

O Lord and bleſſed Saviour Jeſus, *by whoſe obedience many became righteous, and reparations were made of the ruins brought to human nature by the diſobedience of* Adam; *thou cameſt into the world with many great and holy purpoſes concerning our ſalvation, and haſt given us a great precedent of obedience, which that thou mighteſt preſerve to thy heavenly father, thou didſt neglect thy life, and becameſt obedient even to the death of the croſs. O, let me imitate ſo bleſſed an example, and by the merits of thy obedience let me obtain the grace of humility, and abnegation of all my own deſires in the cleareſt renunciation of my will: that I may will and refuſe in conformity to thy ſacred laws and holy purpoſes: that I may do all thy will chearfully, chuſingly, humbly, confidently, and continually; and thy will may be done upon me with much mercy and fatherly diſpenſation of thy providence.* Amen.

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[e] *Iſa.* vii. 13.

[f] 1 *Sam.* xv. 23.

Ἡμῖν δὲ πολλῶν νόμων καὶ καλῶν ὄντων, κάλλιστος οὗτός ἐστι, Τιμᾶν βασιλέα, καὶ προσκυνεῖν εἰκόνα Θεοῦ πάντα σώζοντος. Plutarch. *in Themiſt.*

[g] Ὃς μάχεται μακάρεσσιν, ἐμῷ βασιλῆϊ μάχεσθω.

[h] Βουλοίμην κ' ἐπάρουρος ἐὼν θητευέμεν ἄλλῳ
Ἀνδρὶ παρ' ἀκλήρῳ, ᾧ μὴ βίοτος πολὺς εἴη,
Ἢ πᾶσι νεκύεσσι καταφθιμένοισιν ἀνάσσειν. Οδ. λ'.

2.

LORD, let my underſtanding adhere to and be ſatisfied in the excellent wiſdom of thy commandments; let my affections dwell in their deſires, and all my other faculties be ſet on daily work for performance of them: and let my love to obey thee make me dutiful to my ſuperiors, upon whom the impreſſes of thy authority are ſet by thine own hand, that I may never deſpiſe their perſons, nor refuſe their injunctions, nor chuſe mine own work, nor murmur at their burthens, nor diſpute the prudence of the ſanction, nor excuſe my ſelf, nor pretend difficulties or impoſſibilities; but that I may be indifferent in my deſires, and reſigned to the will of thoſe whom thou haſt ſet over me: that ſince all thy creatures obey thy word, I alone may not diſorder the creation, and cancel thoſe bands and intermedial links of ſubordination, whereby my duty ſhould paſs to thee and thy glory; but that my obedience being united to thy obedience, I may alſo have my portion in the glories of thy kingdom, O Lord and bleſſed Saviour Jeſus. Amen.

Conſiderations upon the Preſentation of Jeſus *in the Temple.*

1. THE holy virgin-mother, according to the law of Moſes, at the expiration of a certain time, came to the temple to be purified. Although in her ſacred parturition ſhe had contracted no legal impurity; yet ſhe expoſed her ſelf to the publick opinion and common reputation of an ordinary condition: and ſtill amongſt all generations ſhe is in all circumſtances accounted bleſſed, and her reputation no tittle altered, ſave only that it is made the more ſacred by this teſtimony of her humility. But this we are taught from the conſequence of this inſtance; that if an end principally deſigned in any duty, ſhould be ſupplied otherwiſe in any particular perſon, the duty is nevertheleſs to be obſerved; and then the obedience and publick order is reaſon enough for the obſervation, though the proper end of its deſignation be wanting in the ſingle perſon. Thus is faſting deſigned for mortification of the fleſh[a], and killing all its unruly appetites; and yet married perſons, who have another remedy, and a virgin, whoſe temple is hallowed by a gift and the ſtrict obſervances of chaſtity, may be tied to the duty; and if they might not, then faſting were nothing elſe but a publication of our impure deſires, and an expoſing the perſon to the confidence of a bold temptation, whilſt the young men did obſerve the faſter to be tempted from within. But the holy virgin from theſe acts (of which in ſignification ſhe had no need, becauſe ſhe ſinned not in the conception, nor was impure in the production) expreſſed other virtues beſides obedience; ſuch as were humble thoughts of her ſelf, devotion, and reverence to publick ſanctions, religion and charity, which were like the pure leaves of the whiteſt lilly, fit to repreſent the beauties of her innocence, but were veiled and ſhadowed by that ſacramental of the Moſaic law.

2. THE holy virgin received the greateſt favour that any of the daughters of Adam ever did, and knowing from whence and for whoſe glory ſhe had received it, returns the holy Jeſus in a preſent to God again; for ſhe had nothing ſo precious as himſelf to make oblation of. And beſides that *every firſt-born among the males was holy to the Lord*, this child had an eternal and eſſential ſanctity; and until he came into the world, and was made apt for her to make a preſent of him, there was never in the world any act of adoration proportionable to the honour of the great God; but now there was, and the holy virgin made it, when ſhe preſented the holy child Jeſus. And now, beſides that we are taught to return to God whatſoever we have received from him, if we unite our offerings and devotions to this holy preſent, we ſhall by the merit and excellency of this oblation exhibit to God an offertory, in which he cannot but delight for the combination's ſake and ſociety of his holy ſon.

3. THE holy mother brought five ſicles and a pair of turtle-doves to redeem the lamb of God from the Anathema; becauſe every firſt born was to be ſacrificed to God, or redeemed, if it was clean: it was the poor man's price, and the holy Jeſus was never ſet at the greater prices when he was eſtimated upon earth. For he that was lord of the kingdom, choſe his portion among the poor of this world, that he might advance the poor to the riches of his inheritance; and ſo it was from his nativity hither. For at his birth he was poor, at his circumciſion poor, and in the likeneſs of a ſinner; at his preſentation poor, and like a ſinner and a ſervant, for he choſe to be redeemed with an ignoble price. The five ſicles were given to the prieſt for the redemption of the child; and if the parents were

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[a] Vid. Rodriquez in explic. Bullæ cruciatæ; and Sir Tho. Moore againſt Tindal.

not able, he was to be a ſervant of the temple, and to miniſter in the inferior offices to the prieſt: and this was God's ſeizure and poſſeſſion of him. For although all the ſervants of God are his inheritance; yet the miniſters of religion, who derive their portion of temporals from his title, who live upon the corban, and eat the meat of the Altar, which is God's peculiar, and come nearer to his holineſs by the addreſſes of an immediate miniſtration, are God's own upon another and a diſtinct challenge. But becauſe Chriſt was to be the prince of another miniſtry, and the chief prieſt of another order, he was redeemed from attending the Moſaic rites, which he came to aboliſh, that he might do his father's buſineſs in eſtabliſhing the evangelical. Only remember that the miniſters of religion are but God's uſufructuaries: as they are not lords of God's portion, and therefore muſt diſpenſe it like ſtewards, not like maſters; ſo the people are not their patrons in paying, nor they their beneficiaries in receiving tithes or other proviſions of maintainance; they owe for it to none but to God himſelf. And it would alſo be conſidered, that in all ſacrilegious detentions of eccleſiaſtical rights, God is the perſon principally injured.

4. THE Turtle-doves[b] were offered alſo with the ſignification of another myſtery. In the ſacred rites of marriage, although the permiſſions of natural deſires are ſuch as are moſt ordinate to their ends, the avoiding fornication, the alleviation of œconomical cares and vexations, and the production of children, and mutual comfort and ſupport; yet the apertures and permiſſions of marriage have ſuch reſtraints of modeſty and prudence, that all tranſgreſſion of the juſt order to ſuch ends is a crime: and beſides theſe, there may be degrees of inordination or obliquity of intention, or too ſenſual complacency, or unhandſome preparations of mind, or unſacramental thoughts. In which particulars, becauſe we have no determined rule but prudence, and the analogy of the rite, and the ſeverity of our religion, which allow in ſome caſes more, in ſome leſs, and always uncertain latitudes, for ought we know, there may be lighter tranſgreſſions, ſomething that we know not of: and for theſe at the purification of the woman it is ſuppoſed the offering was made; and the turtures, by being an oblation, did deprecate a ſuppoſed irregularity; but by being a chaſte and marital emblem, they profeſſed the obliquity (if any were) was within the protection of the ſacred bands of marriage, and therefore ſo excuſable as to be expiated by a cheap offering. And what they did in hieroglyphic, chriſtians muſt do in the expoſition; be ſtrict obſervers of the main rites and principal obligations, and not neglectful to deprecate the leſſer unhandſomeneſſes of the too ſenſual applications.

5. GOD had at that inſtant ſo ordered, that, for great ends of his own and theirs, two very holy perſons, of diverſe ſexes and like piety, Simeon and Anna, the one who lived an active and ſecular, the other a retired and contemplative life, ſhould come into the temple by revelation and direction of the holy ſpirit, and ſee him whom they and all the world did look for, the Lord's Chriſt, the conſolation of Iſrael. They ſaw him, they rejoiced, they worſhipped, they propheſied, they ſang hymns: and old Simeon did comprehend and circumſcribe in his arms him that filled all the world, and was then ſo ſatisfied that he deſired to live no longer: God had verified his promiſe, had ſhewn him the Meſſias, had filled his heart with joy, and made his old age honourable; and now after all this ſight, no object could be pleaſant but the joys of Paradiſe. For as a man who hath ſtared too freely upon the face and beauties of the ſun, is blind and dark to objects of a leſs ſplendor, and is forced to ſhut his eyes, that he may through the degrees of darkneſs perceive the inferior beauties of more proportioned objects: ſo was old Simeon, his eyes were ſo filled with the glories of this revelation, that he was willing to cloſe them in his laſt night, that he might be brought into the communications of eternity; and he could never more find comfort in any other object this world could miniſter. For ſuch is the excellency of ſpiritual things, when they have once filled the corners of our hearts, and made us highly ſenſible and apprehenſive of the interior beauties of God and of religion, all things of this world are flat and empty, and unſatisfying vanities, as unpleaſant as the lees of vinegar to a tongue filled with the ſpirit of high Italic wines. And until we are ſo dead to the world, as to apprehend no guſt or freer complacency in exterior objects, we never have entertained Chriſt, or have had our cups overflow with devotion, or are filled with the ſpirit. When our chalice is filled with holy oil, with the anointing from above, it will entertain none of the waters of bitterneſs: or if it does, they are thruſt to the bottom; they are the loweſt of our deſires, and therefore only admitted, becauſe they are natural and conſtituent.

6. THE good old propheteſs Anna had lived long in chaſte widowhood, in the ſervice of the temple, in the continual offices of devotion, in faſting and prayer; and now came the happy inſtant in which God would give her a great benediction, and an earneſt of a greater. The returns of prayer and the bleſſings of piety are certain; and though not diſpenſed ac-

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[b] Sed Pudicitia illis prima, & neutri nota adulteria: conjugii fidem non violant. *Plin.* l. 10. c. 13.

cording to the expectances of our narrow conceptions, yet ſhall they ſo come, at ſuch times and ſuch meaſures, as ſhall crown the piety, and ſatisfy the deſires, and reward the expectation. It was in the temple, the ſame place where ſhe had for ſo many years poured out her heart to God, that God poured forth his heart to her, ſent his ſon from his boſom, and there ſhe received his benediction. Indeed in ſuch places God does moſt particularly exhibit himſelf, and bleſſing goes along with him wherever he goes. In holy places God hath put his holy name, and to holy perſons God does oftentimes manifeſt the interior and more ſecret glories of his holineſs; provided they come thither, as old Simeon and Anna did, by the motions of the holy ſpirit, not with deſigns of vanity, or curioſity, or ſenſuality: for ſuch ſpirits as thoſe come to profane and deſecrate the houſe, and unhallow the perſon, and provoke the deity of the place, and blaſt us with unwholſome airs.

7. BUT *Joſeph and Mary wondered at theſe things which were ſpoken*, and treaſured them in their hearts, and they became matter of devotion and mental prayer, or meditation.

The PRAYER.

O Eternal God, who by the inſpirations of thy holy ſpirit didſt direct thy ſervants Simeon and Anna to the temple at the inſtant of the preſentation of the holy child Jeſus, *that ſo thou mighteſt verify thy promiſe, and manifeſt thy ſon, and reward the piety of holy people, who longed for redemption by the coming of the* Meſſias; *give me the perpetual aſſiſtance of the ſame ſpirit to be as a monitor and a guide to me, leading me to all holy actions, and to the embracements and poſſeſſions of thy glorious ſon: and remember all thy faithful people, who wait for the conſolation and redemption of the church from all her miſeries and perſecutions, and at laſt ſatisfy their deſires by the revelations of thy mercies and ſalvation. Thou haſt advanced thy holy child, and ſet him up for a ſign of thy mercies, and a repreſentation of thy glories. Lord, let no act or thought or word of mine ever be in contradiction to this bleſſed ſign, but let it be for the ruin of all my vices, and all the powers the devil imploys againſt the church, and for the raiſing up all thoſe virtues and graces which thou didſt deſign me in the purpoſes of eternity: but let my portion never be amongſt the incredulous, or the ſcornful, or the heretical, or the profane, or any of thoſe who ſtumble at this ſtone which thou haſt laid for the foundation of thy church, and the ſtructures of a virtuous life. Remember me with much mercy and compaſſion when the ſword of ſorrows or afflictions ſhall pierce my heart; firſt transfix me with love, and then all the troubles of this world will be conſignations to the joys of a better: which grant for the mercies and the name's ſake of thy holy child* Jeſus. Amen.

DISCOURSE III.

Of Meditation.

1. IF in the definition of meditation I ſhould call it an unaccuſtomed and unpractiſed duty, I ſhould ſpeak a truth, though ſomewhat inartificially: for not only the interior beauties and brighter excellencies are as unfelt as ideas and abſtractions are; but alſo the practice and common knowledge of the duty it ſelf are ſtrangers to us, like the retirements of the deep, or the undiſcovered treaſures of the Indian hills. And this is a very great cauſe of the drineſs and expiration of men's devotion, becauſe our ſouls are ſo little refreſhed with the waters and holy dews of meditation. We go to our prayers by chance, or order, or by determination of accidental occurrences; and we recite them as we read a book; and ſometimes we are ſenſible of the duty, and a flaſh of lightning makes the room bright, and our prayers end, and the lightning is gone, and we as dark as ever. We draw our water from ſtanding pools, which never are filled but with ſudden ſhowers, and therefore we are dry ſo often: whereas if we ſhould draw water from the fountains of our Saviour, and derive them through the channel of diligent and prudent meditations, our devotion would be a continual current, and ſafe againſt the barrenneſs of frequent droughts.

2. FOR meditation is an attention and application of ſpirit to divine things; a ſearching out all inſtruments to a holy life, a devout conſideration of them, and a production of

thoſe affections which are in a direct order to the love of God and a pious converſation. Indeed meditation is all that great inſtrument of piety whereby it is made prudent, and reaſonable, and orderly, and perpetual. For ſuppoſing our memory inſtructed with the knowledge of ſuch myſteries and revelations as are apt to entertain the ſpirit, the underſtanding is firſt and beſt imployed in the conſideration of them, and then the will in their reception, when they are duly prepared and ſo tranſmitted; and both theſe in ſuch manner and to ſuch purpoſes, that they become the magazine and great repoſitories of grace, and inſtrumental to all deſigns of virtue.

3. FOR the underſtanding is not to conſider the matter of any meditation in it ſelf, or as it determines in natural excellencies or unworthineſs reſpectively, or with a purpoſe to furniſh it ſelf with notion and riches of knowledge; for that is like the winter-ſun, it ſhines, but warms not: but in ſuch order as themſelves are put in the deſignations of theology, in the order of divine laws in their ſpiritual capacity, and as they have influence upon holineſs. For the underſtanding here is ſomething elſe beſides the intellectual power of the ſoul; it is the ſpirit; that is, it is celeſtial in its application, as it is ſpiritual in its nature: and we may underſtand it well by conſidering the beatifical portions of ſoul and body in their future glories. For therefore even our bodies in the reſurrection ſhall be ſpiritual, becauſe the operation of them ſhall be in order to ſpiritual glories, and their natural actions (ſuch as are ſeeing and ſpeaking) ſhall have a ſpiritual object and ſupernatural end: and here as we partake of ſuch excellencies, and co-operate to ſuch purpoſes, men are more or leſs ſpiritual. And ſo is the underſtanding taken from its firſt and loweſt ends of reſting in notion and ineffective contemplation, and is made ſpirit, that is, wholly ruled and guided by God's ſpirit to ſupernatural ends and ſpiritual employments: ſo that it underſtands and conſiders the motions of *the heavens*, to *declare the glory of God*, the prodigies and alterations in *the firmament*, to *demonſtrate his handy work*; it conſiders the excellent order of creatures, that we may not diſturb the order of creation, or diſſolve the golden chain of ſubordination. Ariſtotle and Porphyry, and the other Greek philoſophers, ſtudied the heavens, to ſearch out their natural cauſes, and production of bodies; the wiſer Chaldees and Aſſyrians ſtudied the ſame things, that they might learn their influences upon us, and make predictions of contingencies; the more moral Ægyptian deſcribed his theorems in hieroglyphics and phantaſtic repreſentments, to teach principles of policy, œconomy, and other prudencies of morality and ſecular negociation: but the ſame philoſophy, when it is made chriſtian, conſiders as they did, but to greater purpoſes, even that from the book of the creatures we may glorify the Creator, and hence derive arguments of worſhip and religion: this is chriſtian philoſophy.

4. I inſtance only in conſiderations natural to ſpiritual purpoſes; but the ſame is the manner in all meditation, whether the matter of it be nature or revelation. For if we think of hell, and conſider the infinity of its duration, and that its flames laſt as long as God laſts, and thence conjecture, upon the rules of proportion, why a finite creature may have an infinite, unnatural duration; or think by what ways a material fire can torment an immaterial ſubſtance; or why the devils, who are intelligent and wiſe creatures, ſhould be ſo fooliſh as to hate God, from whom they know every rivulet of amability derives: This is to ſtudy, not to meditate; for meditation conſiders any thing that may beſt make us to avoid the place, and to quit a vicious habit, or maſter and rectify an untoward inclination, or purchaſe a virtue, or exerciſe one. So that meditation is an act of underſtanding put to the right uſe.

5. FOR the holy Jeſus coming to redeem us from the bottomleſs pit, did it by lifting us up out of the puddles of impurity, and the unwholſome waters of vanity; he redeemed us from our vain converſation: and our underſtandings had ſo many vanities, that they were made inſtruments of great impiety. The unlearned and ruder nations had fewer virtues, but they had alſo fewer vices, than the wiſe empires, that ruled the world with violence and wit together. The ſofter [a] Aſian had luſt and intemperance in a full chalice; but their underſtandings were ruder than the finer Latins; for theſe men's underſtanding diſtilled wickedneſs as through a limbec, and the Romans drank ſpirits and the ſublimed quinteſſences of villany; whereas the other made themſelves drunk with the lees and cheaper inſtances of ſin. So that the underſtanding is not an idle and uſeleſs faculty, but naturally drives to practice, and brings gueſts into the inward cabinet of the will, and there they are entertained and feaſted. And thoſe underſtandings which did not ſerve the baſer end of vices, yet were unprofitable for the moſt part, and furniſhed their inward rooms with glaſſes and beads, and trifles fit for an American mart. From all theſe impurities and vanities Jeſus hath redeemed all his diſciples, and not only thrown out of his temples all the impure rites of Flora and Cybele, but alſo the trifling and unprofitable ceremonies of the more

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[a] Τοὺς Περσῶν βασιλεῖς ὑπὸ τρυφῆς προκηρύττειν τοῖς ἐφευρίσκουσί τινα καινὴν ἡδονὴν ἀργυρίου πλῆθος. Athen. *l.* 4.

ſober deities; not only vices, but uſeleſs and unprofitable ſpeculations, and hath conſecrated our head into a temple, our underſtanding to ſpirit, our reaſon to religion, our ſtudy to meditation. And this is the firſt part of the ſanctification of our ſpirit.

6 AND this was the cauſe holy ſcripture commands the duty of meditation in proportion ſtill to the excellencies of piety and a holy life, to which it is highly and aptly inſtrumental. *Bleſſed is the man that meditates in the law of the Lord day and night* [b]. And the reaſon of the propoſition and the uſe of the duty is expreſſed to this purpoſe; *Thy words have I hid in my heart, that I ſhould not ſin againſt thee* [c]. The placing and fixing thoſe divine conſiderations in our underſtandings and hiding them there, are deſigns of high Chriſtian prudence, that they with advantage may come forth in the expreſſes of a holy life. For what in the world is more apt and natural to produce humility, than to meditate upon the low ſtoopings and deſcents of the holy Jeſus, to the nature of a man, to the weakneſſes of a child, to the poverties of a ſtable, to the ignobleneſs of a ſervant, to the ſhame of the croſs, to the pains of cruelty, to the duſt of death, to the title of a ſinner, and to the wrath of God? By this inſtance poverty is made honourable, and humility is ſanctified and made noble, and the contradictions of nature are amiable and fitted for a wiſe election. Thus hatred of ſin, ſhame of our ſelves, confuſion at the ſenſe of human miſery, the love of God, confidence in his promiſes, deſires of heaven, holy reſolutions, reſignation of our own appetites, conformity to the divine will, oblations of our ſelves, repentance and mortification, are the proper emanations from meditation of the ſordidneſs of ſin, our proneneſs to it, our daily miſeries as iſſues of divine vengeance, the glories of God, his infinite unalterable veracity, the ſatisfactions in the viſion of God, the rewards of piety, the rectitude of the laws of God, and perfection of his ſanctions, God's ſupreme and paternal dominion, and his certain malediction of ſinners. And when any one of theſe conſiderations is taken to pieces and ſo placed in the rooms of application, that a piece of duty is conjoined to a piece of the myſtery, and the whole office to the purchaſe of a grace, or the extermination of a vice, it is like opening our windows to let in the ſun and the wind: and holineſs is as proportioned an effect to this practiſe, as glory is to a perſevering holineſs, by way of reward and moral cauſality.

7. FOR all the affections that are in man are either natural, or by chance, or by the incitation of reaſon and diſcourſe. Our natural affections are not worthy the entertainments of a Chriſtian; they muſt be ſupernatural and divine, that put us into the hopes of perfection and felicities. And theſe other that are good, unleſs they come by meditation, they are but accidental, and ſet with the evening ſun: but if they be produced upon the ſtrengths of pious meditation, they are as perpetual as they are reaſonable, and excellent in proportion to the piety of the principle. A garden that is watered with ſhort and ſudden ſhowers is more uncertain in its fruits and beauties, than if a rivulet waters it with a perpetual diſtilling and conſtant humectation. And juſt ſuch are the ſhort emiſſions and unpremeditated reſolutions of piety begotten by a daſh of holy rain from heaven, whereby God ſometimes uſes to call the careleſs but to taſte what excellencies of piety they neglect; but if they be not produced by the reaſon of religion, and the philoſophy of meditation, they have but the life of a fly or a tall gourd, they come into the world only to ſay they had a being; you could ſcarce know their length but by meaſuring the ground they cover in their fall.

8. FOR ſince we are more moved by material and ſenſible objects than by things merely ſpeculative and intellectual, and generals even in ſpiritual things are leſs perceived and leſs motive than particulars: meditation frames the underſtanding part of religion to the proportions of our nature and our weakneſs, by making ſome things more circumſtantiate and material, and the more ſpiritual to be particular, and therefore the more applicable; and the myſtery is made like the goſpel to the apoſtles, *Our eyes do ſee, and our ears do hear, and our hands do handle* thus much of the word of life, as is prepared for us in the meditation.

9. FIRST, and therefore every wiſe perſon, that intends to furniſh himſelf with affections of religion, or deteſtation againſt a vice, or glorifications of a myſtery, ſtill will proportion the myſtery, and fit it with ſuch circumſtances of fancy and application, as by obſervation of himſelf he knows apteſt to make impreſſion. It was a wiſe deſign of Mark Antony when he would ſtir up the people to revenge the death of Cæſar, he brought his body to the pleading-place, he ſhewed his wounds, held up the rent mantle, and ſhewed them the garment that he put on that night in which he beat the Nervii, that is, in which he won a victory for which his memory was dear to them; he ſhewed them that wound which pierced his heart, in which they were placed by ſo dear a love, that he made them his heirs, and left to their public uſe places of delight and pleaſure: and then it was natural,
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[b] Pſal. i. 1, 2.

[c] Pſal. cxix. 11.

when he had made thoſe things preſent to them which had once moved their love and his honour, that grief at the loſs of ſo honourable and ſo loved a perſon ſhould ſucceed; and then they were lords of all, their ſorrow and revenge ſeldom ſlept in two beds. And thus holy meditation produces the paſſions and deſires it intends, it makes the objects preſent and almoſt ſenſible, it renews the firſt paſſions by a fiction of imagination; it paſſes from the paſchal parlour to Cedron, it tells the drops of ſweat, and meaſures them, and finds them as big as drops of blood, and then conjectures at the greatneſs of our ſins; it fears in the midſt of Chriſt's agonies, it hears his groans, it ſpies Judas his lanthorn afar off, it follows Jeſus to Gabbatha, and wonders at his innocence and their malice, and feels the ſtrokes of the whip, and ſhrinks the head when the crown of thorns is thruſt hard upon his holy brows, and at laſt goes ſtep by ſtep with Jeſus, and carries part of the croſs, and is nailed faſt with ſorrow and compaſſion, and dies with love. For if the ſoul be principle of its own actions, it can produce the ſame effects by reflex acts of the underſtanding, when it is aſſiſted by the imaginative part, as when it ſees the thing acted. Only let the meditation be as minute, particular and circumſtantiate as it may: for a widow by repreſenting the carreſſes of her dead huſband's love produces ſorrow, and the new affections of a ſad endearment. It is too ſure, that the recalling the circumſtances of a paſt impurity does re-kindle the flame, and entertain the fancy with the burnings of an impure fire: And this happens not by any advantages of vice, but by the nature of the thing, and the efficacy of circumſtances. So does holy meditation produce thoſe impreſſes and ſignatures which are the proper effects of the myſtery, if preſented in a right line and direct repreſentation.

10. SECONDLY, He that means to meditate in the beſt order to the productions of piety, muſt not be inquiſitive for the higheſt myſteries, but the plaineſt propoſitions are to him of the greateſt uſe and evidence. For meditation is the duty of all, and therefore God hath fitted ſuch matter for it which is proportioned to every underſtanding; and the greateſt myſteries of Chriſtianity are plaineſt, and yet moſt fruitful of meditation, and moſt uſeful to the production of piety. High ſpeculations are as barren as the tops of cedars; but the fundamentals of Chriſtianity are fruitful as the valleys or the creeping vine. For know, that it is no meditation, but it may be an illuſion, when you conſider myſteries to become more learned, without thoughts of improving piety. Let your affections be as high as they can climb towards God, ſo your conſiderations be humble, fruitful, and practically myſterious. *Oh that I had the wings of a dove, that I might fly away and be at reſt*, ſaid David. The wings of an eagle would have carried him higher, but yet the innocent dove did furniſh him with the better emblem to repreſent his humble deſign; and lower meditations might ſooner bring him to reſt in God. It was a ſaying of Ægidius: "That an old and a ſimple woman, if ſhe loves Jeſus, may be greater than was brother Bonaventure." Want of learning and diſability to conſider great ſecrets of theology, does not at all retard our progreſs to ſpiritual perfections: Love to Jeſus may be better promoted by the plainer underſtandings of honeſt and unlettered people, than by the finer and more exalted ſpeculations of great clerks that have leſs devotion. For although the way of ſerving God by the underſtanding be the beſt and moſt laſting; yet it is not neceſſary the underſtanding ſhould be dreſſed with troubleſome and laborious notions. The reaſon that is in religion is the ſureſt principle to engage our ſervices, and more perpetual than the ſweetneſſes and the motives of affection: but every honeſt man's underſtanding is then beſt furniſhed with the diſcourſes and the reaſonable parts of religion, when he knows thoſe myſteries of religion upon which Chriſt and his Apoſtles did build a holy life, and the ſuperſtructures of piety: thoſe are the beſt materials of his meditation.

11. So that meditation is nothing elſe but the uſing of all thoſe arguments, motives, and irradiations, which God intended to be inſtrumental to piety. It is a compoſition of both ways: for it ſtirs up our affections by reaſon and the way of underſtanding, that the wiſe ſoul may be ſatisfied in the reaſonableneſs of the thing, and the affectionate may be entertained with the ſweetneſſes of holy paſſion; that our judgment be determined by diſcourſe, and our appetites made active by the careſſes of a religious fancy. And therefore the uſe of meditation is, to conſider any of the myſteries of religion with purpoſes to draw from it rules of life, or affections of virtue, or deteſtation of vice: and from hence the man riſes to devotion, and mental prayer, and intercourſe with God; and after that he reſts himſelf in the boſom of beatitude, and is ſwallowed up with the comprehenſions of love and contemplation. Theſe are the ſeveral degrees of meditation. But let us firſt underſtand that part of it which is duty: and then, if any thing ſucceed of a middle condition between duty and reward, we will conſider alſo how that duty is to be performed,

formed, and how the reward is to be managed, that it may prove to be no illuſion. Therefore I add alſo this conſideration;

12. THIRDLY, Whatever pious purpoſes and deliberations are entertained in the act of meditation, they are carefully to be maintained and thruſt forward to actual performances, although they were indefinite and indeterminate, and no other ways decreed but by reſolutions and determinations of reaſon and judgment. For God aſſiſts every pious action according to its exigence and capacity, and therefore bleſſes holy meditations with reſults of reaſon, and prepoſſeſſions dogmatically decreeing the neceſſity of virtue, and the convenience of certain exerciſes in order to the purchaſe of it. He then that neglects to actuate ſuch diſcourſes, loſes the benefit of his meditation; he is gone no farther than when he firſt ſet out, and neglects the inſpirations of the holy ſpirit. For if at any time it be certain what ſpirit it is that ſpeaks within the ſoul, it is moſt certain that it is the good ſpirit that moves us to an act of virtue in order to acquiſition of the habit. And when God's grace hath aſſiſted us ſo far in our meditations that we underſtand our duty, and are moved with preſent arguments, if we put not forth our hand and make uſe of them, we do nothing towards our duty; and it is not certain that God will create graces in us as he does the ſoul. Let every pious perſon think every concluſion of reaſon in his meditation to have paſſed an obligation upon him: and if he hath decreed that faſting ſo often, and doing ſo many religious acts, is convenient and conducing to the production of a grace he is in purſuit of; let him know that every ſuch decree and reaſonable propoſition is the grace of God, inſtrumental to piety, part of his aſſiſtance, and therefore in no caſe to be extinguiſhed.

13. FOURTHLY, In meditation let the underſtanding be reſtrained, and under ſuch prudent coercion and confinement, that it wander not from one diſcourſe to another, till it hath perceived ſome fruit from the firſt; either that his ſoul be inſtructed in a duty, or moved by a new argument, or confirmed in an old, or determined to ſome exerciſe and intermedial action of religion, or hath broke out into ſome prayers and intercourſe with God in order to the production of a virtue. And this is the myſtical deſign of the ſpouſe in the canticles of Solomon: *I adjure you, O ye daughters of Jeruſalem, by the roes and by the hinds of the field, that you ſtir not up nor awake my love till he pleaſe*[a]. For it is lightneſs of ſpirit to paſs over a field of flowers and to fix no where, but to leave it without carrying ſome honey with us: unleſs the ſubject be of it ſelf barren and unfruitful, and then why was it choſen? or that it is made ſo by our indiſpoſition, and then indeed it is to be quitted. But, (it is St. Chryſoſtom's ſimile) as a lamb ſucking the breaſt of its dam and mother, moves the head from one part to another, till it hath found a diſtilling fontinel, and then it fixes till it be ſatisfied, or the fountain ceaſe dropping: ſo ſhould we in meditation reject ſuch materials as are barren like the tops of hills, and fix upon ſuch thoughts which nouriſh and refreſh, and there dwell till the nouriſhment be drawn forth, or ſo much of it as we can then temperately digeſt.

14. FIFTHLY, In meditation ſtrive rather for graces than for gifts, for affections in the way of virtue more than the overflowings of ſenſible devotion: and therefore if thou findeſt any thing by which thou mayeſt be better, though thy ſpirit do not actually rejoice or find any guſt or reliſh in the manducation, yet chuſe it greedily. For although the chief end of meditation be affection, and not determinations intellectual; yet there is choice to be had of the affections, and care muſt be taken that the affections be deſires of virtue, or repudiations and averſions from ſomething criminal; not joys and tranſportations ſpiritual, comforts and complacencies, for they are no part of our duty. Sometimes they are encouragements, and ſometimes rewards: ſometimes they depend upon habitude and diſpoſition of body, and ſeem great matters when they have little in them, and are more bodily than ſpiritual, like the gift of tears, and yearning of the bowels; and ſometimes they are illuſions and temptations, at which if the ſoul ſtoops and be greedy after, they may prove like Hippomenes's golden apples to Atalanta, retard our courſe, and poſſibly do ſome hazard to the whole race. And this will be nearer reduced to practice, if we conſider the variety of matter which is fitted to the meditation in ſeveral ſtates of men travelling towards heaven.

15. FOR the firſt beginners in religion are imployed in the maſtering of their firſt appetites, caſting out their devils, exterminating all evil cuſtoms, leſſening the proclivity of habits, and countermanding the too great forwardneſs of vicious inclinations: and this, which divines call the purgative way, is wholly ſpent in actions of repentance, mortification, and ſelf-denial. And therefore if a penitent perſon ſnatches at comforts, or the taſtes of ſenſible devotion, his repentance is too delicate, it is but a rod of roſes and jeſſamine.

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[a] *Cant.* iii. 5.

ſamine. If God ſees the ſpirit broken all in pieces, and that it needs a little of the oil of gladneſs for its ſupport and reſtitution to the capacities of its duty, he will give it: but this is not to be deſigned, nor ſnatched at in the meditation. Tears of joy are not good expreſſions nor inſtruments of repentance; *we muſt not gather grapes from thorns, nor figs from thiſtles:* no refreſhments to be looked for here, but ſuch only as are neceſſary for ſupport; and when God ſees they are, let not us trouble our ſelves, he will provide them. But the meditations which are prompt to this purgative way and practice of firſt beginners are not apt to produce delicacies, but in the ſequel and conſequent of it. *Afterwards it brings forth the pleaſant fruit of righteouſneſs,* but *for the preſent it hath no joy in it;* no joy of ſenſe, though much ſatisfaction to reaſon. And ſuch are meditations of the fall of angels and man, the ejection of them from heaven, of our parents from paradiſe, the horror and obliquity of ſin, the wrath of God, the ſeverity of his anger, mortification of our body and ſpirit, ſelf-denial, the croſs of Chriſt, death and hell, and judgment, the terrors of an evil conſcience, the inſecurities of a ſinner, the unreaſonableneſs of ſin, the troubles of repentance, the worm and ſting of a burthened ſpirit, the difficulties of rooting out evil habits, and the utter abolition of ſin. If theſe nettles bear honey, we may fill our ſelves; but ſuch ſweetneſſes ſpoil the operations of theſe bitter potions. Here therefore let your addreſſes to God and your mental prayers be affectionate deſires of pardon, humble conſiderations of our ſelves, thoughts of revenge againſt our crimes, deſigns of mortification, indefatigable ſolicitations for mercy, expreſſes of ſhame and confuſion of face: and he meditates beſt in the purgative way, that makes theſe affections moſt operative and high.

16. AFTER our firſt ſtep is taken, and the punitive part of repentance is reſolved on, and begun, and put forward into good degrees of progreſs, we then enter into the illuminative way of religion, and ſet upon the acquiſt of virtues, and the purchaſe of ſpiritual graces; and therefore our meditations are to be proportioned to the deſign of that employment: ſuch as are conſiderations of the life of Jeſus, examples of ſaints, reaſons of virtue, means of acquiring them, deſignations of proper exerciſes to every pious habit, the eight beatitudes, the gifts and fruits of the holy Ghoſt, the promiſes of the goſpel, the attributes of God as they are revealed to repreſent God to be infinite, and to make us religious, the rewards of heaven, excellent and ſelect ſentences of holy perſons, to be as incentives of piety. Theſe are the proper matter for proficients in religion. But then the affections producible from theſe are love of virtue, deſires to imitate the holy Jeſus, affections to ſaints and holy perſons, conformity of choice, ſubordination to God's will, election of the ways of virtue, ſatisfaction of the underſtanding in the ways of religion, and reſolutions to purſue them in the midſt of all diſcomforts and perſecutions: and our mental prayers or intercourſe with God, which are the preſent emanations of our meditations, muſt be in order to theſe affections and productions from thoſe. And in all theſe yet there is ſafety and piety, and no ſeeking of our ſelves, but deſigns of virtue in juſt reaſon and duty to God, and for his ſake, that is, for his commandment. And in all theſe particulars, if there be ſuch a ſterility of ſpirit that there be no end ſerved but of ſpiritual profit, we are never the worſe: all that God requires of us is, that we will live well, and repent in juſt meaſure and right manner; and he that doeth ſo, hath meditated well.

17. FROM hence if a pious ſoul paſſes to affections of greater ſublimity, and intimate and more immediate, abſtracted and immaterial love, it is well: only remember that the love God requires of us is an operative, material, and communicative love: *If ye love me, keep my commandments.* So that ſtill a good life is the effect of the ſublimeſt meditation: and if we can make our duty ſure behind us, aſcend up as high into the mountain as you can; ſo your aſcent may conſiſt with the ſecurities of your perſon, the condition of infirmity, and the intereſts of your duty. According to the ſaying of [e] Ildefonſus: "Our empty "ſaying of lauds, and reciting verſes in honour of his name, pleaſe not God ſo well as the "imitation of him does advantage to us; and a devout imitator pleaſes the ſpouſe better "than an idle panegyriſt." Let your work be like his, your duty in imitation of his precept and example, and then ſing praiſes as you liſt: no heart is large enough, no voice pleaſant enough, no life long enough, nothing but an eternity of duration and a beatifical ſtate can do it well. And therefore holy David joins them both, [f] *Whoſo offereth me thanks and praiſe, he honoureth me; and to him that ordereth his converſation aright, I will ſhew* *the*

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[e] Serm. 1. de aſſumpt.

Καὶ ἡ τῶν προσφερομένων πολυτέλεια τιμὴ εἰς Θεὸν οὐ γίνεται, εἰ μὴ μετὰ τοῦ ἐνθέου φρονήματος προσάγοιτο. δῶρα γὰρ καὶ θυηπολίαι ἀφρόνων, πυρὸς τροφή· καὶ ἀναθήματα, ἱεροσύλοις χορηγία· τὸ δὲ ἔνθεον φρόνημα διαρκῶς ἡδρασμένον συνάπτει Θεῷ. *Hierocl.*

[f] *Pſal.* l. 23.

the ſalvation of God. All thanks and praiſe without a right-ordered converſation are but the echo of religion, a voice and no ſubſtance: but if thoſe praiſes be ſung by a heart righteous and obedient, that is *ſinging with the ſpirit* and *ſinging with underſtanding*, that is the muſic that God delights in.

18. SIXTHLY, But let me obſerve and preſs this caution: It is a miſtake, and not a little dangerous, when people religious and forward ſhall too promptly, frequently and nearly ſpend their thoughts in conſideration of divine excellencies. God hath ſhewn thee merit enough to ſpend all thy ſtock of love upon him in the characters of his power, the book of the creature, the great tables of his mercy, and the lines of his juſtice: we have cauſe enough to praiſe his excellencies in what we feel of him, and are refreſhed with his influence, and ſee his beauties in reflexion, though we do not put our eyes out with ſtaring upon his face. To behold the glories and perfections of God with a more direct intuition, is the privilege of angels, who yet cover their faces in the brightneſs of his preſence: it is only permitted to us to conſider the back parts of God. And therefore thoſe ſpeculations are too bold and imprudent addreſſes, and miniſter to danger more than to religion, when we paſs away from the direct ſtudies of virtue, and thoſe thoughts of God which are the freer and ſafer communications of the deity, which are the means of intercourſe and relation between him and us, to thoſe conſiderations concerning God which are metaphyſical and remote, the formal objects of adoration and wonder, rather than of virtue and temperate diſcourſes. For God in ſcripture never revealed any of his abſtracted perfections and remoter and myſterious diſtances, but with a purpoſe to produce fear in us, and therefore to chide the temerity and boldneſs of too familiar and nearer intercourſe.

19. TRUE it is, that every thing we ſee or can conſider repreſents ſome perfections of God: But this I mean, that no man ſhould conſider too much and meditate too frequently upon the immediate perfections of God as it were by way of intuition, but as they are manifeſted in the creatures and in the miniſteries of virtue: and alſo whenever God's perfections be matter of meditation, we ſhould not aſcend upwards unto him, but deſcend upon our ſelves, like fruitful vapours drawn up into a cloud deſcending ſpeedily into a ſhower; that the effect of the conſideration be a deſign of good life; and that our loves to God be not ſpent in abſtractions, but in good works and humble obedience. The other kind of love may deceive us; and therefore ſo may ſuch kind of conſiderations which are its inſtruments. But this I am now more particularly to conſider.

20. FOR beyond this I have deſcribed, there is a degree of meditation ſo exalted, that it changes the very name, and is called contemplation, and it is in the unitive way of religion, that is, it conſiſts in unions and adherences to God. It is a prayer of quietneſs and ſilence, and a meditation extraordinary, a diſcourſe without variety, a viſion and intuition of divine excellencies, an immediate entry into an orb of light, and a reſolution of all our faculties into ſweetneſſes, affections and ſtarings upon the divine beauty; and is carried on to ecſtaſies, raptures, ſuſpenſions, elevations, abſtractions, and apprehenſions beatifical. In all the courſe of virtuous meditation the ſoul is like a virgin invited to make a matrimonial contract, it enquires the condition of the perſon, his eſtate and diſpoſition, and other circumſtances of amability and deſire: But when ſhe is ſatisfied with theſe enquiries, and hath choſen her huſband, ſhe no more conſiders particulars, but is moved by his voice and his geſture, and runs to his entertainment and fruition, and ſpends her ſelf wholly in affections, not to obtain, but enjoy his love.

Thus it is ſaid.

21. BUT this is a thing not to be diſcourſed of, but felt. And although in other ſciences the terms muſt firſt be known, and then the rules and concluſions ſcientifical; here it is otherwiſe: for firſt the whole experience of this muſt be obtained, before we can ſo much as know what it is; and the end muſt be acquired firſt, the concluſion before the premiſes. They that pretend to theſe heights call them the ſecrets of the kingdom: but they are ſuch which no man can deſcribe; ſuch which God hath not revealed in the publication of the goſpel; ſuch for the acquiring of which there are no means preſcribed, and to which no man is obliged, and which are not in any man's power to obtain; ſuch which it is not lawful to pray for or deſire, and concerning which we ſhall never be called to an account.

22. INDEED when perſons have been long ſoftned with the continual droppings of religion, and their ſpirits made timorous and apt for impreſſion by the aſſiduity of prayer,

and perpetual alarms of death, and the continual dyings of mortification; the fancy, which is a very great inſtrument of devotion, is kept continually warm, and in a diſpoſition and aptitude to take fire, and to flame out in great aſcents: and when they ſuffer tranſportations beyond the burthens and ſupport of reaſon, they ſuffer they know not what, and call it what they pleaſe; and other pious people that hear talk of it, admire that devotion which is ſo eminent and beatified; (for ſo they eſteem it) and ſo they come to be called raptures and ecſtaſies, which even amongſt the Apoſtles were ſo ſeldom, that they were never ſpoke of. For thoſe viſions, raptures of St. Stephen, [g] St. Paul, St. Peter, and St. John, were not pretended to be of this kind, not exceſſes of religion, but prophetical and intuitive revelations to great and ſignificant purpoſes, ſuch as may be and are deſcribed in ſtory; but theſe other cannot. For ſo Caſſian reports and commends a ſaying of Antony the Eremite, "That it is not a perfect prayer in which the votary does "either underſtand himſelf or the prayer;" meaning, that perſons eminently religious were *Divina patientes*, as Dionyſius Areopagita ſaid of his maſter Hierotheus, patics in devotion, ſuffering raviſhments of ſenſes, tranſported beyond the uſes of humanity into the ſuburbs of beatifical apprehenſions. But whether or no this be any thing beſides a too intenſe and indiſcreet preſſure of the faculties of the ſoul to inconveniencies of underſtanding, or elſe a credulous, buſy and untamed fancy, they that think beſt of it cannot give a certainty. There are and have been ſome religious who have acted madneſs, and pretended inſpirations; and when theſe are deſtitute of a prophetic ſpirit, if they reſolve to ſerve themſelves upon the pretences of it, they are diſpoſed to the imitation, if not to the ſufferings of madneſs: and it would be a great folly to call ſuch *Dei plenos*, full of God, who are no better than phantaſtic and mad people[h].

23. THIS we are ſure of, that many illuſions have come in the likeneſs of viſions, and abſurd fancies under the pretence of raptures; and what ſome have called the ſpirit of prophecy hath been the ſpirit of lying, and contemplation hath been nothing but melancholy, and unnatural lengths and ſtillneſs of prayer hath been a meer dream and hypochondriacal devotion, and hath ended in pride or deſpair, or ſome ſottiſh and dangerous temptation. It is reported of Heron the Monk, that having lived a retired, mortified and religious life for many years together, at laſt he came to that habit of auſterity or ſingularity, that he refuſed the feſtival refection and freer meals of Eaſter and other ſolemnities, that he might do more eminently than the reſt, and ſpend his time in greater abſtractions and contemplations. But the devil, taking advantage of the weakneſs of his melancholic and unſettled ſpirit, gave him a tranſportation and an ecſtaſy in which he fancied himſelf to have attained ſo great perfection, that he was dear to God as a crowned martyr, and angels would be his ſecurity for indemnity, though he threw himſelf to the bottom of a well. He obeyed his fancy and temptation, did ſo, bruiſed himſelf to death, and died poſſeſſed with a perſuaſion of the verity of that ecſtaſy and tranſportation.

24. I WILL not ſay that all violences and extravagances of a religious fancy are illuſions; but I ſay that they are all unnatural, not hallowed by the warrant of a revelation, nothing reaſonable, nothing ſecure. I am not ſure that they ever conſiſt with humility; but it is confeſſed that they are often produced by ſelf-love, arrogancy, and the great opinion others have of us. I will not judge the condition of thoſe perſons who are ſaid to have ſuffered theſe extraordinaries, for I know not the circumſtances, or cauſes, or attendants, or the effects, or whether the ſtories be true that make report of them: but I ſhall only adviſe, that we follow the intimation of our bleſſed Saviour, that *we ſit down in the loweſt place, till the maſter of the feaſt comes and bids us ſit up higher.* If we entertain the inward man in the purgative and illuminative way, that is, in actions of repentance, virtue and preciſe duty, that is the ſureſt way of uniting us to God, whilſt it is done by faith and obedience; and that alſo is love: and in theſe peace and ſafety dwell. And after we have done our work, it is not diſcretion in a ſervant to haſten to his meal,

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[g] *Acts* x. 10. ἐπέπεσεν ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἔκστασις. *and Chapter* xi. 5. καὶ εἶδον ἐν ἐκστάσει ὅραμα. Raptus vidit viſionem dum oraverat.

——— Mentémque priorem
Expulit, atque hominem toto ſibi cedere juſſit
Pectore——*quod de Apolline dixit* Lucanus.

Qualis erat viſio ſive ecſtaſis Balaami, qui Viſionem Omnipotentis vidit, excidens, ſed retectis oculis, *Num.* xxiv. 4, 16.

[h] Μανίας δέ γε εἴδη δύο· ἡ μὲν ὑπὸ νοσημάτων ἀνθρωπίνων, ἡ δὲ ὑπὸ θείας ἐξαλλαγῆς. *Plato* in Phædr.

Τῆς δὲ θείας, τεττάρων θεῶν τέτταρα μέρη διελόμενοι· μαντικὴν μὲν ἐπίπνοιαν Ἀπόλλωνος θέντες, Διονύσου δὲ τελεστικὴν, Μουσῶν δ' αὖ ποιητικὴν, τετάρτην Ἔρωτος, &c. ibid. Ἔγνων οὖν αὖ περὶ τῶν ποιητῶν ἐν ὀλίγῳ τοῦτο· ὅτι οὐ σοφίᾳ ποιοῖεν, ἃ ποιοῖεν, ἀλλὰ φύσει τινὶ, καὶ ἐνθουσιάζοντες, ὥσπερ οἱ θεομάντεις καὶ οἱ χρησμῳδοί· καὶ γὰρ οὗτοι λέγουσι μὲν πολλὰ, ἴσασι δὲ οὐδὲν ὧν λέγουσι. *Plato* in Apol.

and ſnatch at the refreſhment of viſions, unions and abſtractions; but firſt we muſt gird our ſelves, and wait upon the maſter, and not ſit down our ſelves, till we all be called to the great ſupper of the lamb.

25. IT was therefore an excellent deſire of St. Bernard, who was as likely as any to have ſuch altitudes of ſpeculation, if God had really diſpenſed them to perſons holy, fantaſtic and religious; "I pray God grant me peace of ſpirit, joy in the Holy Ghoſt, to compaſſionate others in the midſt of my mirth, to be charitable in ſimplicity, to rejoice with "them that rejoice, and to mourn with them that mourn; and with theſe I ſhall be content. "Other exaltations of devotion I leave to Apoſtles and apoſtolic men: the high hills are for the "harts and climbing goats, the ſtony rocks and the receſſes of the earth for the conies." It is more healthful and nutritive to dig the earth and to eat of her fruits, than to ſtare upon the greateſt glories of the heavens, and live upon the beams of the ſun. So unſatisfying a thing is rapture and tranſportation to the ſoul; it often diſtracts the faculties, but ſeldom does advantage piety, and is full of danger in the greateſt of its luſtre. If ever a man be more in love with God by ſuch inſtruments, or more endeared to virtue, or made more ſevere and watchful in his repentance, it is an excellent grace and gift of God: but then this is nothing but the joys and comfort of ordinary meditation. Thoſe extraordinary, as they have no ſenſe in them, ſo are not pretended to be inſtruments of virtue, but are like Jonathan's arrows ſhot beyond it, to ſignify the danger the man is in towards whom ſuch arrows are ſhot: but if the perſon be made unquiet, unconſtant, proud, puſillanimous, of high opinion, pertinacious and confident in uncertain judgments, or deſperate; it is certain they are temptations and illuſions. So that, as all our duty conſiſts in the ways of repentance, and acqueſt of virtue; ſo there reſts all our ſafety, and by conſequence all our ſolid joys: and this is the effect of ordinary, pious and regular meditations.

26. IF I miſtake not, there is a temptation like this under another name, amongſt perſons whoſe religion hath leſs diſcourſe and more fancy; and that is a familiarity with God: which indeed, if it were rightly underſtood, is an affection conſequent to the illuminative way, that is, an act or an effect of the virtue of religion and devotion, which conſiſts in prayers and addreſſes to God, lauds and euchariſts and hymns, and confidence of coming to the throne of grace upon aſſurance of God's veracity and goodneſs infinite. So that familiarity with God, which is an affection of friendſhip, is the intercourſe of giving and receiving bleſſings and graces reſpectively: and it is produced by a holy life, or the being in the ſtate of grace, and is a part of every man's inheritance that is a friend of God. But when familiarity with God ſhall be eſteemed a privilege of ſingular and eminent perſons not communicated to all the faithful, and is thought to be an admiſſion to a nearer intercourſe of ſecrecy with God, it is an effect of pride, and a miſtake in judgment concerning the very ſame thing which the old divines call the unitive way, if themſelves that claim it underſtood the terms of art, and the conſequents of their own intentions.

27. ONLY I ſhall obſerve one circumſtance; That familiarity with God is nothing elſe but an admiſſion to be of God's family, the admiſſion of a ſervant or a ſon in minority, and implies obedience, duty and fear on our parts; care and providence and love on God's part. And it is not the familiarity of ſons, but the impudence of proud equals, to expreſs this pretended privilege in even, unmannerly and unreverent addreſſes and diſcourſes. And it is a ſure rule, that whatſoever heights of piety, union or familiarity any man pretends to, it is of the devil, unleſs the greater the pretence be, the greater alſo be the humility of the man. The higheſt flames are the moſt tremulous; and ſo are the moſt holy and eminently religious perſons more full of awefulneſs, and fear, and modeſty and humility. So that in true divinity and right ſpeaking there is no ſuch thing as the unitive way of religion, ſave only in the effects of duty, obedience, and the expreſſes of the preciſe virtue of religion. Meditations in order to a good life, let them be as exalted as the capacity of the perſon and ſubject will endure, up to the height of contemplation: but if contemplation comes to be a diſtinct thing, and ſomething beſides or beyond a diſtinct degree of virtuous meditation, it is loſt to all ſenſe, and religion, and prudence. *Let no man be haſty to eat of the fruits of paradiſe before his time.*

28. AND now I ſhall not need to enumerate the bleſſed fruits of holy meditation: for it is a Grace that is inſtrumental to all effects, to the production of all virtues, and the extinction of all vices; and by conſequence, the inhabitation of the Holy Ghoſt within us is the natural or proper emanation from the frequent exerciſe of this duty: only it hath ſomething particularly excellent, beſides its general influence. For meditation is that part of prayer which knits the ſoul to its right object, and confirms and makes actual

our intention and devotion. Meditation is the tongue of the ſoul, and the language of our ſpirit; and our wandering thoughts in prayer are but the neglects of meditation, and receſſions from that duty; and according as we neglect meditation, ſo are our prayers imperfect, meditation being the ſoul of prayer, and the intention of our ſpirit. But in all other things meditation is the inſtrument and conveyance: it habituates our affections to heaven; it hath permanent content; it produces conſtancy of purpoſe, deſpiſing of things below, inflamed deſires of virtue, love of God, ſelf-denial, humility of underſtanding, and univerſal correction of our life and manners.

The PRAYER.

Holy and eternal Jeſus, whoſe whole life and doctrine was a perpetual ſermon of holy life, a treaſure of wiſdom, and a repoſitory of divine materials for meditation, give me grace to underſtand, diligence and attention to conſider, care to lay up, and carefulneſs to reduce to practiſe all thoſe actions, diſcourſes and pious leſſons and intimations by which thou didſt expreſly teach, or tacitly imply, or myſteriouſly ſignify our duty. Let my underſtanding become as ſpiritual in its employment and purpoſes as it is immaterial in its nature: fill my memory as a veſſel of election with remembrances and notions highly compunctive, and greatly incentive of all the parts of ſanctity. Let thy holy ſpirit dwell in my ſoul, inſtructing my knowledge, ſanctifying my thoughts, guiding my affections, directing my will in the choice of virtue; that it may be the great employment of my life to meditate in thy law, to ſtudy thy preceptive will, to underſtand even the niceties and circumſtantials of my duty, that ignorance may neither occaſion a ſin, nor become a puniſhment. Take from me all vanity of ſpirit, lightneſs of fancy, curioſity and impertinency of enquiry, illuſions of the devil, and fantaſtick deceptions. Let my thoughts be as my religion, plain, honeſt, pious, ſimple, prudent and charitable, of great employment and force to the production of virtues, and extermination of vice; but ſuffering no tranſportations of ſenſe and vanity, nothing greater than the capacities of my ſoul, nothing that may miniſter to any intemperances of ſpirit: but let me be wholly inebriated with love, and that love wholly ſpent in doing ſuch actions as beſt pleaſe thee in the conditions of my infirmity, and the ſecurities of humility, till thou ſhalt pleaſe to draw the curtain, and reveal thy interiour beauties in the kingdom of thine eternal glories: which grant, for thy mercies ſake, O holy and eternal Jeſu. Amen.

SECT. VI.

Of the Death of the Holy Innocents, or the Babes of Bethlehem, *and the Flight of JESUS into* Egypt.

1. ALL this while Herod waited for the return of the wiſe men, that they might give directions where the child did lie, and his ſword might find him out with a certain and direct execution. But *when he ſaw that he was mocked of the wiſe men, he was exceeding wroth.* For it now began to deſerve his trouble, when his purpoſes which were moſt ſecret began to be contradicted and diverted with a prevention, as if they were reſiſted by an all-ſeeing and almighty providence. He began to ſuſpect the hand of heaven was in it, and ſaw there was nothing for his purpoſes to be acted, unleſs he could diſſolve the golden chain of predeſtination. Herod believed the divine oracles, foretelling that a King ſhould be born in Bethlehem; and yet his ambition had made him ſo ſtupid, that he attempted to cancel the decree of heaven. For if he did not believe the prophecies, why was he troubled? if he did believe them, how could he poſſibly hinder that event which God had foretold himſelf would certainly bring to paſs?

2. AND therefore ſince God already had hindered him from the executions of a diſtinguiſhing ſword, he reſolved to ſend a ſword of indiſcrimination and confuſion, hoping that if he killed all the babes of Bethlehem, this young king's reign alſo ſhould ſoon determine. *He therefore ſent forth and ſlew all the children that were in Bethlehem and all the coaſts thereof, from two years old and under, according to the time which he had diligently enquired of the wiſe men.* For this execution was in the [a] beginning of the ſecond year after Chriſt's nativity, as in all probability we gueſs; not at the two years end, as ſome ſuppoſe: becauſe as his malice was ſubtle, ſo he intended it ſhould be ſecure; and though he had been diligent in his enquiry, and was near the time in his computation, yet he that was never ſparing of the lives of others, would now, to ſecure his kingdom, rather over-act his ſeverity for ſome months, than by doing execution but juſt to the tittle of his account, hazard the eſcaping of the Meſſias.

3. THIS execution was ſad, cruel and univerſal: no abatements made for the dire ſhriekings of the mothers; no tender-hearted ſoldier was employed; no hard-hearted perſon was ſoftned by the weeping eyes and pity-begging looks of thoſe mothers, that wondered how it was poſſible any perſon ſhould hurt their pretty ſucklings: no connivances there, no protections, or friendſhips, or conſideration, or indulgences; but Herod cauſed that his own child, which was at nurſe in the coaſts of Bethlehem, ſhould bleed to death: which made Auguſtus Cæſar to ſay, that "in Herod's houſe it were better to be a hog than a child [b];" becauſe the cuſtom of the nation did ſecure a hog from Herod's knife, but no religion could ſecure his child. The ſword being thus made ſharp by Herod's commiſſion, kill'd 14000 pretty babes, as the Greeks in their calendar, and the Abyſſines of Æthiopia do commemorate in their offices of liturgy. For Herod, crafty and malicious, that is, perfectly Tyrant [c], had cauſed all the children to be gathered together: which the credulous mothers (ſuppoſing it had been to take account of their age and number, in order to ſome taxing) hindred not, but unwittingly ſuffered themſelves and their babes to be betrayed to an irremediable butchery.

4. *THEN was fulfilled that which was ſpoken by Jeremy the prophet, ſaying, Lamentation and weeping, and great mourning; Rachel weeping for her children, and would not be comforted.* All the ſynonyma's of ſadneſs were little enough to expreſs this great weeping, when 14000 mothers in one day ſaw their pretty babes pouring forth their blood into that boſom whence not long before they had ſucked milk; and inſtead of thoſe pretty ſmiles which uſed to entertain the fancy and dear affections of their mothers, nothing but affrighting ſhrieks, and then ghaſtly looks. The mourning was great, like *the mourning in the valley of Hinnom, and there was no comforter:* their ſorrow was too big to be cured, till it ſhould lie down alone, and reſt with its own wearineſs.

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[a] Sic ait Gloſſa ordinaria; ſed *Onuphrius* in Faſtis ait hanc cædem biennio poſt Chriſtum natum contigiſſe.

[b] *Macrob.* Saturnal. l. 2. cap. 4.

[c] Qualis apud Lucianum deſcribitur Tyrannus. Ἐκεῖνος ἦν ὁ τὴν φρουρὰν κρατύνων, ὁ τοὺς τυραννουμένους ἐκκόπτων, ὁ τοὺς ἐπιβουλεύοντας φοβῶν, ὁ τοὺς ἐφήβους ἀνασπῶν, ὁ ἐνυβρίζων τοῖς γάμοις· ἐκείνῳ αἱ παρθένοι ἀνήγοντο· καὶ εἴ τινες σφαγαὶ, καὶ εἴ τινες φυγαὶ, καὶ χρημάτων ἀφαιρέσεις, καὶ βάσανοι, καὶ ὕβρεις, &c.

Pag. 60.

Then **Herod** *when he saw that he was mocked of the Wise M*
slew all the **Children** *that were in* **Bethlehem** *and in all the C*
according to the time that he had diligently enquired of t

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Sartor fecit Londini.

e Men, was exceeding wroth, and sent forth, and
he Coasts thereof, from two Years old and under,
of the Wise Men. St. Matth. Chap. 2d V. 16th

5. BUT the malice of Herod went alſo into the hill-country, and hearing that of John the ſon of Zachary great things were ſpoken, by which he was deſigned to a great miniſtry about this young prince, he attempted in him alſo to reſcind the prophecies, and ſent a meſſenger of death towards him. But the mother's care had been early with him, and ſent him into deſart places, where he continued *till the time appointed of his manifeſtation unto Iſrael.* But as the children of Bethlehem died in the place of Chriſt, ſo did the father of the Baptiſt die for his child. For Herod ſlew Zachary between the temple and the altar[d], becauſe he refuſed to betray his ſon to the fury of that rabid bear. Though ſome perſons very eminent among the ſtars of the primitive church[e] report a tradition, that a place being ſeparated in the temple for virgins, Zachary ſuffered the mother of our Lord to abide there after the birth of her holy ſon, affirming her ſtill to be a virgin; and that for this reaſon, not Herod, but the ſcribes and phariſees did kill Zachary.

6. TERTULLIAN[f] reports, that the blood of Zachary had ſo beſmeared the ſtones of the pavement, which was the altar on which the good old prieſt was ſacrificed, that no art or induſtry could waſh the tincture out, the dye and guilt being both indelible; as if, becauſe God did intend to exact of that nation *all the blood of righteous perſons from Abel to Zacharias*, who was the laſt of the martyrs of the ſynagogue, he would leave a character of their guilt in their eyes to upbraid their irreligion, cruelty, and infidelity. Some there are who affirm theſe words of our bleſſed Saviour not to relate to any Zachary who had been already ſlain; but to be a prophecy of the laſt of all the martyrs of the Jews, who ſhould be ſlain immediately before the deſtruction of the laſt temple, and the diſſolution of the Nation. Certain it is, that ſuch a Zachary the ſon of Baruch (if we may believe Joſephus[g]) was ſlain in the middle of the temple, a little before it was deſtroyed: and it is agreeable to the nature of the prophecy and reproof here made by our bleſſed Saviour, that [*from Abel to Zachary*] ſhould take in *all the righteous blood* from firſt to laſt, till the iniquity was compleat: and it is not imaginable that the blood of our bleſſed Lord and of S. James their biſhop (for whoſe death many of themſelves thought God deſtroyed their city) ſhould be left out of the account, which yet would certainly be left out, if any other Zachary ſhould be meant than he whom they laſt ſlew. And in proportion to this, Cyprian de Valera expounds that which we read in the paſt tenſe, to ſignify the future, ye ſlew, i. e. ſhall ſlay; according to the ſtyle often uſed by prophets, and as the aoriſt of an uncertain ſignification will bear. But the firſt great inſtance of the divine vengeance for theſe executions was upon Herod, who in very few years after was ſmitten of God with ſo many plagues and tortures, that himſelf alone ſeemed like an hoſpital of the *incurabili*. For he was tormented with a ſoft ſlow fire, like that of burning iron or the cinders of yew, in his body; in his bowels with intolerable cholics and ulcers; in his natural parts with worms; in his feet with gout; in his nerves with convulſions; difficulty of breathing: and out of divers parts of his body iſſued out ſo impure and ulcerous a ſteam, that the loathſomeneſs, pain and indignation made him once to ſnatch a knife with purpoſe to have killed himſelf, but that he was prevented by a Nephew of his that ſtood there in his attendance.

7. BUT as the fleſh of beaſts grows callous by ſtripes and the preſſures of the yoke; ſo did the heart of Herod by the loads of divine vengeance. God began his hell here, and the pains of hell never made any man leſs impious. For Herod perceiving that he muſt now die[h], firſt put to death his ſon Antipater, under pretence that he would have poiſoned him: and that the laſt ſcene of his life might for pure malice and exalted ſpite out-do all the reſt, becauſe he believed the Jewiſh nation would rejoice at his death, he aſſembled all the nobles of the people, and put them in priſon, giving in charge to his ſiſter Salome, that when he was expiring his laſt, all the nobility ſhould be ſlain, that his death might be lamented with a perfect and univerſal ſorrow.

8. BUT God, that brings to nought the counſels of wicked princes, turned the deſign againſt the intendment of Herod: for when he was dead, and could not call his ſiſter to account for diſobeying his moſt bloody and unrighteous commands, ſhe releaſed all the impriſoned and deſpairing gentlemen, and made the day of her brother's death a perfect Jubilee, a day of joy, ſuch as was that when the nation was delivered from the violence of Haman in the days of Purim.

9. AND all this while God had provided a ſanctuary for the holy child Jeſus. For God, ſeeing the ſecret purpoſes of blood which Herod had, ſent his *Angel*[i], *who appeared to Joſeph*

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[d] Sic *Chryſoſt.* & *Petrus Martyr* Epiſc. Alexand. *Niceph.* & *Cedrenus.*

[e] Sic aiunt *Origen.* tract. 23. in Evang. Matth. S. *Baſil.* homil. de Humana Chriſti generatione, *Nyſſen.* in Natali Chriſti, *Cyril.* adv. Anthropomorphitas.

[f] In Scorpiaco, cap. 8.

[g] *Lib.* v. de bello, cap. 1.

[h] Δειναὶ γὰρ ϗ χοῖται ἀποιχομένοιο λέοντος.

[i] Matth. 2. 13.

Joſeph in a dream, ſaying, ariſe, and take the young child and his mother, and flie into Egypt, and be thou there until I bring thee word: for Herod will ſeek the young child to deſtroy him. Then he aroſe, and took the young child and his mother by night, and departed into Egypt. And they made their firſt abode in Hermopolis in the country of Thebais[k]: whither when they firſt arrived, the child Jeſus being by deſign or providence carried into a temple, all the ſtatues of the Idol-gods fell down, like Dagon at the preſence of the Ark, and ſuffered their timely and juſt diſſolution and diſhonour; according to the prophecy of Iſaiah[l], *Behold, the Lord ſhall come into Egypt, and the idols of Egypt ſhall be moved at his preſence.* And in the life of the prophet Jeremy, written by Epiphanius, it is reported, "That he "told the Egyptian prieſts, that then their idols ſhould be broken in pieces, when a holy "virgin with her child ſhould enter into their country." Which prophecy poſſibly might be the cauſe that the Egyptians did, beſides their vanities, worſhip alſo an infant in a manger, and a virgin in her bed.

10. FROM Hermopolis to Maturea went theſe holy pilgrims in purſuance of their ſafety and proviſions, where it was reported they dwelt in a garden of balſam, till Joſeph being at the end of ſeven years (as it is commonly believed) aſcertained by an angel of the death of Herod, and commanded to return to the land of Iſrael, he was obedient to the heavenly viſion, and returned. But hearing that Archelaus did reign in the place of his father, and knowing that the cruelty and ambition of Herod was hereditary or intail'd upon Archelaus, being alſo warned to turn aſide into the parts of Galilee, (which was of a diſtinct juriſdiction, govern'd indeed by one of Herod's ſons, but not by Archelaus,) thither he diverted, and there that holy family remained in the city of Nazareth; whence the holy child had the appellative of a Nazarene.

Ad SECT. VI.

Conſiderations upon the Death of the Innocents, and the flight of the Holy JESUS *into* Egypt.

1. HErod having called the wiſe men, and received information of their deſign, and the circumſtances of the child, pretended religion too, and deſired them to bring him word when they had found the babe, that he might come and worſhip him: meaning to make a ſacrifice of him, to whom he ſhould pay his adoration; and inſtead of inveſting the young prince with a royal purple, he would have ſtained his ſwadling-bands with his blood. It is ever dangerous when a wicked prince pretends religion; his deſign is then fouleſt, by how much it needs to put on a fairer out-ſide; but it was an early policy in the world, and it concerned men's intereſt to ſeem religious, when they thought that to be ſo was an abatement of great deſigns. When Jezabel deſigned the robbing and deſtroying Naboth, ſhe ſent to the elders to proclaim a faſt. For the external and viſible remonſtrances of religion leave in the ſpirits of men a great reputation of the ſeeming perſon: and therefore they will not ruſh into a furious ſentence againſt his actions, at leaſt not judge them with prejudice againſt the man towards whom they are ſo fairly prepared; but do ſome violence to their own underſtanding, and either diſbelieve their own reaſon, or excuſe the fact, or think it but an error, or a leſs crime, or the incidences of humanity; or however, are ſo long in decreeing againſt him, whom they think to be religious, that the rumour is abated, or the ſtream of indignation is diverted by other laborious arts intervening before our zeal is kindled; and ſo the perſon is unjudged, or at leaſt the deſign ſecured.

2. BUT in this, human policy was exceedingly infatuated. And though Herod had truſted his deſign to no keeper but himſelf, and had pretended fair, having religion for the word, and called the wiſe men privately, and inſtructed them with no employment but a civil requeſt, an account of the ſucceſs of their journey, which they had no reaſon or deſire to conceal: yet his heart was opened to the eye of heaven, and the ſun was not more viſible than his dark purpoſe was to God, and it ſucceeded accordingly: the child was ſent away, the wiſe men warned not to return, Herod was mocked and enraged; and

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[k] *Euſeb.* de Demonſtr. *c.* 20. *S. Athanaſ.* lib. *de Incarnat. Verbi.* Palladius *in Vita* Apollon.

[l] *Iſa* xix. 1. *Dorotheus* in Synopſi, *Pallad.* in vita Apollon.

ſo his craft became fooliſh and vain. And ſo are all counſels intended againſt God, or any thing of which he himſelf hath undertaken the protection. For although we underſtand not the reaſons of ſecurity, becauſe we ſee not that admirable concentring of infinite things in the divine providence, whereby God brings his purpoſes to act by ways unlooked for, and ſometimes contradictory: yet the public and perpetual experience of the world hath given continual demonſtrations, that all evil counſels have come to naught; that the ſucceeding of an impious deſign is no argument that the man is proſperous; that the curſe is then ſureſt, when his fortune ſpreads the largeſt; that the contradiction and impoſſibilities of deliverance to pious perſons are but an opportunity and engagement for God to do wonders, and to glorify his power, and to exalt his mercy, by the inſtances of miraculous or extraordinary events. And as the afflictions happening to good men are alleviated by the ſupport of God's good ſpirit; and enduring them here, are but conſignations to an honourable amends hereafter: ſo the ſucceeding proſperities of fortunate impiety, when they meet with puniſhment in the next or in the third age, or in the deletion of a people five ages after, are the greateſt arguments of God's providence, who keeps wrath in ſtore, and forgets not to do judgment for all them that are oppreſſed with wrong. It was laid up with God, and was perpetually in his eye, being the matter of a laſting, durable and unremitted anger.

3. BUT God had care of the holy child; he ſent his angel to warn Joſeph with the babe and his mother to fly into Egypt. Joſeph and Mary inſtantly ariſe, and without enquiry how they ſhall live there, or when they ſhall return, or how be ſecured, or what accommodations they ſhall have in their journey, at the ſame hour of the night begin the pilgrimage with the chearfulneſs of obedience, and the ſecurities of faith, and the confidence of hope, and the joys of love; knowing themſelves to be recompenſed for all the trouble they could endure, that they were inſtruments of the ſafety of the holy Jeſus, that they then were ſerving God, that they were encircled with the ſecurities of the divine providence; and in theſe diſpoſitions all places were alike: for every region was a paradiſe where they were in company with Jeſus. And indeed that man wants many degrees of faith and prudence, who is ſolicitous for the ſupport of his neceſſities, when he is doing the commandment of God [a]. If he commands thee to offer a ſacrifice, himſelf will provide a lamb, or enable thee to find out one: and he would remove thee into a ſtate of ſeparation, where thy body needs no ſupplies of proviſion, if he meant thou ſhouldeſt ſerve him without proviſions. He will certainly take away thy need, or ſatiſfy it: he will feed thee himſelf, as he did the Iſraelites; or take away thy hunger, as he did to Moſes; or ſend ravens to feed thee, as he did to Elias; or make charitable people miniſter to thee, as the widow to Eliſha; or give thee his own portion, as he maintained the Levites; or make thine enemies to pity thee, as the Aſſyrians did the captive Jews. For whatſoever the world hath, and whatſoever can be conveyed by wonder or by providence, all that is thy ſecurity for proviſions, ſo long as thou doeſt the work of God. And remember that the aſſurance of bleſſing and health and ſalvation is not made by doing what we liſt, or being where we deſire; but by doing God's will, and being in the place of his appointment. We may be ſafe in Egypt, if we be there in obedience to God: and we may periſh among the babes of Bethlehem, if we be there by our own election.

4. JOSEPH and Mary did not argue againſt the angel's meſſage, becauſe they had a confidence of their charge, who with the breath of his mouth could have deſtroyed Herod, though he had been abetted with all the legions marching under the Roman eagles; but they, like the two cherubims about the propitiatory, took the child between them, and fled, giving way to the fury of perſecution, which poſſibly when the materials were withdrawn, might expire, and die like fire, which elſe would rage for ever. Jeſus fled, undertook a ſad journey, in which the roughneſs of the ways, his own tenderneſs, the youth of his mother, the old age of his ſuppoſed father, the ſmallneſs of their *viaticum* and accommodation for their voyage, the no-kindred they were to go to, hopeleſs of comforts and exterior ſupplies, were ſo many circumſtances of poverty, and leſſer ſtrokes of the perſecution: things that himſelf did chuſe, to remonſtrate the verity of his nature, the infirmity of his perſon, the humility of his ſpirit, the auſterity of his undertaking, the burthen of his charge; and by which he did teach us the ſame virtues he then expreſſed, and alſo conſign'd this permiſſion to all his diſciples in future ages, that they alſo may fly from their perſecutors, when the caſe is ſo that their work is not done, that is, they may glorify God with their lives more than with their death. And of this they are aſcertain'd by the arguments of prudent account. For ſometimes we are called to glorify God by

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[a] — Τοὺς θεοὺς ἔχων τις ἂν φίλους, ἀρίστην μαντικὴν ἔχει δόμοις. *Eurip.* Helenâ. *Heb.* xiii. 5, 6.

dying, and the intereſt of the church and the faith of many may be concerned in it: then we muſt abide by it. In other caſes, it is true, that Demoſthenes ſaid in apology for his own eſcaping from a loſt field[b], "A man that runs away, may fight again." And St. Paul made uſe of a guard of ſoldiers to reſcue him from the treachery of the Jewiſh rulers, and of a baſket to eſcape from the inquiſition of the governor of Damaſcus, and the primitive chriſtians of grotts and ſubterraneous retirements, and St. Athanaſius of a fair lady's houſe, and others of deſarts and graves; as knowing it was no ſhame to fly, when their maſter had fled, that his time and his work might be fulfilled: and when it was, he then laid his life down.

5. It is hard to ſet down particular rules that may indefinitely guide all perſons in the ſtating of their own caſe; becauſe all things that depend upon circumſtances are alterable unto infinite. But as God's glory and the good of the church are the great conſiderations to be carried before us all the way, and in proportions to them we are to determine and judge our queſtions: ſo alſo our infirmities are allowable in the ſcrutiny. For I doubt not but God intended it a mercy and a compliance with human weakneſs, when he gave us this permiſſion; as well as it was a deſign to ſecure the opportunities of his ſervice, and the conſummation of his own work by us. And ſince our fears, and the incommodities of flight, and the ſadneſs of exile, and the inſecurities and inconveniencies of a ſtrange and new abode, are part of the perſecution: provided that God's glory be not certainly and apparently neglected, nor the church evidently ſcandalized by our flight; all interpretations of the queſtion in favour of our ſelves, and the declenſion of that part which may tempt us to apoſtaſie, or hazard our confidence, and the chuſing the leſſer part of the perſecution, is not againſt the rule of faith, and always hath in it leſs glory, but oftentimes more ſecurity.

6. But thus far Herod's ambition tranſported him, even to reſolutions of murther of the higheſt perſon, the moſt glorious and moſt innocent upon earth: and it repreſents that paſſion to be the moſt troubleſome and vexatious thing that can afflict the ſons of men. Virtue hath not half ſo much trouble in it: it ſleeps quietly without ſtartings and affrighting fancies, it looks chearfully, ſmiles with much ſerenity, and though it laughs not often, yet it is ever delightful in the apprehenſions of ſome faculty; it fears no man, nor no thing, nor is it diſcompoſed, and hath no concernments in the great alterations of the world, and entertains death like a friend, and reckons the iſſues of it as the greateſt of its hopes. But ambition is full of diſtractions, it teems with ſtratagems, as Rebecca with ſtruggling twins, and is ſwelled with expectation as with a tympany, and ſleeps ſometimes as the wind in a ſtorm, ſtill and quiet for a minute, that it may burſt out into an impetuous blaſt, till the cordage of his heart-ſtrings crack; fears when none is nigh, and prevents things which never had intention, and falls under the inevitability of ſuch accidents which either could not be foreſeen, or not prevented. It is an infinite labour to make a man's ſelf miſerable, and the utmoſt acquiſt is ſo goodly a purchaſe, that he makes his days full of ſorrow, to enjoy the troubles of a three years reign: for Herod lived but three years, or five at the moſt, after the flight of Jeſus into Egypt. And therefore there is no greater unreaſonableneſs in the world, than in the deſigns of ambition: for it makes the preſent certainly miſerable, unſatisfied, troubleſome and diſcontented, for the uncertain acquiſt of an honour which nothing can ſecure; and beſides a thouſand poſſibilities of miſcarrying, it relies upon no greater certainty than our life; and when we are dead, all the world ſees who was the fool. But it is a ſtrange caitiveneſs and baſeneſs of diſpoſition of men, ſo furiouſly and unſatiably to run after periſhing and uncertain intereſts, in defiance of all the reaſon and religion of the world; and yet to have no appetite to ſuch excellencies which ſatiſfy reaſon, and content the ſpirit, and create great hopes, and ennoble our expectation, and are advantages to communities of men and public ſocieties, and which all wiſe men teach, and all religion commands.

7. And it is not amiſs to obſerve how Herod vexed himſelf extremely upon a miſtake[c]. The child Jeſus was born a king, but it was a king of all the world; not confined within the limits of a province, like the weaker beauties of a torch to ſhine in one room, but, like the ſun, his empire was over all the world: and if Herod would have become but his tributary[d], and paid him the acknowledgments of his Lord, he ſhould have had better conditions than under Cæſar, and yet have been as abſolute in his own Jewry as he was before. His kingdom was not of this world; and he that gives heavenly kingdoms to all his ſervants, would not have ſtooped to have taken up Herod's petty coronet[e]. But as it

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[b] Ἀνὴρ ὁ φεύγων καὶ πάλιν μαχήσεται.

[c] Dubia pro certis ſolent timere Reges. *Seneca* Oedip.

[d] Hoſtis Herodes impie,
Chriſtum venire quid times?
Non auferet terreſtria,
Qui regna dat cœleſtia.

[f] Qui ſceptra duro ſævus imperio regit,
Timet timentes, metus in authorem cadit.
Senec. Oedip.

is a very vanity which ambition ſeeks, ſo it is a ſhadow that diſturbs and diſcompoſes all its motions and apprehenſions.

8. AND the ſame miſtake cauſed calamities to deſcend upon the church; for ſome of the perſecutions commenced upon pretence chriſtianity was an enemy to government. But the pretence was infinitely unreaſonable, and therefore had the fate of ſenſeleſs allegations, it diſbanded preſently: for no external accident did ſo incorporate the excellency of Chriſt's religion into the hearts of men, as the innocency of the men, their inoffenſive deportment, the modeſty of their deſigns, their great humility and obedience, a life expreſly in enmity and conteſtation againſt ſecular ambition. And it is to be feared, that the mingling human intereſts with religion will deface the image Chriſt hath ſtamped upon it. Certain it is, the metal is much abated by ſo impure allay, while the chriſtian prince ſerves his end of ambition, and bears arms upon his neighbour's country for the ſervice of religion, making Chriſt's kingdom to invade Herod's rights[f]: and in the ſtate eccleſiaſtical, ſecular intereſts have ſo deep a portion, that there are ſnares laid to tempt a perſecution, and men are invited to ſacrilege, while the revenues of a church are a fair fortune for a prince. I make no ſcruple to find fault with painters that picture the poor ſaints with rich garments; for though they deſerved better, yet they had but poor ones: and ſome have been tempted to cheat the ſaint, not out of ill-will to his ſanctity, but love to his ſhrine, and to the beauty of the clothes with which ſome imprudent perſons have of old time dreſſed their images. So it is in the fate of the church: perſecution and the robes of Chriſt were her portion and her cloathing; and when ſhe is dreſſed up in gaudy fortunes, it is no more than ſhe deſerves; but yet ſometimes it is occaſion that the devil cheats her of her holineſs, and the men of the world ſacrilegiouſly cheat her of her riches: and then when God hath reduced her to that poverty he firſt promiſed and intended to her, the perſecution ceaſes, and ſanctity returns, and God curſes the ſacrilege, and ſtirs up men's minds to religious donatives; and all is well till ſhe grows rich again. And if it be dangerous in any man to be rich, and diſcompoſes his ſteps in his journey to eternity; it is not then ſo proportionable to the analogy of Chriſt's poverty, and the inheritance of the church, and to be ſedulous in acquiring great temporalities, and putting princes in jealouſy, and the ſtates into care for ſecurities, leſt all the temporal ſhould run into eccleſiaſtical poſſeſſion.

9. IF the church have by the active piety of a credulous, a pious and leſs-obſervant age, been endowed with great poſſeſſions, ſhe hath rules enough, and poor enough, and neceſſitous enough, to diſpend what ſhe hath with advantages to religion: but then all ſhe gets by it, is the trouble of an unthankful, a ſuſpected and unſatisfied diſpenſation; and the church is made by evil perſons a ſcene of ambition and ſtratagem; and to get a German biſhoprick is to be a prince; and to defend with niceneſs and ſuits of law every cuſtom or leſſer rite, even to the breach of charity and the ſcandal of religion, is called a duty[g]. And every ſingle perſon is bound to forgive injuries, and to quit his right rather than his charity: but if it is not a duty in the church alſo, in them whoſe life ſhould be excellent to the degree of example, I would fain know if there be not greater care taken to ſecure the eccleſiaſtical revenue, than the public charity and the honour of religion in the ſtrict piety of the clergy: for as the not engaging in ſuits may occaſion bold people to wrong the church, ſo the neceſſity of engaging is occaſion of loſing charity, and of great ſcandal. I find not fault with a free revenue of the church; it is in ſome ſenſe neceſſary to governours, and to preſerve the conſequents of their authority: but I repreſent that ſuch things are occaſion of much miſchief to the church and leſs holineſs; and in all caſes reſpect ſhould be had to the deſign of chriſtianity, to the prophecies of Jeſus, to the promiſed lot of the church, to the dangers of riches, to the excellencies and advantages and rewards of poverty: and if the church have enough to perform all her duties and obligations chearfully, let her of all ſocieties be ſooneſt content. If ſhe have plenty, let her uſe it temperately and charitably: if ſhe have not, let her not be querulous and troubleſome. But however it would be thought upon, that though in judging the *quantum* of the church's portion the world thinks every thing too much, yet we muſt be careful we do not judge every thing too little: and if our fortune be ſafe between envy and contempt, it is much mercy. If it be deſpicable, it is ſafe for eccleſiaſtics, though it may be accidentally inconvenient or leſs profitable to others; but if it be great, public experience hath made remonſtrance that it mingles with the world, and

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[f] Καὶ ἡ τῶν προσφερομένων πολυτέλεια τιμὴ εἰς Θεὸν οὐ γίνεται, εἰ μὴ μετὰ τοῦ ἐνθέου φρονήματος προσάγοιτο. Δῶρα γὰρ καὶ θυηπολίαι ἀφρόνων, πυρὸς τροφή· καὶ ἀναθήματα, ἱεροσύλοις χορηγία. Τὸ δὲ ἔνθεον φρόνημα διαρκῶς ἡδρασμένον συνάπτει Θεῷ. *Hierocl.*

[g] Vide quæ dixit *Ammian. Marcel.* l. 17. & Epiſtolas S. *Gregorii M.* l. 4. ep. 32, 34, 36. & l. 6. ep. 30. l. 7. indict. 1. ep. 30. & *Concil. Africanum*, quo monitus eſt Cœleſtinus Papa, Ne fumoſum typhum ſeculi in Eccleſiam, quæ lucem ſimplicitatis & humilitatis diem Deum videre cupientibus præfert, videamur inducere.

dirties thoſe fingers which are inſtrumental in conſecration and the more ſolemn rites of chriſtianity.

10. JESUS fled from the perſecution; as he did not ſtand it out, ſo he did not ſtand out againſt it. He was careful to tranſmit no precedent or encouragement of reſiſting tyrannous princes, when they offer violence to religion and our lives. He would not ſtand diſputing for privileges, nor calling in auxiliaries from the Lord of Hoſts, who could have ſpared him many legions of angels, every ſingle ſpirit being able to have defeated all Herod's power. But he knew it was a hard leſſon to learn patience; and all the excuſes in the world would be ſought out to diſcourage ſuch a doctrine, by which we are taught to die, or loſe all we have, or ſuffer inconveniencies at the will of a tyrant. We need no authentic examples, much leſs doctrines, to invite men to war, from which we ſee chriſtian princes cannot be reſtrained with the engagements and peaceful theorems of an excellent and a holy religion; nor ſubjects kept from rebelling by the intereſts of all religions in the world, nor by the neceſſities and reaſonableneſs of obedience, nor the indearments of all public ſocieties of men. One word or an intimation from Chriſt would have ſounded an alarm, and put us into poſtures of defence; when all Chriſt's excellent ſermons and rare exemplary actions cannot tie our hands. But it is ſtrange now, that of all men in the world, chriſtians ſhould be ſuch fighting people, or that chriſtian ſubjects ſhould lift up a thought againſt a chriſtian prince, when they had no intimation of encouragement from their Maſter, but many from him to endear obedience, and humility, and patience, and charity: and theſe four make up the whole analogy, and repreſent the chief deſign and meaning of chriſtianity in its moral conſtitution.

11. BUT Jeſus, when himſelf was ſafe, could alſo have ſecured the poor babes of Bethlehem, with thouſands of diverſions and avocations of Herod's purpoſes, or by diſcovering his own eſcape, in ſome ſafe manner not unknown to the divine wiſdom: but yet it did not ſo pleaſe God. He is Lord of his creatures, and hath abſolute dominion over our lives; and he had an end of glory to ſerve upon theſe babes, and an end of juſtice upon Herod. And to the children he made ſuch compenſation, that they had no reaſon to complain that they were ſo ſoon made ſtars, when they ſhined in their little orbs and participations of eternity. For ſo the ſenſe of the church hath been, that they having died the death of [h] martyrs, though incapable of making the choice, God ſupplies the defects of their will by his own entertainment of the thing; that as the miſery and their death, ſo alſo their glorification might have the ſame author in the ſame manner of cauſality, even by a peremptory and unconditioned determination in theſe particulars. This ſenſe is pious, and nothing unreaſonable, conſidering that all circumſtances of the thing make the caſe particular. But the immature death of other infants is a ſadder ſtory. For though I have no warrant or thought that it is ill with them after death, and in what manner or degree of well-being it is there is no revelation: yet I am not of opinion, that the ſecuring of ſo low a condition as theirs in all reaſon is like to be, will make recompence, or is an equal bleſſing with the poſſibilities of ſuch an eternity as is propoſed to them who in the uſe of reaſon and an holy life glorify God with a free obedience. And if it were otherwiſe, it were no bleſſing to live till the uſe of reaſon; and fools and babes were in the beſt, becauſe in the ſecureſt, condition, and certain expectation of equal glories.

12. AS ſoon as Herod was dead, (for the divine vengeance waited his own time for his arreſt,) the angel preſently brought Joſeph word. The holy family was full of content and indifferency, not ſolicitous for return, not diſtruſtful of the divine providence, full of poverty, and ſanctity, and content, waiting God's time, at the return of which God delayed not to recall them from exile. Out of Egypt he called his ſon; and directed Joſeph's fear and courſe, that he ſhould divert to a place in the juriſdiction of Philip, where the heir of Herod's cruelty, Archelaus, had nothing to do. And this very ſeries of providence and care God expreſſes to all his ſons by adoption; and will determine the time, and ſet bounds to every perſecution, and puniſh the inſtruments, and eaſe our pains, and refreſh our ſorrows, and give quietneſs to our fears, and deliverance from our troubles, and ſanctify it all, and give a crown at laſt, and all in his good time, if we wait the coming of the angel, and in the mean time do our duty with care, and ſuſtain our temporals with indifferency. And in all our troubles and diſpleaſing accidents we may call to mind, that God by his holy and moſt reaſonable providence hath ſo order'd it, that the ſpiritual advantages we may receive from the holy uſe of ſuch incommodities are of great

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[h] Ætas necdum habilis ad pugnam, idonea extitit ad coronam; & ut appareret innocentes eſſe qui propter Chriſtum necantur, infantia innocens occiſa eſt. S. *Cyprian.* *Athenagoras* dixit infantes reſurrecturos, ſed non venturos in judicium.

recompence and intereſt; and that in ſuch accidents the holy Jeſus, having gone before us in precedent, does go along with us by love and fair aſſiſtances: and that makes the preſent condition infinitely more eligible than the greateſt ſplendor of ſecular fortune.

The PRAYER.

O Bleſſed and Eternal God, who didſt ſuffer thy holy Son to fly from the violence of an enraged prince, and didſt chuſe to defend him in the ways of his infirmity by hiding himſelf, and a voluntary exile, be thou a defence to all thy faithful people whenever perſecution ariſes againſt them, ſend them the miniſtry of angels to direct them into ways of ſecurity, and let thy Holy Spirit guide them in the paths of ſanctity, and let thy providence continue in cuſtody over their perſons till the times of refreſhment and the day of redemption ſhall return. Give, O Lord, to thy whole church ſanctity and zeal, and the confidences of a holy faith, boldneſs of confeſſion, humility, content, and reſignation of ſpirit, generous contempt of the world, and unmingled deſires of thy glory and the edification of thy elect; that no ſecular intereſt diſturb her duty, or diſcompoſe her charity, or depreſs her hopes, or in any unequal degree poſſeſs her affections and pollute her ſpirit: but preſerve her from the ſnares of the world and the devil, from the rapine and greedy deſires of ſacrilegious perſons; and in all conditions, whether of affluence or want, may ſhe ſtill promote the intereſts of religion: that when plenteouſneſs is within her palaces, and peace in her walls, that condition may then be beſt for her: and when ſhe is made as naked as Jeſus to his paſſion, then poverty may be beſt for her: that in all eſtates ſhe may glorify thee, and in all accidents and changes thou mayſt ſanctify and bleſs her, and at laſt bring her to the eternal riches and abundances of glory, where no perſecution ſhall diſturb her reſt. Grant this, for ſweet Jeſus ſake, who ſuffered exile and hard journeys, and all the inconveniences of a friendleſs perſon, in a ſtrange province; to whom with thee and the eternal ſpirit be glory for ever, and bleſſing in all generations of the world, and for ever and ever. Amen.

SECT. VII.

Of the younger years of JESUS, and his Diſputation with the Doctors.

1. FROM the return of this holy family to Judæa, and their habitation in Nazareth, till the bleſſed child Jeſus was twelve years of age, we have nothing tranſmitted to us out of any authentic record, but that they went to Jeruſalem every year at the feaſt of the paſſover. *And when Jeſus was twelve years old*, and was in the holy city attending upon the paſchal rites and ſolemn ſacrifices of the law, his parents, *having fulfilled their days of feſtivity, went homeward, ſuppoſing the child had been in the* Caravan among his friends; and ſo they erred for the ſpace of *a whole day's journey*; *and when they ſought him, and found him not, they returned to Jeruſalem* full of fears and ſorrow.

2. No fancy can imagine the doubts, the apprehenſions, the poſſibilities of miſchief, and the tremblings of heart which the holy Virgin-Mother felt thronging about her fancy and underſtanding, but ſuch a perſon who hath been tempted to the danger of a violent fear and tranſportation, by apprehenſion of the loſs of a hope greater than a miracle. Her diſcourſes with her ſelf could have nothing of diſtruſt, but much of ſadneſs and wonder; and the indetermination of her thoughts was a trouble great as the paſſion of her love. Poſſibly an angel might have carried him ſhe knew not whither; or it may be the ſon of Herod had gotten the prey, which his cruel father miſſed; or he was ſick, or detained out of curioſity and wonder; or any thing but what was right. And by this time ſhe was come to Jeruſalem; and having ſpent three days in her ſad and holy purſuit of her loſt jewel, deſpairing of the proſperous event of any human diligence, as in all other caſes ſhe had accuſtomed, ſhe made her addreſs to God, and entering into the temple to pray, God, that knew her deſires, prevented her with the bleſſings of goodneſs, and there her ſorrow was changed into joy and wonder: for there ſhe *found* her holy Son *ſitting in the midſt of the doctors, both hearing them, and aſking them queſtions.*

3. *And when they ſaw him, they were amazed:* and ſo were *all that heard him, at his underſtanding and anſwers*; beyond his education, beyond his experience, beyond his years, and even beyond the common ſpirits of the beſt men, diſcourſing up to the height of a prophet, with the clearneſs of an angel, and the infallibility of inſpiration. For here it was verified in the higheſt and moſt literal ſignification, that *out of the mouths of babes God hath ordained ſtrength*; but this was the ſtrength of argument, and ſcience of the higheſt myſteries of religion and ſecret philoſophy.

4. GLAD were the parents of the child to find him illuſtrated with a miracle, concerning which when he had given them ſuch an account which they underſtood not, but yet *Mary laid up in her heart*, as that this was part of his employment and *his father's buſineſs, he returned with them to Nazareth, and was ſubject to his parents*; where he lived in all holineſs and humility, ſhewing great ſigns of wiſdom, indearing himſelf to all that beheld his converſation, did nothing leſs than might become the great expectation which his miraculous birth had created of him: for *he increaſed in wiſdom and ſtature, and favour with God and man*, ſtill growing in proportion to his great beginnings to a miraculous excellency of grace, ſweetneſs of demeanour, and excellency of underſtanding.

5. THEY that love to ſerve God in hard queſtions, uſe to diſpute whether Chriſt did truly or in appearance only increaſe in wiſdom. For being perſonally united to the Word, and being the eternal wiſdom of the Father, it ſeemed to them that a plenitude of wiſdom was as natural to the whole perſon, as to the divine nature. But others fixing their belief upon the words of the ſtory, which equally affirms Chriſt as properly to have increaſed in favour with God as with man, in wiſdom as in ſtature, they apprehend no inconvenience in affirming it to belong to the verity of human nature, to have degrees of underſtanding as well as of other perfections. And although the humanity of Chriſt made up the ſame perſon with the divinity, yet they think the divinity ſtill to be free, even in thoſe communications which were imparted to his inferiour nature; and the Godhead might as well ſuſpend the emanation of all the treaſures of wiſdom upon the humanity for a time, as he did the beatifical viſion, which moſt certainly was not imparted in the interval of his ſad and dolorous paſſion. But whether it were truly or in appearance, in habit or in exerciſe of act, by increaſe of notion or experience, it is certain the promotions of the holy child

Pag. 68. XI.

M. V^d^ Gucht Sculp

Now his Parents went to **JERUSALEM** *every Year at the Feast of the* **PASSOVER** *And when* **HE** *was twelve Years old they went up to Jerusalem after the Custom of the Feast. S^t^ Luke Ch. 2. v. 41, 42.*

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M. V.dr Gucht Sculp.

And his **MOTHER** said unto him, **SON**, why hast thou thus dealt with us? behold, thy **FATHER** and I have sought thee sorrowing. And **HE** said unto them, How is it that ye sought me? wist ye not that I must be about my **FATHERS** Business? Luke Ch: 2. v: 48 & 49.

child were great, admirable, and as full of wonder as of ſanctity, and ſufficient to entertain the hopes and expectations of Iſrael with preparations and diſpoſitions, as to ſatisfy their wonder for the preſent, ſo to accept him at the time of his publication, they having no reaſon to be ſcandalized at the ſmallneſs, improbability, and indifferency of his firſt beginnings.

6. But the holy child had alſo an employment which he undertook in obedience to his ſuppoſed father, for exerciſe and example of humility, and for the ſupport of that holy family which was dear in the eyes of God, but not very ſplendid by the opulency of a free and indulgent fortune. He wrought in the trade of a carpenter; and when Joſeph died, which happened before the manifeſtation of Jeſus unto Iſrael, he wrought alone, and was no more called the carpenter's ſon, but the carpenter himſelf. *Is not this the carpenter, the ſon of Mary*[a]? ſaid his offended countrymen. And in this condition the bleſſed Jeſus did abide till he was thirty years old: for he that came to fulfil the law, would not ſuffer one tittle of it to paſs unaccompliſhed: for by the law of the nation and cuſtom of the religion no prieſt was to officiate, or prophet was to preach, before he was thirty years of age.

Ad SECT. VII.

Conſiderations upon the Diſputation of JESUS with the Doctors in the Temple.

1. JOſeph and Mary, being returned unto Nazareth, were ſedulous to enjoy the privileges of their country, the opportunities of religion, the public addreſs to God in the rites of feſtivals and ſolemnities of the temple. They had been long grieved with the impurities and idol-rites which they with ſorrow had obſerved to be done in Egypt; and being deprived of the bleſſings of thoſe holy ſocieties and employments they uſed to enjoy in Paleſtine, at their return came to the offices of their religion with appetites of fire, and keen as the evening wolf: and all the joys which they ſhould have received in reſperſion and diſtinct emanations, if they had kept their anniverſaries at Jeruſalem, all that united they received in the duplication of their joys at their return, and in the fulfilling themſelves with the refection and holy viands of religion. For ſo God uſes to ſatisfy the longings of holy people, when a perſecution has ſhut up the beautiful gates of the temple, or denied to them opportunities of acceſs. Although God hears the prayers they make with their windows towards Jeruſalem, with their hearts opened with deſires of the public communions, and ſends them a prophet with a private meal, as Habakkuk came to Daniel; yet he fills their hearts when the year of jubilee returns, and the people ſing *In convertendo*, the ſong of joy for their redemption. For as of all ſorrows the deprivations and eclipſes of religion are the ſaddeſt, and of the worſt and moſt inconvenient conſequence; ſo in proportion are the joys of ſpiritual plenty and religious returns: the communion of ſaints being like the primitive corban, a repoſitory to feed all the needs of the church; or like a taper joined to a torch; it ſelf is kindled and increaſes the other's flames.

2. They failed not to go to Jeruſalem. For all thoſe holy prayers and raviſhments of love, thoſe excellent meditations and intercourſes with God, their private readings and diſcourſes were but entertainments and ſatisfaction of their neceſſities, they lived with them during their retirements: but it was a feaſt when they went to Jeruſalem, and the freer and more indulgent refection of the ſpirit: for in public ſolemnities God opens his treaſures, and pours out his grace more abundantly. Private devotions and ſecret offices of religion are like refreſhing of a garden with the diſtilling and petty drops of a water-pot: but addreſſes at the temple, and ſerving God in the public communion of ſaints, is like rain from heaven, where the offices are deſcribed by a public ſpirit, heightned by the greater portions of aſſiſtance, and receive advantages by the adunations and ſymbols of charity, and increment by their diſtinct title to promiſes appropriate even to their aſſembling, and mutual ſupport, by the piety of example, by the communication of counſels, by the awefulneſs

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[a] *Mark* vi. 3.

aweſulneſs of public obſervation, and the engagements of holy cuſtoms[a]. For religion is a public virtue, it is the ligature of ſouls, and the great inſtrument of the conſervation of bodies politic, and is united in a common object, the God of all the world, and is managed by public miniſtries, by ſacrifice, adoration and prayer, in which with variety of circumſtances indeed, but with infinite conſent and union of deſign, all the ſons of Adam are taught to worſhip God: and it is a publication of God's honour, its very purpoſe being to declare to all the world how great things God hath done for us, whether in public donatives or private miſſives, ſo that the very deſign, temper and conſtitution of religion is to be a public addreſs to God. And although God is preſent in cloſets, and there alſo diſtils his bleſſings in ſmall rain; yet to the ſocieties of religion and publication of worſhip as we are invited by the great bleſſings and advantages of communion, ſo alſo we are in ſome proportions more ſtreightly limited by the analogy and exigence of the duty[b]. It is a perſecution when we are forced from public worſhippings: no man can hinder our private addreſſes to God; every man can build a chapel in his breaſt, and himſelf be the prieſt, and his heart the ſacrifice, and every foot of glebe he treads on be the altar; and this no tyrant can prevent. If then there can be perſecution in the offices of religion, it is the prohibition of public profeſſion and communions; and therefore he that denies to himſelf the opportunities of public rites and conventions, is his own perſecutor.

3. BUT when Jeſus *was twelve years old*, and his parents had finiſhed their offices, and returned filled with the pleaſures of religion, they miſſed the child, and *ſought him amongſt their kindred*; but there *they found him not*: for whoever ſeeks Jeſus, muſt ſeek him in the offices of religion, in the temple, not amongſt the engagements and purſuit of worldly intereſts. *I forgat alſo mine own father's houſe*, ſaid *David*, the father of this holy child: and ſo muſt we, when we run in an enquiry after the Son of David. But our relinquiſhing muſt not be a dereliction of duty, but of engagement: our affections towards kindred muſt always be with charity, and according to the endearments of our relation: but without immerſion, and ſuch adherences as either contradict or leſſen our duty towards God.

4. IT was a ſad effect of their pious journey to loſe the joy of their family, and the hopes of all the world. But it often happens that after ſpiritual employments God ſeems to abſent himſelf, and withdraw the ſenſible effects of his preſence, that we may ſeek him with the ſame diligence and care and holy fears with which the holy Virgin-Mother ſought the bleſſed Jeſus. And it is a deſign of great mercy in God to take off the light from the eyes of a holy perſon, that he may not be abuſed with complacencies and too confident opinions and reflections upon his fair performances. For we uſually judge of the well or ill of our devotions and ſervices by what we feel; and we think God rewards every thing in the preſent, and by proportion to our own expectations; and if we feel a preſent rejoicing of ſpirit, all is well with us, the ſmoak of the ſacrifice aſcended right in a holy cloud: but if we feel nothing of comfort, then we count it a prodigy and ominous, and we ſuſpect our ſelves, (and moſt commonly we have reaſon.) Such irradiations of chearfulneſs are always welcome, but it is not always anger that takes them away. The cloud removed from before the camp of Iſrael, and ſtood before the hoſt of Pharaoh: but this was a deſign of ruin to the Egyptians, and of ſecurity to Iſrael. And if thoſe bright angels that go with us to direct our journeys, remove out of our ſight and ſtand behind us, it is not always an argument that the anger of the Lord is gone out againſt us; but ſuch decays of ſenſe and clouds of ſpirit are excellent conſervators of humility, and reſtrain thoſe intemperances and vainer thoughts which we are prompted to in the gaiety of our ſpirits.

5. BUT we often give God cauſe to remove, and for a while to abſent himſelf; and his doing of it ſometimes upon the juſt provocations of our demerits, makes us at other times with good reaſon to ſuſpect our ſelves even in our beſt actions. But ſometimes we are vain, or remiſs, or pride invades us in the darkneſs and incuriouſneſs of our ſpirits, and we have a ſecret ſin which God would have us to enquire after. And when we ſuſpect every thing, and condemn our ſelves with ſtricteſt and moſt angry ſentence, then, it may be, God will with a ray of light break through the cloud; if not, it is nothing the worſe for us. For although the viſible remonſtrance and face of things in all the abſences and withdrawings of Jeſus be the ſame; yet if a ſin be the cauſe of it, the withdrawing is a taking away his favour and his love: but if God does it to ſecure thy piety, and to inflame

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[a] Habet ſemper privilegium ſuum, ut ſacratius fiat quod publicâ lege celebratur, quàm quod privatâ inſtitutione dependitur. *Leo* de jejun. 7. menſis. Idem Serm. 4. Publica præferenda ſunt privatis; & tunc eſt efficacior ſanctiorque devotio, quando in operibus pietatis totius Eccleſiæ unus eſt animus & unus ſenſus.

[b] *Heb.* x. 25.

flame thy deſires, or to prevent a crime; then he withdraws a gift only, nothing of his love, and yet the darkneſs of the ſpirit and ſadneſs ſeem equal. It is hard in theſe caſes to diſcover the cauſe, as it is nice to judge the condition of the effect: and therefore it is prudent to aſcertain our condition by improving our care and our religion: and in all accidents to make no judgment concerning God's favour by what we feel, but by what we do.

6. WHEN the holy virgin with much religion and ſadneſs had ſought her joy, at laſt ſhe *found him diſputing among the doctors, hearing them, and aſking them queſtions.* And beſides that he firſt now opened a fontinel, and there ſprang out an excellent rivulet from his abyſs of wiſdom, he conſigned this truth to his diſciples; That they who mean to be doctors and teach others, muſt in their firſt acceſſes and degrees of diſcipline learn of thoſe whom God and public order hath ſet over us in the myſteries of religion.

The PRAYER.

B*Leſſed and moſt* Holy Jeſus, *fountain of grace and comfort, treaſure of wiſdom and ſpiritual emanations, be pleaſed to abide with me for ever by the inhabitation of thy interiour aſſiſtances and refreſhments; give me a correſponding love, acceptable and unſtained purity, care and watchfulneſs over my ways, that I may never by provoking thee to anger, cauſe thee to remove thy dwelling, or draw a cloud before thy holy face. But if thou art pleaſed upon a deſign of charity or trial to cover my eyes, that I may not behold the bright rays of thy favour, nor be refreſhed with ſpiritual comforts; let thy love ſupport my ſpirit by ways inſenſible, and in all my needs give me ſuch a portion as may be inſtrumental and incentive to performance of my duty; and in all accidents let me continue to ſeek thee by prayers, and humiliation, and frequent deſires, and the ſtrictneſs of a holy life: that I may follow thy example, purſue thy footſteps, be ſupported by thy ſtrength, guided by thy hand, enlightned by thy favour, and may at laſt, after a perſevering holineſs and an unwearied induſtry, dwell with thee in the regions of light and eternal glory, where there ſhall be no fears of parting from the habitations of felicity, and the union and fruition of thy preſence,* O *bleſſed and moſt holy* Jeſus. Amen.

Hh SECT.

SECT. VIII.

Of the Preaching of John *the Baptiſt, preparative to the Manifeſtation of* JESUS.

1. WHEN Herod had drunk ſo great a draught of blood at Bethlehem, and ſought for more from the hill-country, Elizabeth carried her ſon into the wilderneſs, there in the deſart places and receſſes to hide him from the fury of that beaſt; where ſhe attended him with as much care and tenderneſs as the affections and fears of a mother could expreſs in the permiſſion of thoſe fruitleſs ſolitudes[a]. The child was about eighteen months old when he firſt fled to ſanctuary: but after forty days his mother died; and his father Zachary at the time of his miniſtration, which happened about this time, was killed in the court of the temple: ſo that the child was expoſed to all the dangers and infelicities of an orphan, in a place of ſolitarineſs and diſcomfort, in a time when a bloody king endeavoured his deſtruction. But *when his father and mother were taken from him, the Lord took him up.* For according to the tradition of the Greeks[b], God deputed an angel to be his nouriſher and guardian, as he had formerly done to [c] Iſhmael who dwelt in the wilderneſs, and to [d] Elias when he fled from the rage of Ahab; ſo to this child, who came in the ſpirit of Elias; to make demonſtration, that there can be no want where God undertakes the care and proviſion.

2. THE entertainment that St. John's proveditore the angel gave him was ſuch as the wilderneſs did afford, and ſuch as might diſpoſe him to a life of auſterity: for there he continued ſpending his time in meditations, contemplation, prayer, affections and colloquies with God, eating flies and wild honey, not cloathed in ſoft, but a hairy garment, and a leathern girdle, till he was thirty years of age[e]. And then, *being the fifteenth year of Tiberius, Pontius Pilate being governor of Judæa, the word of God came unto John in the wilderneſs. And he came into all the country about Jordan, preaching* and baptizing.

3. THIS John, according to the prophecies of him and deſignation of his perſon by the Holy Ghoſt, was the fore-runner of Chriſt, ſent to diſpoſe the people for his entertainment, and prepare his ways: and therefore it was neceſſary his perſon ſhould be ſo extraordinary and full of ſanctity, and ſo clarified by great concurrences and wonder in the circumſtances of his life, as might gain credit and reputation to the teſtimony he was to give concerning his Lord, the Saviour of the world. And ſo it happened.

4. FOR as the Baptiſt, while he was in the wilderneſs, became the pattern of ſolitary and contemplative life, a ſchool of virtue, and example of ſanctity and ſingular auſterity; ſo at his emigration from the places of his retirement he ſeemed, what indeed he was, a rare and excellent perſonage. And the wonders which were great at his birth, the prediction of his conception by an angel, which never had before happened but in the perſons of Iſaac and Sampſon, the contempt of the world which he bore about him, his mortified countenance and deportment, his auſtere and eremitical life, his vehement ſpirit and excellent zeal in preaching, created ſo great opinions of him among the people, that all held him for a prophet in his office, for a heavenly perſon in his own particular, and a rare example of ſanctity and holy life to all others. And all this being made ſolemn and ceremonious by his baptiſm, he prevailed ſo, that he made excellent and apt preparations for the Lord's appearing: For *there went out to him Jeruſalem, and all Judæa, and all the regions round about Jordan, and were baptized of him, confeſſing their ſins.*

5. THE Baptiſt having by ſo heavenly means won upon the affections of all men, his ſermons and his teſtimony concerning Chriſt were the more likely to be prevalent and accepted; and the ſum of them was *repentance and dereliction of ſins*, and *bringing forth the fruits of good life.* In the promoting of which doctrine he was a ſevere reprehender of the Phariſees and Sadducees, he exhorted the people to works of mercy, the Publicans to do juſtice and to decline oppreſſion, the ſoldiers to abſtain from plundering and doing violence or rapine: and publiſhing that *he was not the Chriſt*, that *he* only *baptized with water*, but the *Meſſias* ſhould *baptize with the Holy Ghoſt and with fire*; he finally denounced judgment and great ſeverities to all the world if impenitents, even abſciſion and fire unquenchable.

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[a] *Niceph.* lib. 1. c. 14. [b] *Gen.* xxi. 17. [c] 1 *Kings* xix. 5.
[d] S. *Chryſ.* Hom. de Nativ. *S.* Jo. Baptiſtæ.

[e] Veſtis erat curvi ſetis conferta cameli,
Contra luxuriem molles duraret ut artus,
Arceretque graves compuncto corpore ſomnos.
Paulinus.

Clark & Pine Sc. 1719.

Arise and take the Young Child *and his* Mother *and flee into* Egypt,
and be thou there untill I bring thee Word. St. Matt. Chap. 2d. Ver. 13th.

BRITISH MUSEUM 5 AU 70

quenchable. And from this time forward, *viz. from the days of John the Baptiſt, the kingdom of heaven ſuffered violence, and the violent took it by force.* For now the goſpel began to dawn, and John was like the morning-ſtar, or the bluſhings ſpringing from the windows of the Eaſt, foretelling the approach of the ſun of righteouſneſs. And as St. John Baptiſt laid the firſt rough, hard and unhewn ſtone of this building in mortification, ſelf-denial, and doing violence to our natural affections; ſo it was continued by the maſter-builder himſelf, who propounded the glories of the crown of the heavenly kingdom to them only who ſhould climb the croſs to reach it. Now it was that multitudes ſhould throng and crowd to enter in at the ſtraight gate, and preſs into the kingdom; and the younger brothers ſhould ſnatch the inheritance from the elder, the unlikely from the more likely, the Gentiles from the Jews, the ſtrangers from the natives, the Publicans and Harlots from the Scribes and Phariſees, who, like violent perſons, ſhall by their importunity, obedience, watchfulneſs and diligence, ſnatch the kingdom from them to whom it was firſt offered; and *Jacob ſhall be loved, and Eſau rejected.*

Ad SECT. VIII.

Conſiderations upon the Preaching of John *the Baptiſt.*

1. FROM the diſputation of Jeſus with the doctors to the time of his manifeſtation to Iſrael, which was eighteen years, the holy child dwelt in Nazareth in great obedience to his parents, in exemplary modeſty, ſingular humility, working with his hands in his ſuppoſed father's trade, for the ſupport of his own and his mother's neceſſities, and that he might bear the curſe of Adam, that *in the ſweat of his brows he ſhould eat his bread.* All the while *he increaſed in favour with God and man,* ſending forth excellent teſtimonies of a rare ſpirit and a wiſe underſtanding, in the temperate inſtances of ſuch a converſation to which his humility and great obedience had engaged him. But all this while the ſtream ran under ground: and though little bubblings were diſcerned in all the courſe, and all the way men looked upon him as upon an excellent perſon, diligent in his calling, wiſe and humble, temperate and juſt, pious and rarely temper'd; yet at the manifeſtation of John the Baptiſt he brake forth like the ſtream from the bowels of the earth, or the ſun from a cloud, and gave us a precedent, that we ſhould not ſhow our lights to miniſter to vanity, but then only when God, and public order, and juſt diſpoſitions of men, call for a manifeſtation. And yet the ages of men have been ſo forward in prophetical miniſteries, and to undertake eccleſiaſtical employment, that the viciouſneſs and indiſcretions and ſcandals the church of God feels as great burthens upon the tenderneſs of her ſpirit, are in great part owing to the neglect of this inſtance of the prudence and modeſty of the holy Jeſus.

2. BUT now the time appointed was come, the Baptiſt comes forth upon the theatre of Paleſtine, a fore-runner of the office and publication of Jeſus; and by the great reputation of his ſanctity prevailed upon the affections and judgment of the people, who with much eaſe believed his doctrine, when they had reaſon to approve his life. For the good example of the preacher is always the moſt prevailing homily, his life is his beſt ſermon. He that will raiſe affections in his auditory, muſt affect their eyes: for we ſeldom ſee the people weep, if the orator laughs loud and looſely; and there is no reaſon to think that his diſcourſe ſhould work more with me than himſelf. If his arguments be fair and ſpecious, I ſhall think them fallacies, while they have not faith with him: and what neceſſity for me to be temperate, when he that tells me ſo, ſees no ſuch need, but hopes to go to heaven without it? Or if the duty be neceſſary, I ſhall learn the definition of temperance, and the latitudes of my permiſſion, and the bounds of lawful and unlawful, by the expoſition of his practice. If he binds a burthen upon my ſhoulders, it is but reaſon I ſhould look for him to bear his portion too. *Good works convince more than miracles*[a]; and the power of ejecting devils is not ſo great probation that chriſtian religion came from God, as is the holineſs of the doctrine, and its efficacy and productions upon the hearty profeſſors of the inſtitution. S. Pachomius, when he wore the military girdle under

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[a] S. *Chryſ.* Orat. de S. Babyla.

Conſtantine the emperor, came to a city of chriſtians, who having heard that the army in which he then marched was almoſt ſtarved for want of neceſſary proviſions, of their own charity relieved them ſpeedily and freely. He wondring at their ſo free and chearful diſpenſation, inquired what kind of people thoſe were whom he ſaw ſo bountiful. It was anſwered they were chriſtians, whoſe profeſſion it is to hurt no man, and to do good to every man. The pleaſed ſoldier was convinced of the excellency of that religion which brought forth men ſo good and ſo pious, and loved the mother for the children's ſake, threw away his girdle, and became chriſtian, and religious, and a ſaint. And it was Tertullian's great argument in behalf of chriſtians, "See how they love one another, "how every man is ready to die for his brother!" It was a living argument and a ſenſible demonſtration of the purity of the fountain, from whence ſuch limpid waters did derive. But ſo John the Baptiſt made himſelf a fit inſtrument of preparation; and ſo muſt all the chriſtian clergy be fitted for the diſſemination of the goſpel of Jeſus.

3. THE Baptiſt had till this time, that is, about thirty years, lived in the wilderneſs under the diſcipline of the Holy Ghoſt, under the tuition of angels, in converſation with God, in great mortification and diſaffections to the world, his garments rugged and uneaſy, his meat plain, neceſſary, and without variety, his employment prayers and devotion, his company wild beaſts, in ordinary; in extraordinary, meſſengers from heaven: and all this not undertaken of neceſſity, to ſubdue a bold luſt, or to puniſh a loud crime; but to come more holy and pure from the leſſer ſtains and inſinuations of too free infirmities, and to prepare himſelf for the great miniſtry of ſerving the holy Jeſus in his publication. Thirty years he lived in great auſterity; and it was a rare patience and exemplary mortification. We uſe not to be ſo pertinacious in any pious reſolutions, but our purpoſes diſband upon the ſenſe of the firſt violence. We are free and confident of reſolving to faſt when our [b] bellies are full; but when we are called upon by the firſt neceſſities of nature, our zeal is cool, and diſſoluble into air upon the firſt temptation, and we are not upheld in the violences of a ſhort auſterity without faintings, and repentances to be repented of, and enquirings after the vow is paſt, and ſearching for excuſes, and deſires to reconcile our nature and our conſcience; unleſs our neceſſity be great, and our ſin clamorous, and our conſcience loaden, and no peace to be had without it. And it is well if upon any reaſonable grounds we can be brought to ſuffer contradictions of nature, for the advantages of grace. But it would be remembred, that the Baptiſt did more upon a leſs neceſſity. And poſſibly the greatneſs of the example may entice us on a little farther than the cuſtoms of the world, or our own indevotions would engage us.

4. BUT after the expiration of a definite time John came forth from his ſolitude, and ſerved God in ſocieties. He ſerved God and the content of his own ſpirit by his converſing with angels, and dialogues with God ſo long as he was in the wilderneſs; and it might be ſome trouble to him to mingle with the impurities of men, amongſt whom he was ſure to obſerve ſuch receſſes from perfection, ſuch violation of all things ſacred, ſo great deſpite done to all miniſtries of religion, that to him, who had no experience or neighbourhood of actions criminal, it muſt needs be to his ſublimed and clarified ſpirit more punitive and afflictive than his hairen ſhirt and his aſcetick diet was to his body: but now himſelf, that tried both, was beſt able to judge which ſtate of life was of greateſt advantage and perfection.

5. In his ſolitude he did breathe more pure inſpiration, heaven was more open, God was more familiar and frequent in his viſitations[c]. In the wilderneſs his company was angels, his employment meditations and prayer, his temptations ſimple and from within, from the impotent and leſſer rebellions of a mortified body, his occaſions of ſin as few as his examples, his condition ſuch, that if his ſoul were at all buſy, his life could not eaſily be other than the life of angels; for his work and recreation, and his viſits, and his retirements, could be nothing but the variety and differing circumſtances of his piety. His inclinations to ſociety made it neceſſary for him to repeat his addreſſes to God: for his being a ſociable creature, and yet in ſolitude, made that his converſing with God, and being partaker of divine communications, ſhould be the ſatisfaction of his natural deſires, and the ſupply of his ſingularity and retirement; the diſcomforts of which made it natural for him to ſeek out for ſome refreſhment, and therefore to go to heaven for it, he having rejected the ſolaces of the world already. And all this beſides the innocencies of his [d] ſilence, which is very great, and to be judged of in proportion to the infinite extra-

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[b] Satiatis & expletis jucundius eſt carere quàm frui. *Cicero* de Seneꝺ.

[c] In ſolitudine aer purior, cœlum apertius, familiarior Deus. *Orig.*

[d] πολλοῖς γὰρ ἀνθρώποισι φάρμακον κακῶν σιγή· μάλιστα δ' ἐστὶ σώφρονος τρόπου σημεῖον. *Carcinus.*

vagancies of our language; there being no greater perfection here to be expected than not to offend in our tongue[e]. It was ſolitude and retirement in which Jeſus kept his vigils, the deſart places heard him pray, in a privacy he was born, in the wilderneſs he fed his thouſands, upon a mountain apart he was transfigured, upon a mountain he died, and from a mountain he aſcended to his father: in which retirements his devotion certainly did receive the advantage of convenient circumſtances, and himſelf in ſuch diſpoſitions twice had the opportunities of glory.

6. And yet after all theſe excellencies, the ſpirit of God called the Baptiſt forth to a more excellent miniſtry: for in ſolitude pious perſons might go to heaven by the way of prayers and devotion, but in ſociety they might go to heaven by the way of mercy and charity and diſpenſations to others. In ſolitude there are fewer occaſions of vices, but there is alſo the exerciſe of fewer virtues; and the temptations, though they be not from many objects, yet are in ſome circumſtances more dangerous: not only becauſe the worſt of evils, ſpiritual pride, does ſeldom miſs to creep upon thoſe goodly oaks, like ivy, and ſuck their heart out; and a great mortifier, without ſome complacencies in himſelf, or affectations or opinions, or ſomething of ſingularity, is almoſt as unuſual as virgin-purity and unſtained thoughts in the Bordelli; (St. Hierom[f] had tried it, and found it ſo by experience, and he it was that ſaid ſo;) but alſo becauſe whatſoever temptation does invade ſuch retired perſons, they have [g] privacies enough to act it in, and no eyes upon them but the eye of heaven, no ſhame to encounter withal, no fears of being diſcovered: and we know by experience, that a witneſs of our converſation is a great reſtraint to the inordination of our actions. Men ſeek out darkneſſes and ſecrecies to commit a ſin: and[h] "The evil that no man ſees, no man reproves; and that makes the temptation bold and confident, and the iniquity eaſy and ready. So that as they have not ſo many tempters as they have abroad, ſo neither have they ſo many reſtraints: their vices are not ſo many, but they are more dangerous in themſelves, and to the world ſafe and opportune. And as they communicate leſs with the world, ſo they do leſs charity and fewer offices of mercy. No ſermons there but when ſolitude is made popular, and the city removes into the wilderneſs; no comforts of a public religion, or viſible remonſtrances of the communion of ſaints: and of all the kinds of ſpiritual mercy, only one can there properly be exerciſed, and of the corporal none at all. And this is true in lives and inſtitutions of leſs retirement, in proportion to the degree of the ſolitude. And therefore church-ſtory reports of divers very holy perſons, who left their wilderneſſes and ſweetneſſes of devotion in their retirement, to ſerve God in public, by the ways of charity and exterior offices. Thus St. Antony and Acepſamas came forth to encourage the fainting people to contend to death for the crown of martyrdom[i]; and Aphraates in the time of Valens the Arian emperor came abroad to aſſiſt the church in the ſuppreſſing the flames kindled by the Arian faction. And upon this ground they that are the greateſt admirers of eremitical life, call the epiſcopal function the ſtate of perfection, and a degree of miniſterial and honorary excellency beyond the pieties and contemplations of ſolitude, becauſe of the advantages of gaining ſouls, and religious converſation, and going to God by doing good to others.

7. John the Baptiſt united both theſe lives; and our bleſſed Saviour, who is the great precedent of ſanctity and prudence, hath determined this queſtion in his own inſtance: for he lived a life common, ſociable, humane, charitable, and public; and yet for the opportunities of eſpecial devotion retir'd to prayer and contemplation, but came forth ſpeedily: for the devil never ſet upon him but in the wilderneſs, and by the advantage of retirement. For as God hath many, ſo the devil hath ſome opportunities of doing his work in our ſolitarineſs. But Jeſus reconciled both, and ſo did John the Baptiſt[k], in ſeveral degrees and manners: and from both we are taught, that ſolitude is a good ſchool, and the world is the beſt theatre; the inſtitution is beſt there, but the practice here; the wilderneſs hath the advantage of diſcipline, and ſociety opportunities of perfection; privacy is the beſt for devotion, and the public for charity. In both God hath many ſaints and ſervants, and from both the devil hath had ſome.

8. His ſermon was an exhortation to repentance and an holy life: He gave particular ſchedules of duty to ſeveral ſtates of perſons; ſharply reproved the Phariſees for their hypo-

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[e] *James* iii. *Petrus Cellenſis*, l. 4. ep. 12.

[f] In ſolitudine citò obrepit ſuperbia. Ep. 4.

[g] Non minorem flagitiis occaſionem ſecreta præbuerint. *Quint.*

Maxima pars peccatorum tollitur, ſi peccaturis teſtis aſſiſtat. *Senec.*

[h] *S. Bern.* Malum quod nemo videt, nemo arguit: ubi non timetur reprehenſor, ſecuriùs accedit tentator, & libeiùs perpetratur iniquitas

[i] *Euſeb.* Hiſt. l. 6. c. 3. *Theod.* l. 4. c. 23, 24. Nihil eſt illi principi Deo qui omnem hunc mundum regit quod quidem in terris fiat acceptius, quàm concilia cœtúſque hominum jure ſociali, quæ Civitates appellantur. *Cicer.* Somn. Scipion.

[k] Ὁ Ἰωάννης φιλέρημος, ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἥμερος καὶ τιθασσὸς καὶ ἀγέλοιος.

criſy and impiety, it being worſe in them, becauſe contrary to their rule, their profeſſion and inſtitution; gently guided others into the ways of righteouſneſs, calling them the ſtraight ways of the Lord, that is, the direct and ſhorteſt way to the kingdom, for of all lines the ſtraight is the ſhorteſt: and as every angle is a turning out of the way, ſo every ſin is an obliquity, and interrupts the journey. By ſuch diſcourſes and a baptiſm he diſpoſed the ſpirits of men for the entertaining the Meſſias, and the homilies of the Goſpel. For John's doctrine was to the ſermons of Jeſus as a preface to a diſcourſe; and his baptiſm was to the new inſtitution and diſcipline of the kingdom as the vigils to a holy-day, of the ſame kind in a leſs degree. But the whole œconomy of it repreſents to us, that repentance is the firſt intromiſſion into the ſanctities of Chriſtian Religion. The Lord treads upon no paths that are not hallowed and made ſmooth by the ſorrows and cares of contrition, and the impediments of ſin cleared by dereliction, and the ſucceeding fruits of emendation. But as it related to the Jews, his baptiſm did ſignify, by a cognation to their uſual rites and ceremonies of ablution and waſhing Gentile-Proſelytes, that the Jews had ſo far receded from their duty and that holineſs which God required of them by the law, that they were in the ſtate of ſtrangers, no better than heathens; and therefore were to be treated as themſelves received Gentile-Proſelytes, by a baptiſm and a new ſtate of life, before they could be fit for the reception of the Meſſias, or be admitted to his kingdom.

9. It was an excellent ſweetneſs of religion that had entirely poſſeſs'd the ſoul of the Baptiſt, that in ſo great reputation of ſanctity, ſo mighty concourſe of people, ſuch great multitudes of diſciples and confidents, and ſuch throngs of admirers, he was humble without mixtures of vanity, and confirmed in his temper and piety againſt the ſtrength of the moſt impetuous temptation. And he was tried to ſome purpoſe: for when he was tempted to confeſs himſelf to be the Chriſt, he refuſed it, or to be Elias, or to be accounted that prophet, he refuſed all ſuch great appellatives, and confeſſed himſelf only to be a voice, the loweſt of entities, whoſe being depends upon the ſpeaker: juſt as himſelf did upon the pleaſure of God, receiving form and publication and employment wholly by the will of his Lord, in order to the manifeſtation of the word eternal. It were well that the ſpirits of men would not arrogate more than their own, though they did not leſſen their own juſt dues. It may concern ſome end of piety or prudence that our reputation be preſerved by all juſt means; but never that we aſſume the dues of others, or grow vain by the ſpoils of an undeſerved dignity. Honours are the rewards of virtue, or engagement upon offices of trouble and public uſe; but then they muſt ſuppoſe a preceding worth, or a fair employment. But he that is a plagiary of others titles or offices, and dreſſes himſelf with their beauties, hath no more ſolid worth or reputation, than he ſhould have nutriment if he ate only with their mouth, and ſlept their ſlumbers, himſelf being open and unbound in all the regions of his ſenſes.

The PRAYER.

O Holy and moſt glorious God, who before the publication of thy eternal Son the Prince of Peace, didſt ſend thy ſervant John the Baptiſt, by the examples of mortification, and the rude auſterities of a penitential life, and by the ſermons of penance to remove all the impediments of ſin, that the ways of his Lord and ours might be made clear, ready and expedite; be pleaſed to let thy holy ſpirit lead me in the ſtrait paths of ſanctity, without deflections to either hand, and without the interruption of deadly ſin, that I may with facility, zeal, aſſiduity and a perſevering diligence, walk in the ways of the Lord. Be pleaſed that the ax may be laid to the root of ſin, that the whole body of it may be cut down in me, that no fruit of Sodom may grow up to thy diſpleaſure. Throughly purge the floor and granary of my heart with thy fan, with the breath of thy diviner ſpirit, that it may be a holy repoſitory of graces, and full of benediction and ſanctity: that when our Lord ſhall come, I may at all times be prepared for the entertainment of ſo divine a gueſt, apt to lodge him and to feaſt him, that he may for ever delight to dwell with me. And make me alſo to dwell with him, ſometimes retiring into his receſſes and private rooms by contemplation, and admiring of his beauties, and beholding the ſecrets of his kingdom; and at all other times walking in the courts of the Lord's houſe by the diligences and labours of repentance and an holy life, till thou ſhalt pleaſe to call me to a nearer communication of thy excellencies: which then grant, when by thy gracious aſſiſtances I ſhall have done thy works, and glorified thy holy name, by the ſtrict and never-failing purpoſes and proportionable endeavours of religion and holineſs, through the merits and mercies of Jeſus Chriſt. Amen.

DISCOURSE IV.

Of Mortification and corporal Auſterities.

1. FROM *the days of John the Baptiſt, the kingdom of heaven ſuffers violence, and the violent take it by force,* ſaid our Saviour. For now that the new covenant was to be made with man, repentance which is ſo great a part of it, being in very many actions a punitive duty, afflictive and vindicative, from the days of the Baptiſt (who firſt by office and ſolemnity of deſign, publiſhed this doctrine) violence was done to the inclinations and diſpoſitions of man, and by ſuch violences we were to be poſſeſſed of the kingdom. And his example was the beſt commentary upon his text; he did violence to himſelf: he lived a life in which the rudeneſſes of camels hair, and the loweſt nutriment of flies and honey of the deſart, his life of ſingularity, his retirement from the ſweetneſſes of ſociety, his reſiſting the greateſt of temptations, and deſpiſing to aſſume falſe honours, were inſtances of that violence, and explications of the doctrine of ſelf-denial and mortification, which are the pedeſtal of the croſs, and the ſupporters of Chriſtianity, as it diſtinguiſhes from all laws, religions, and inſtitutions of the world.

2. MORTIFICATION is the one half of Chriſtianity; it is a dying to the world, it is a denying of the will and all its natural deſires; an abſtinence from pleaſure and ſenſual complacencies, that the fleſh being ſubdued to the ſpirit, both may join in the ſervice of God, and in the offices of holy religion[a]. It conſiſts in actions of ſeverity and renunciation; it refuſes to give entertainment to any vanity, nor uſes a freer licence in things lawful, leſt it be tempted to things unlawful; it kills the luſt of the fleſh by taking away its fuel and incentives, and by uſing to contradict its appetite, does inure it with more facility to obey the ſuperior faculties: and, in effect, it is nothing but a great care we ſin not, and a prudent and ſevere uſing ſuch remedies and inſtruments which in nature and grace are made apt for the production of our purpoſes. And it conſiſts in interior and exterior offices: theſe being but inſtruments of the interior, as the body is organical or inſtrumental to the ſoul; and no part of the duty it ſelf, but as they are advantages to the end, the mortification of the ſpirit; which by whatſoever means we have once acquired and do continue, we are diſobliged from all other exterior ſeverities, unleſs by accident they come to be obligatory, and from ſome other cauſe.

3. MORTIFICATION of the will or the ſpirit of man, that's the duty; that the will of man may humbly obey God, and abſolutely rule its inferior faculties; that the inordinations of our natural deſires, begun by Adam's ſin, and continued and increaſed by our continuing evil cuſtoms, may be again placed in the right order; that ſince many of the divine precepts are reſtraints upon our natural deſires, we ſhould ſo deny thoſe appetites that covet after natural ſatisfactions, that they may not ſerve themſelves by diſſerving God. For therefore our own wills are our greateſt dangers and our greateſt enemies, becauſe they tend to courſes contradictory to God. God commands us to be humble; our own deſires are to be great, conſiderable, and high; and we are never ſecure enough from contempt, unleſs we can place our neighbours at our feet: Here therefore we muſt deny our will, and appetites of greatneſs, for the purchaſe of humility. God commands temperance and chaſtity; our deſires and natural promptneſs break the bands aſunder, and entertain diſſolutions to the licentiouſneſs of Apicius, or the wantonneſs of a Mahometan paradiſe, ſacrificing meat and drink-offerings to our appetites, as if our ſtomachs were the temples of Bel, and making women and the opportunities of luſt to be our dwelling, and our employment, even beyond the common looſneſſes of entertainment. Here therefore we muſt deny our own wills, our appetites of gluttony and drunkenneſs, and our prurient beaſtly inclinations, for the purchaſe of temperance and chaſtity. And every other virtue is either directly, or by accident, a certain inſtance of this great duty, which is, like a Catholicon, purgative of all diſtemperatures, and is the beſt preparative and diſpoſition to prayer in the world.

4. FOR it is a ſad conſideration, and of ſecret reaſon, that ſince prayer of all duties is certainly the ſweeteſt and eaſieſt, it having in it no difficulty or vexatious labour, no wearineſs of bones, no dimneſs of eyes or hollow cheeks is directly conſequent to it; no natural deſires of contradictory quality, nothing of diſeaſe, but much of comfort and more

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[a] Τὴν ἐπὶ καθαιρέσει τοῦ φρονήματος σαρκὸς πρὸς τὸν τῆς εὐσεβείας σκοπὸν ἐπιτηδευομένην ἀποχὴν τῶν ἡδέων. S. *Baſil.*

of hope in it; yet we are infinitely averſe from it, weary of its length, glad of an occaſion to pretermit our offices: and yet there is no viſible cauſe of ſuch indiſpoſition, nothing in the nature of the thing, nor in the circumſtances neceſſarily appendent to the duty. Something is amiſs in us, and it wanted a name, till the ſpirit of God, by enjoining us the duty of mortification, hath taught us to know that immortification of ſpirit is the cauſe of all our ſecret and ſpiritual indiſpoſitions: we are ſo incorporated to the deſires of ſenſual objects, that we feel no reliſh or guſt of the ſpiritual. It is as if a lion ſhould eat hay, or an ox veniſon; there is no proportion between the object and the appetite, till by mortification of our firſt deſires our wills are made ſpiritual, and our apprehenſions ſupernatural and clarified. For as a cook told Dionyſius the tyrant, the black broth of Lacedæmon will not do well at Syracuſa, unleſs it be taſted by a Spartan's palate: ſo neither can the excellencies of heaven be diſcerned but by a ſpirit diſreliſhing the ſottiſh appetites of the world, and accuſtomed to diviner banquets. And this was myſtically ſignified by the two altars in Solomon's temple, in the outer court whereof beaſts were ſacrificed, in the inner court an altar of incenſe: the firſt repreſenting mortification or ſlaying of our beaſtly appetites; the ſecond the offering up our prayers, which are not likely to become a pleaſant offertory, unleſs our impurities be removed by the atonement made by the firſt ſacrifices; without our ſpirit be mortified, we neither can love to pray, nor can God love to hear us.

5. BUT there are three ſteps to aſcend to this altar. The firſt is, to abſtain from ſatisfying our carnal deſires in the inſtances of ſin; and although the furnace flames with vehement emiſſions at ſome times, yet to walk in the midſt of the burning without being conſumed, like the children of the captivity, that is the duty even of the moſt imperfect, and is commonly the condition of thoſe good perſons whoſe intereſt in ſecular employments ſpeaks fair, and ſolicits often, and tempts highly; yet they manage their affairs with habitual juſtice, and a conſtant charity, and are temperate in their daily meals, chaſte in the ſolaces of marriage, and pure in their ſpirits, unmingled with ſordid affections in the midſt of their poſſeſſions and enjoyments. Theſe men are in the world, but they are ſtrangers here: they *have a city, but not an abiding one*[b]: they are proſelytes of the houſe, but have made no covenant with the world[c]. For though they deſire with ſecular deſires, yet it is but for neceſſaries, and then they are content: they uſe the creatures with freedom and modeſty, but never to intemperance and tranſgreſſion[d]: ſo that their hands are below, tied there by the neceſſities of their life; but their hearts are above, lifted up by the abſtractions of this firſt degree of mortification. And this is the firſt and niceſt diſtinction between a man of the world and a man of God: for this ſtate is a denying our affections nothing but the ſin, it enjoys as much of the world as may be conſiſtent with the poſſibilities of heaven: a little leſs than this is the ſtate of immortification, and *a being in the fleſh*, which (ſaith the Apoſtle) *cannot inherit the kingdom of God.* The fleſh muſt firſt be ſeparated, and the adherences pared off from the ſkin, before the parchment be fit to make a ſchedule for uſe, or to tranſmit a record: whatſoever in the ſenſe of the ſcripture is fleſh, or an enemy to the ſpirit, if it be not reſcinded and mortified, makes that the laws of God cannot be written in our hearts. This is the doctrine St. Paul taught the church: *For if ye live after the fleſh, ye ſhall die: but if ye through the ſpirit do mortify the deeds of the body, ye ſhall live*[e]. This firſt mortification is the way of life, if it continues: but its continuance is not ſecured, till we are advanced towards life by one degree more of this death. For this condition is a ſtate of a daily and dangerous warfare, and many inroads are made by ſin, and many times hurt is done and booty carried off: for he that is but thus far mortified, although his dwelling be within the kingdom of grace, yet it is in the borders of it, and hath a dangerous neighbourhood. If we mean to be ſafe, we muſt remove into the heart of the land, or carry the war farther off.

6. SECONDLY, We muſt not only be ſtrangers here, but we muſt be dead too, dead unto the world: that is, we muſt not only deny our vices, but our paſſions[f]; not only contradict the direct immediate perſuaſion to a ſin, but alſo croſs the inclination to it. So long as our appetites are high and full, we ſhall never have peace or ſafety, but the dangers and inſecurities of a full war and a potent enemy; we are always diſputing the queſtion, ever ſtruggling for life: but when our paſſions are killed, when our deſires are little and low, then grace reigns, then our life is hid with Chriſt in God, then we have fewer interruptions in the way of righteouſneſs, then we are not ſo apt to be ſurprized by ſudden eruptions and tranſportation of paſſions, and our piety it ſelf is more prudent and reaſonable, choſen with a freer election, diſcerned with clearer underſtanding, hath more in it

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[b] *Heb.* xi. 13. [c] 1 *Tim.* vi. 8. [d] 2 *Cor.* v. 6.

[e] *Rom.* viii. 13.

[f] O quàm contempta res eſt homo, niſi ſuper humana ſe erexerit! *Sen.*

of judgment than of fancy, and is more ſpiritual and angelical. He that is apt to be angry, though he be habitually careful and full of obſervation that he ſin not, may at ſome time or other be ſurprized, when his guards are undiligent, and without actual expectation of an enemy: but if his anger be dead in him, and the inclination leſſened to the indifferency and gentleneſs of a child, the man dwells ſafe becauſe of the impotency of his enemy, or that he is reduced to obedience, or hath taken conditions of peace. He that hath refuſed to conſent to actions of uncleanneſs, to which he was ſtrongly tempted, hath won a victory by fine force, God hath bleſſed him well: but an opportunity may betray him inſtantly, and the ſin may be in upon him unawares; unleſs alſo his deſires be killed, he is betrayed by a party within. David was a holy perſon, but he was ſurprized by the ſight of Bathſheba: for his freer uſe of permitted beds had kept the fire alive, which was apt to be put into a flame when ſo fair a beauty reflected through his eyes. But Joſeph was a virgin, and kept under all his inclinations to looſer thoughts; opportunity, and command, and violence, and beauty did make no breach upon his ſpirit.

7. He that is in the firſt ſtate of pilgrimages does not mutiny againſt his ſuperiors, nor publiſh their faults, nor envy their dignities: but he that is dead to the world ſees no fault that they have; and when he hears an objection, he buries it in an excuſe, and rejoices in the dignity of their perſons. Every degree of mortification endures reproof without murmur: but he that is quite dead to the world and to his own will feels no regret againſt it, and hath no ſecret thoughts of trouble and unwillingneſs to the ſuffering, ſave only that he is ſorry he deſerv'd it. "For ſo a dead body reſiſts not your violence, "changes not its poſture you placed it in, ſtrikes not his ſtriker, is not moved by your "words, nor provoked by your ſcorn, nor is troubled when you ſhrink with horror at "the ſight of it; only it will hold the head downward in all its ſituations, unleſs it be "hindred by violence." And a mortified ſpirit is ſuch, without indignation againſt ſcorn, without revenge againſt injuries, without murmuring at low offices, not impatient in troubles, indifferent in all accidents, neither tranſported with joy or depreſt with ſorrow, and is humble in all his thoughts. And thus *he that is dead* (ſaith the Apoſtle) *is juſtified from ſins*[g]. And this is properly a ſtate of life, in which by the grace of Jeſus we are reſtored to a condition of order and interior beauty in our faculties, our actions are made moderate and humane, our ſpirits are even, and our underſtandings undiſturbed.

8. For paſſions of the ſenſitive ſoul are like an exhalation, hot and dry, born up from the earth upon the wings of a cloud, and detained by violence out of its place, cauſing thunders, and making eruptions into lightning and ſudden fires. There is a tempeſt in the ſoul of a paſſionate man. And though every wind does not ſhake the earth, nor rend trees up by the root, yet we call it violent and ill weather, if it only make a noiſe and is harmleſs. And it is an inordination in the ſpirit of a man, when his paſſions are tumultuous and mighty: though they do not determine directly upon a ſin, they diſcompoſe his peace, and diſturb his ſpirit, and make it like troubled waters in which no man can ſee his own figure and juſt proportions; and therefore by being leſs a man, he cannot be ſo much a chriſtian, in the midſt of ſo great indiſpoſitions. For altho' the cauſe may hallow the paſſion, (and if a man be very angry for God's cauſe, it is zeal, not fury;) yet the cauſe cannot ſecure the perſon from violence, tranſportation and inconvenience. When Eliſha was conſulted by three kings concerning the ſucceſs of their preſent expedition[h], he grew ſo angry againſt idolatrous Joram, and was carried on to ſo great degrees of diſturbance, that when for Jehoſaphat's ſake he was content to enquire of the Lord, he called for a minſtrel, who by his harmony might recompoſe his diſunited and troubled ſpirit, that ſo he might be apter for divination. And ſometimes this zeal goes beſides the intention of the man, and beyond the degrees of prudent or lawful, and engages in a ſin, though at firſt it was zeal for religion. For ſo it happened in *Moſes, at the waters of Maſſah and Meribah he ſpake fooliſhly*; and yet it was when he was zealous for God, and extremely careful of the people's intereſt. For his paſſion, he was hindred from entering into the land of promiſe. And we alſo, if we be not moderate and well-tempered, even in our paſſions for God, may, like Moſes, break the tables of the law, and throw them out of our hands, with zeal to have them preſerved: for paſſion violently ſnatches at the concluſion, but is inconſiderate and incurious concerning the premiſes. The ſum and purpoſe of this diſcourſe is that ſaying of our bleſſed Saviour, *He that will be my Diſciple muſt deny himſelf*[i]; that is, not only deſires that are ſinful, but deſires that are his own, purſuances of his own affections, and violent motions, though to things not evil or in themſelves contagious.

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[g] *Rom.* vi. 7. [h] 2 *Kings* iii. 13, 14, 15. [i] *Mat.* xvi. 24.

9. THIRDLY, And yet there is a degree of mortification of ſpirit beyond this; for the condition of our ſecurity may require, that we not only deny to act our temptations, or to pleaſure our natural deſires, but alſo to ſeek opportunities of doing diſpleaſure to our affections, and violence to our inclinations, and not only to be indifferent, but to chuſe a contradiction and a denial to our ſtrongeſt appetites, to rejoice in a trouble. And this was the ſpirit of S. Paul: *I am exceeding joyful in all our tribulations*; and, *we glory in it* [k]. Which joy conſiſts not in any ſenſitive pleaſure any man can take in afflictions and adverſe accidents, but in a deſpiſing the preſent inconveniences, and looking through the cloud unto thoſe great felicities, and graces, and conſignations to glory, which are the effects of the croſs. *Knowing that tribulation worketh patience, and patience experience, and experience hope, and hope maketh not aſhamed* [l]*:* that was the incentive of S. Paul's joy. And therefore as it may conſiſt with any degree of mortification to pray for the taking away of the croſs, upon condition it may conſiſt with God's glory and our ghoſtly profit; ſo it is properly an act of this virtue to pray for the croſs, or to meet it, if we underſtand it may be for the intereſt of the ſpirit. And thus S. Baſil prayed to God to remove his violent pains of head-ach: but when God heard him, and took away his pain, and luſt came in the place of it, he prayed to God to reſtore him his head-ach again. That croſs was gain and joy, when the removal of it was ſo full of danger and temptation. And this the maſters of ſpiritual life call being crucified with Chriſt: becauſe as Chriſt choſe the death, and deſired it by the appetites of the ſpirit, though his fleſh ſmarted under it, and groaned and died with the burthen; ſo do all that are thus mortified, they place misfortunes and ſadneſs amongſt things eligible, and ſet them before the eyes of their deſire, although the fleſh and the deſires of ſenſe are factious and bold againſt ſuch ſufferings.

10. OF theſe three degrees of interior or ſpiritual mortification, the firſt is duty, the ſecond is counſel, and the third is perfection. We ſin if we have not the firſt; we are in danger without the ſecond; but without the third we cannot be perfect as our heavenly father is, but ſhall have more of human infirmities to be aſhamed of, than can be excuſed by the accreſcencies and condition of our nature. The firſt is only of abſolute neceſſity; the ſecond is prudent, and of greateſt convenience; but the third is excellent and perfect. And it was the conſideration of a wiſe man [m], that the ſaints in heaven, who underſtand the excellent glories and vaſt differences of ſtate and capacities amongſt beatified perſons, although they have no envy nor ſorrows, yet if they were upon earth with the ſame notion and apprehenſions they have in heaven, would not for all the world loſe any degree of glory, but mortify to the greateſt eminency, that their glory may be a derivation of the greateſt ray of light; every degree being of compenſation glorious, and diſproportionably beyond the inconſiderable troubles of the greateſt ſelf-denial. God's purpoſe is, that we abſtain from ſin; there is no more in the commandment [n]: and therefore we muſt deny our ſelves, ſo as not to admit a ſin, under pain of a certain and eternal curſe. But the other degrees of mortification are by accident ſo many degrees of virtue, not being enjoined or counſelled for themſelves, but for the preventing of crimes, and for ſecurities of good life: and therefore are parts and offices of chriſtian prudence, which whoſoever ſhall poſitively reject, is neither much in love with virtue, nor careful of his own ſafety.

11. SECONDLY, but mortification hath alſo ſome deſigns upon the body. For the body is the ſhop and forge of the ſoul, in which all her deſigns which are tranſient upon external objects are framed: and it is a good ſervant, as long as it is kept in obedience and under diſcipline; but *he that breeds his ſervant delicately* [o], will find him contumacious and troubleſome, bold and confident as his ſon: and therefore St. Paul's practice (as himſelf gives account of it) was to *keep his body under, and bring it into ſubjection, leſt he ſhould become a caſt-away* [p]. For the deſires of the body are in the ſame things, in which themſelves are ſatisfied are ſo many injuries to the ſoul. Becauſe upon every one of the appetites a reſtraint is made, and a law placed for ſentinel, that if we tranſgreſs the bounds fix'd by the divine commandment, it becomes a ſin. Now it is hard for us to keep them within compaſs, becauſe they are little more than agents merely natural, and therefore cannot interrupt their act, but covet and deſire as much as they can without ſuſpenſion or coercion, but what comes from without: which is therefore the more troubleſome, becauſe all ſuch reſtraints are againſt nature, and without ſenſual pleaſure. And therefore this is that which S. Paul ſaid, *when we were in the fleſh*

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[k] 2 Cor. vii. 4. Rom. v. 3. [l] Rom. v. 3, 4, 5.

[m] Κάθαρσις μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς ὑλικῆς ἀλογίας καὶ τοῦ θνητώδους σώματος· τελειότης δὲ τῆς οἰκείας εὐζωΐας, ἀνάληψις πρὸς τὴν θείαν ὁμοίωσιν ἐπανάγουσα· ταῦτα δὲ πέφυκεν ἀρετὴ καὶ ἀλήθεια μάλιστα ἀπεργάζεσθαι· ἡ μὲν, τὴν ἀμετρίαν τῶν παθῶν ἐξορίζουσα, ἡ δὲ, τὸ θεῖον εἶδος, εὐφυῶς ἔχουσα, προσκτωμένη. *Hierocl.* in Pythag.

[n] S. *Bonavent.* Tantam gloriam omni horâ negligimus, quanta bona interim facere poſſemus, ſi otioſè eam tranſigimus.

[o] Prov. xxix. 21.

[p] 1 Cor. ix. 27. Rom. vi. 4. Heb. xii. 1. 1 Pet. ii. 1. & iv. 1.

fleſh, the paſſions of ſin which were by the law did work in our members to bring forth fruit unto death[q]. For theſe pleaſures of the body draw us as loadſtones draw iron, not for love, but for prey and nutriment: it feeds upon the iron, as the bodily pleaſures upon the life of the ſpirit, which is leſſened and impaired according as the guſts of the fleſh grow high and ſapid.

12. He that feeds a lion muſt obey him, unleſs he makes his den to be his priſon[r]. Our luſts are as wild and as cruel beaſts, and unleſs they feel the load of fetters and of laws, will grow unruly and troubleſome, and increaſe upon us, as we give them food and ſatisfaction. He that is uſed to drink high wines, is ſick if he hath not his proportion, to what degree ſoever his cuſtom hath brought his appetite; and to ſome men temperance becomes certain death, becauſe the inordination of their deſires hath introduced a cuſtom, and cuſtom hath encreaſed thoſe appetites, and made them almoſt natural in their degree: but he that hath been uſed to hard diet and the pure ſtream, his refreſhments are much within the limits of temperance, and his deſires as moderate as his diet. S. Jerom affirms, that to be continent in the ſtate of widowhood is harder than to keep our virgin pure: and there is reaſon that then the appetite ſhould be harder to be reſtrained, when it hath not been accuſtomed to be denied, but ſatisfied in its freer ſolicitations. When a fontinel is once opened, all the ſymbolical humours run thither, and iſſue out; and it is not to be ſtopped without danger, unleſs the humour be purged or diverted: ſo is the ſatisfaction of an impure deſire, it opens the iſſue, and makes way for the emanation of all impurity, and, unleſs the deſire be mortified, will not be ſtopt by purpoſes and eaſy deſires.

13. Since therefore the body is the inſtrument of ſins, the fewel and the incentive, our mortification muſt reach thither alſo, at leaſt in ſome degrees, or it will be to ſmall purpoſe to think of mortifying our ſpirit in ſome inſtances of temptation. In vain does that man think to keep his honour and chaſtity, that invites his luſt to an activeneſs by ſoft beds and high diet, and idleneſs and opportunity. Make the ſoul's inſtrument unapt, and half the work is done. And this is true in all inſtances of carnality or natural deſires, whoſe ſcene lies in the lower region of paſſions, and are acted by the body. But the operation of the cure muſt be in proportion to the deſign: as the mortification of the ſpirit is in ſeveral degrees, ſo the mortification of the body alſo hath its ſeveral parts of prudence, injunction, and neceſſity. For the preſcribing all ſorts of mortifications corporal indefinitely and indiſcriminately to all perſons, without ſeparation of their ends and diſtinct capacities, is a ſnare to mens conſciences, makes religion impertinently troubleſome, occaſions ſome men to glory in corporal auſterity, as if of it ſelf it were an act of piety, and a diſtinction of the man from the more imperfect perſons of the world, and is all the way unreaſonable and inartificial.

14. First, therefore, ſuch whoſe engagements in the world or [s] capacities of perſon confine them to the loweſt and firſt ſtep of mortification, thoſe who fight only for life and liberty, not for privileges and honour, that are in perpetual conteſtation and cloſe fightings with ſin, it is neceſſary that their body alſo be mortified in ſuch a degree, that their deſires tranſport them not beyond the permiſſions of divine and human laws: let ſuch men be ſtrict in the rules of temperance and ſobriety, be chaſte within the laws of marriage, cheriſh their body to preſerve their health, and their health to ſerve God, and to do their offices. To theſe perſons the beſt inſtruments of diſcipline are the ſtrict laws of temperance, denying all tranſgreſſions of the appetite boiling over its margent and proper limit, aſſiduous prayer, and obſervation of the publick laws of faſting, which are framed ſo moderate and even, as to be proportionable to the common manner of living of perſons ſecular and incumbred. For tho' many perſons of common employments and even manner of living, have, in the midſt of worldly avocations, undertaken auſterities very rude and rigorous; yet it was in order to a higher mortification of ſpirit: and it is alſo neceſſary they ſhould, if either naturally, or habitually, or eaſily they ſuffer violent tranſportation of paſſions. For ſince the occaſions of anger and diſturbance in the world frequently occur, if ſuch paſſions be not reſtrained by greater violence than is competent to the ordinary offices of a moderate Piety, the cure is weaker than the humour, and ſo leaves the work imperfect.

15. Secondly, But this is coincident to the ſecond degree of mortification: for if either out of deſire of a farther ſtep towards perfection, or out of the neceſſities of nature or evil cuſtoms, it be neceſſary alſo to ſubdue our paſſions as well as the direct invitations to ſin, in both theſe caſes the body muſt ſuffer more auſterities, even ſuch as directly are

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[q] Rom. vii. 5.

[r] Αἰσχρὸν τῶν μὲν οἰκετῶν ἄρχειν, ταῖς δὲ ἡδοναῖς δουλεύειν. *Iſoc.* ad Demonic.

[s] Huic epulæ. viciſſe famem; magníque penates,
Summoviſſe hyemem tecto; pretioſáque veſtis,
Hirtam membra ſuper, Romani more Quiritis,
Induxiſſe togam. ———
De Catone dixit Lucanus; & de eodem,
Intonſos rigidam in frontem deſcendere canos
Paſſus erat, mœſtámque genis increſcere barbam.

contrariant to every paſſionate diſturbance, though it be not ever ſinful in the inſtance. All mortifiers muſt abſtain from every thing that is unlawful: but theſe, that they may abſtain from things unlawful, muſt alſo deny to themſelves ſatisfaction in things lawful and pleaſant. And this is in a juſt proportion to the end, the ſubduing the paſſions, leſt their liberty and boldneſs become licentious. And we ſhall eaſier deny their importunity to ſin, when we will not pleaſe them in thoſe things in which we may: ſuch in which the fear of God, and the danger of our ſouls, and the convictions of reaſon and religion do not immediately co-operate. And this was the practice of David; when he had thirſted for the water of Bethlehem, and ſome of his worthies ventured their lives and brought it, *he refuſed to drink it, but poured it upon the ground unto the Lord*[t], that is, it became a drink-offering unto the Lord; an acceptable oblation, in which he ſacrificed his deſires to God, denying himſelf the ſatisfaction of ſuch a deſire which was natural and innocent, ſave that it was ſomething nice, delicate and curious. Like this was the act of the fathers in the mountain Nitria[v], to one of which a fair cluſter of grapes being ſent, he refuſed to taſte them, leſt he ſhould be too ſenſual and much pleaſed, but ſent them to another, and he to a third; and the ſame conſideration tranſmitted the preſent through all their cells, till it came to the firſt man again: all of them not daring to content their appetite in a thing too much deſired, leſt the like importunity in the inſtance of a ſin ſhould prevail upon them. To theſe perſons the beſt inſtruments of diſcipline are ſubtractions, rather than impoſition of auſterities: let them be great haters of corporal pleaſures, eating for neceſſity, diet ſpare and cheap, abridging and making ſhort the opportunities of natural and permitted ſolaces, [u]refuſing exterior comforts, not chuſing the moſt pleaſant object, not ſuffering delight to be the end of eating, and therefore ſeparating delight from it as much as prudently they may; not being too importunate with God to remove his gentler hand of paternal correction, but inuring our ſelves to patient ſuffering, and indifferent acceptation of the croſs that God lays upon us; at no hand living delicately, or curiouſly, or impatiently. And this was the condition of S. Paul, ſuffering with excellent temper all thoſe perſecutions and inconveniences which the enemies of religion loaded him withal; which he called *bearing the marks of the Lord Jeſus in his body*, and *carrying about in his body the dying* or mortification *of the Lord Jeſus*[w]. It was in the matter of perſecution; which becauſe he bare patiently, and was accuſtomed to, and he accepted with indifference and renunciation, they were the mortifications and the marks of Jeſus, that is, a true conformity to the paſſion of Chriſt, and of great effect and intereſt for the preventing ſins by the mortification of his natural deſires.

16. THIRDLY, But in the pale of the church there are and have been many tall cedars, whoſe tops have reached to heaven: ſome there are that chuſe afflictions of the body, that by turning the bent and inclination of their affections into ſenſual diſpleaſures, they may not only cut off all pretenſions of temptation, but grow in ſpiritual graces, and perfections intellectual and beatified. To this purpoſe they ſerved themſelves, with the inſtances of ſack-cloth, hard lodging, long faſts, pernoctation in prayers, renunciation of all ſecular poſſeſſions, great and expenſive charity, bodily labours to great wearineſs and affliction, and many other prodigies of voluntary ſuffering, which ſcripture and the eccleſiaſtical ſtories do frequently mention. St. Lewis king of France wore ſack-cloth every day, unleſs ſickneſs hindred; and S. Zenobius as long as he was a biſhop. And when Severus Sulpitius ſent a ſack-cloth to S. Paulinus biſhop of *Nola*, he returned to him a letter of thanks, and diſcourſed piouſly concerning the uſe of corporal auſterities. And that I need not inſtance, it was ſo general, that this was by way of appropriation called *the garment of the church*[x], becauſe of the frequent uſe of ſuch inſtruments of exterior mortification. And ſo it was in other inſtances. S. James neither ate fleſh nor drank wine; S. Matthew lived upon acorns, ſeeds and herbs: and, amongſt the elder chriſtians, ſome rolled themſelves naked in ſnows, ſome upon thorns, ſome on burning coals; ſome chewed bitter pills and maſticated gums, and ſipp'd frequently of horrid potions, and wore iron upon their ſkin, and bolts upon their legs, and in witty torments excelled the cruelty of many of their perſecutors, whoſe rage determined quickly in death, and had certainly leſs of torment than the tedious afflictions and rude penances of Simeon ſurnamed Stylites. But as all great examples have excellencies above the ordinary devotions of good people, ſo have they ſome danger, and much conſideration.

17. FIRST, therefore, I conſider, that theſe bodily and voluntary ſelf-afflictions can only be of uſe in carnal and natural temptations; of no uſe in ſpiritual. For aſcetic diet,

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[t] 2 Sam. xxiii. 16.

[v] Apud *Pallad.* in hiſtor. Lauſiac.

[u] Quantò quiſque ſibi plura negaverit, à Diis plura feret. *Horat.*

[w] Gal. vi. 17. 2 Cor. iv. 10.

[x] Depoſuerunt ſeculi byſſum, & ſumpſerunt eccleſiæ veſtimentum, quod eſt cilicium. *Ruricius*, Ep. 20. *Euſeb.* Hiſt. l. 2. c. 22. *Clem. Alex.* Pædag. l. 2. c. 1.

hard lodging, and ſevere diſciplines, cannot be directly operative upon the ſpirit, but only by mediation of the body, by abating its extragavances, by ſubtracting its maintenance, by leſſening its temptations: theſe may help to preſerve the ſoul chaſte or temperate, becauſe the ſcene of theſe ſins lies in the body, and thence they have their [y] maintenance, and from thence alſo may receive their abatements. But in actions which are leſs material, ſuch as pride, and envy, and blaſphemy, and impenitence, and all the kinds and degrees of malice, external mortifications do ſo little co-operate to their cure, that oftentimes they are their greateſt inflamers and incentives, and are like cordials given to cure a cold fit of an ague, they do their work, but bring a hot fit in its place: and beſides that great mortifiers have been ſooneſt aſſaulted by the ſpirit of pride, we find that great faſters are naturally angry and cholerick. S. Hierom found it in himſelf, and Ruffinus felt ſome of the effects of it. And therefore this laſt part of corporal mortification, and the chuſing ſuch afflictions by a voluntary impoſition, is at no hand to be applied in all caſes, but in caſes of luſt only and intemperance or natural impatience, or ſuch crimes which dwell in the ſenſes. And then it alſo would be conſidered, whether or no rudeneſs to the body applied for the obtaining patience be not a direct temptation to impatience, a provoking the ſpirit, and a running into that, whither we pray that God would not ſuffer us to be led. Poſſibly ſuch auſterities, if applied with great caution and wiſe circumſtances, may be an exerciſe of patience, when the grace is by other means acquired; and he that finds them ſo, may uſe them, if he dares truſt himſelf: but as they are dangerous before the grace is obtained, ſo when it is, they are not neceſſary. And ſtill it may be enquired in the caſe of temptations to luſt, whether any ſuch auſterities which can conſiſt with health will do the work. So long as the body is in health, it will do its offices of nature; if it is not in health, it cannot do all offices of grace, nor many of our calling. And therefore although they may do ſome advantage to perſons tempted with the loweſt ſins; yet they will not do it all, nor do it alone, nor are they ſafe to all diſpoſitions. And where they are uſeful to theſe ſmaller and lower purpoſes, yet we muſt be careful to obſerve, that the mortification of the ſpirit to the greateſt and moſt perfect purpoſes is to be ſet upon by means ſpiritual and of immediate efficacy. For they are the loweſt operations of the ſoul which are moved and produced by actions corporal; the ſoul may from thoſe become luſtful or chaſte, chearful or ſad, timorous or confident: but yet even in theſe the ſoul receives but ſome diſpoſitions thence, and more forward inclinations. But nothing from the body can be operative in the begetting or encreaſe of charity, or the love of God, or devotion, or in mortifying ſpiritual and intellectual Vices: and therefore thoſe greater perfections and heights of the ſoul, ſuch as are deſigned in this higheſt degree of mortification, are not apt to be enkindled by corporal auſterities. And Nigrinus in Lucian [z] finds fault with thoſe philoſophers who thought virtue was to be purchaſed by cutting the ſkin with whips, binding the nerves, razing the body with iron: but he taught, that virtue is to be placed in the mind by actions internal and immaterial, and that from thence remedies are to be derived againſt perturbations and actions criminal. And this is determined by the Apoſtle in faireſt intimation, *mortify therefore your earthly members* [a]; and he inſtances in carnal crimes, *fornication, uncleanneſs, inordinate affection, evil concupiſcence, and covetouſneſs*, which are things may be ſomething abated by corporal mortifications: and that theſe are by diſtinct manner to be helped from other more ſpiritual vices, he adds, *but now therefore put off all theſe, anger, wrath, malice, blaſphemy, filthy communication, and lying* [b]. To both theſe ſorts of ſins, mortification being the general remedy [c], particular applications are to be made; and it muſt be only ſpiritual, or alſo corporal, in proportion to the nature of the ſins. He ſeems to diſtinguiſh the remedy by ſeparation of the nature of the crimes; and poſſibly alſo by the differing words of [[d] *mortify*] applied to carnal ſins, and [[e] *put off*] to crimes ſpiritual.

18. Secondly, But in the leſſer degrees of mortification, in order to ſubduing of all paſſions of the ſenſitive appetite, and the conſequent and ſymbolical ſins, [f] bodily auſterities are of good uſe, if well underſtood, and prudently undertaken. To which purpoſe I alſo conſider, no acts of corporal auſterity or external religion are of themſelves to be eſteemed holy or acceptable to God, are no where preciſely commanded, no inſtruments of

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[y] Ἐν πλησμονῇ γὰρ κύπρις· ἐν δὲ τοῖς κακῶς πράσσουσιν οὐκ ἔνεστιν ἀφροδίτη βροτοῖς. *Antiphan.*

[z] Δῆλος δὲ ἦν καὶ τῶν τοιούτων κατεγνωκὼς φιλοσόφων, οἳ ταύτην ἄσκησιν ἀρετῆς ὑπελάμβανον, ἢν πολλαῖς ἀνάγκαις καὶ πόνοις τοὺς νέους ἀντέχειν καταγυμνάσωσι. Τοῦτο μὲν δεῖν οἱ πολλοὶ κελεύοντες, ἄλλοι δὲ μαστιγοῦντες· οἱ δὲ χαριέστεροι καὶ σιδήρῳ τὰς ἐπιφανείας αὐτῶν καταξύοντες. Ἡγεῖτο γὰρ χρῆναι πολὺ πρότερον ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς τὸ στεῤῥὸν τοῦτο καὶ ἀπαθὲς κατασκευάσαι. *Lucian Nigrin.*

[a] Col. iii. 5. [b] —— *Ver.* 8.

[c] Ut corpus redimas, ferrum patieris & ignes,
Arida nec ſitiens ora lavabis aquâ.
Ut valeas animo, quicquam tollerare negabis?

[d] Νεκρώσατε τὰ μέλη. [e] Ἀπόθεσθε τὰ πάντα.

[f] Ὁ ἐγγὺς κυρίου πλήρης μαστίγων. *Clem. Alexand.* Pædag. 2.

of union with Chriſt, no immediate parts of divine worſhip: and therefore to ſuffer corporal auſterities with thoughts determining upon the external action, or imaginations of ſanctity inherent in the action, is againſt the purity, the ſpirituality and ſimplicity of the goſpel. And this is the meaning of St. Paul [g], *It is a good thing that the heart be eſtabliſhed with grace, not with meats, which have not profited them which have walked in them*; and, *The kingdom of God conſiſts not in meat and drink, but in righteouſneſs, and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghoſt* [h]: and, *Bodily exerciſe profiteth little, but Godlineſs is profitable unto all things* [i]. Now if external mortifications are not for themſelves, then they are to receive their eſtimate as they co-operate to the end. Whatſoever is a prudent reſtraint of an extravagant paſſion, whatſoever is a direct denial of a ſin, whatſoever makes proviſion for the ſpirit, or withdraws the fewel from the impure fires of carnality, that is an act of mortification: but thoſe auſterities which Baal's prieſts did uſe, or the Flagellantes, an ignorant faction that went up and down villages whipping themſelves, or thoſe which return periodically on a ſet day of diſcipline, and uſing rudeneſſes to the body by way of ceremony and ſolemnity, not directed againſt the actual incurſion of a pungent luſt, are not within the verge of the grace of mortification. For unleſs the temptation to a carnal ſin be actually incumbent and preſſing upon the ſoul, pains of affliction and ſmart do not benefit toward ſuppreſſing the habit of inclination: for ſuch ſharp diſciplines are but ſhort and tranſient troubles; and although they take away the preſent fancies of a temptation, yet unleſs it be raſh and uncharitable, there is no effect remanent upon the body, but that the temptation may ſpeedily return. As is the danger, ſo muſt be the application of the remedy. Actual ſeverities are not imprudently undertaken in caſe of imminent danger: but to cure an habitual luſt, ſuch corporal mortifications are moſt reaſonable whoſe effect is permanent, and which takes away whatſoever does miniſter more fuel, and puts a torch to the pile.

19. BUT this is altogether a diſcourſe of chriſtian prudence, not of preciſe duty and religion: for if we do by any means provide for our indemnity, and ſecure our innocence, all other exterior mortifications are not neceſſary, and they are convenient but as they do facilitate or co-operate towards the end. And if that be well underſtood, it will concern us that they be uſed with prudence and caution, with purity of intention, and without pride. For ſince they are nothing in themſelves, but are hallowed and adopted into the family of religious actions by participation of the end; the doing them not for themſelves, takes off all complacency and fancy reflecting from an opinion of the external actions, guides and purifies the intention, and teaches us to be prudent in the managing of thoſe auſterities, which as they are in themſelves afflictive, ſo have in them nothing that is eligible, if they be imprudent.

20. AND now ſuppoſing theſe premiſſes as our guide to chuſe and enter into the action, prudence muſt be called in to the execution and diſcharge of it, and the manner of its managing. And for the prudential part, I ſhall firſt give the advice of Nigrinus in the diſcipline of the old philoſophers [k]; "He that will beſt inſtitute and inſtruct men in the ſtudies of virtue and true philoſophy, muſt have a regard to the mind, to the body, to the age, to the former education, and capacities or incapacities of the perſon." To which all ſuch circumſtances may be added as are to be accounted for in all prudent eſtimations, ſuch as are national cuſtoms, dangers of ſcandal, the preſence of other remedies, or diſbanding of the inclination.

21. SECONDLY, It may alſo concern the prudence of this duty, not to neglect the ſmalleſt inadvertencies and minutes of luſt or ſpiritual inconvenience, but to contradict them in their weakneſs and firſt beginnings. We ſee that great diſturbances are wrought from the ſmalleſt occaſions meeting with an impatient ſpirit, like great flames kindled from a little ſpark fallen into an heap of prepared nitre. St. Auſtin tells a ſtory of a certain perſon [l], "much vexed with flies in the region of his dwelling, and himſelf heightened the trouble by too violent and buſy reflections upon the inconſiderableneſs of the inſtrument, and the greatneſs of the vexation alighting upon a peeviſh ſpirit. In this diſpoſition he was viſited by a Manichee, (an heretick that denied God to be the maker of things viſible.) He being buſy to rub his infection upon the next thing he met, aſk'd the impatient perſon whom he thought to be the maker of flies? He anſwered, I think the devil was; for they are inſtruments of great vexation and perpetual trouble. What he rather fancied than believed, or expreſſed by anger rather than at all had entertained within, the Manichee confirmed by ſuch arguments, to which his adverſary was very apt to give conſent, by reaſon of his impatience and peeviſhneſs. The Manichee having

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[g] *Heb.* xiii. 9. [h] *Rom.* xiv. 17. [i] 1 *Tim.* iv. 8.

[k] Καὶ τὸν ἄριστα παιδεύειν ἀνθρώπους προαιρούμενον, τοῦτο μὲν ψυχῆς, τοῦτο δὲ σώματος, τοῦτο δὲ ἡλικίας τε καὶ τῆς πρότερον ἀγωγῆς ἐστοχάσθαι. *Luc.* Nigr.

[l] Tract. 1. in Joh.

“ ſet his foot firm upon his firſt breach, proceeded in his queſtion, If the devil made
“ flies, why not bees, who are but a little bigger, and have a ſting too? The conſidera-
“ tion of the ſting, made him fit to think, that the little difference in bigneſs needed
“ not a diſtinct and greater efficient, eſpecially ſince the ſame workman can make a great
“ as well as a little veſſel. The Manichee proceeded, If a bee, why not a locuſt? if a
“ locuſt, then a lizard? if a lizard, then a bird? if a bird, then a lamb? and thence he
“ made bold to proceed to a cow, to an elephant, to a man. His adverſary by this
“ time being inſnared by granting ſo much, and now aſhamed not to grant more, leſt
“ his firſt conceſſions ſhould ſeem unreaſonable and impious, confeſſed the devil to be
“ the maker of all creatures viſible.” The uſe which is made of this ſtory is this caution, That the devil do not abuſe us in flies, and provoke our ſpirits by trifles and impertinent accidents: for if we be unmortified in our ſmalleſt motions, it is not imaginable we ſhould ſtand the blaſt of an impetuous accident and violent perturbation. Let us not therefore give our paſſions courſe in a ſmall accident, becauſe the inſtance is inconſiderable: for though it be, the conſequence may be dangerous, and a wave may follow a wave, till the inundation be general and deſperate. And therefore here it is intended for advice, that we be obſervant of the accidents of our domeſtic affairs, and curious that every trifling inadvertency of a ſervant, or ſlight miſbecoming action, or imprudent words, be not apprehended as inſtruments of vexation: for ſo, many ſmall occaſions, if they be productive of many ſmall diſturbances, will produce an habitual churliſhneſs and immortification of ſpirit.

22. Thirdly, Let our greateſt diligence and care be employed in mortifying our predominant paſſion. For if our care be ſo great as not to entertain the ſmalleſt, and our reſolution ſo ſtrong and holy as not to be ſubdued by the greateſt and moſt paſſionate deſires, the ſpirit hath done all its work, ſecures the future, and ſanctifies the preſent, and nothing is wanting but perſeverance in the ſame prudence and religion. And this is typically commanded in the precept of God to Moſes and Aaron in the matter of Peor; *Vex the Midianites, becauſe they vexed you, and made you ſin by their daughters.* And Phinehas did ſo, he killed a prince of the houſe of Simeon, and a princeſs of Midian, and God confirmed the prieſthood to him for ever: meaning, that we ſhall for ever be admitted to a nearer relation to God, if we ſacrifice to God our deareſt luſt. And this is not ſo properly an act, as the end of mortification. Therefore it concerns the prudence of the duty, that all the efficacy and violence of it be employed againſt the ſtrongeſt, and there where is the moſt dangerous hoſtility.

23. Fourthly, But if we mean to be maſters of the field, and put our victory paſt diſpute, let us mortify our moroſity and natural averſations, reducing them to an indifferency, having in our wills no fondneſſes, in our ſpirits no faction of perſons or nations, being prepared to love all men, and to endure all things, and to undertake all employments which are duty or counſel, in all circumſtances or diſadvantages. For the excellency of evangelical ſanctity does ſurmount all antipathies, as a veſſel climbs up and rides upon a wave. *The wolf and the lamb ſhall cohabit, and a child ſhall play and put his fingers in the cavern of the aſpick.* Nations whoſe intereſts are moſt contradictory muſt be knit by the confederations of a mortified and a chriſtian ſpirit, and ſingle perſons muſt triumph over the difficulties of an indiſpoſed nature; or elſe their own will is unmortified, and nature is ſtronger than can well conſiſt with the dominion and abſolute empire of grace. To this I reduce ſuch peeviſh and unhandſome niceneſſes in matters of religion, that are unſatisfied unleſs they have all exterior circumſtances trimmed up and made pompous for their religious offices; ſuch who cannot pray without a convenient room, and their devotion is made active only by a well-built chapel, and they cannot ſing lauds without church-muſick, and too much light diſſolves their intention, and too much dark promotes their melancholy: and becauſe theſe and the like exterior miniſtries are good advantages, therefore without them they can do nothing; which certainly is a great intimation and likeneſs to immortification. Our will ſhould be like the candle of the eye, without all colour in it ſelf, that it may entertain the ſpecies of all colours from without: and when we luſt after mandrakes and deliciouſneſs of exterior miniſtries, we many times are brought to betray our own intereſt, and proſtitute our deareſt affections to more ignoble and ſtranger deſires. Let us love all natures, and ſerve all perſons, and pray in all places, and faſt without opportunities, and do alms above our power, and ſet ourſelves heartily on work, to neglect and fruſtrate thoſe lower temptations of the devil, who will frequently enough make our religion inopportune, if we then will make it infrequent; and will preſent us with objects enough and flies to diſquiet our perſons, if our natures be petulant, peeviſh, curious and unmortified.

24. It is a great mercy of God to have an affable, ſweet and well-diſpoſed nature, and it does half the work of mortification for us; we have the leſs trouble to ſubdue our paſſions, and deſtroy our luſts. But then, as thoſe whoſe natures are moroſe, cholerick, peeviſh and luſtful, have greater difficulty; ſo is their virtue of greater excellence, and returned with a more ample reward. But it is in all men's natures as with them who gathered manna, *They that gathered little had no lack, and they that gathered much had nothing over:* they who are of ill natures ſhall want [m] no aſſiſtance of God's grace to work their cure, though their fleſh be longer healing; and they who are ſweetly tempered, being naturally meek and modeſt, chaſte or temperate, will find work enough to conteſt againſt their temptations from without, though from within poſſibly they may have fewer. Yet there are greater degrees of virtue and heroical excellencies, and great rewards to which God hath deſigned them by ſo fair diſpoſitions; and it will concern all their induſtry to mortify their ſpirit, which though it be malleable and more ductile, yet it is as bare and naked of imagery as the rudeſt and moſt iron nature. So that mortification will be every man's duty: no nature, nor piety, nor wiſdom, nor perfection, but will need it, either to ſubdue a luſt, or a paſſion; to cut off an occaſion, or to reſiſt a temptation; to perſevere, or to go on; to ſecure our preſent eſtate, or to proceed towards perfection. But all men do not think ſo.

25. For there are ſome who have great peace, no fightings within, no troubles without, no diſputes or contradictions in their ſpirit. But theſe men have the peace of tributaries or a conquered people, the gates of their city ſtand open day and night, that all the carriages may enter without diſputing the paſs: the fleſh and the ſpirit diſpute not, becauſe the ſpirit is there in pupillage or in bonds, and the fleſh rides in triumph, with the tyranny and pride and impotency of a female tyrant. For in the ſenſe of religion we all are warriors or ſlaves: either our ſelves are ſtark dead in treſpaſſes and ſins, or we need to ſtand perpetually upon our guards in continual obſervation, and in conteſtation againſt our luſts and our paſſions; ſo long denying and contradicting our own wills, till we will and chooſe to do things againſt our wills, having an eye always to thoſe infinite ſatisfactions which ſhall glorify our wills and all our faculties, when we arrive to that ſtate in which there ſhall be no more contradiction, but only that our mortal ſhall put on immortality.

26. But as ſome have a vain and dangerous peace, ſo others double their trouble by too nice and impertinent ſcruples, thinking that every temptation is a degree of immortification. As long as we live, we ſhall have to do with enemies. But as this life is ever a ſtate of imperfection, ſo the very deſign and purpoſe of mortification is not to take away temptations, but to overcome them: it endeavours to facilitate the work, and ſecure our condition, by removing all occaſions it can; but the opportunity of a crime and the ſolicitation to a ſin is no fault of ours, unleſs it be of our procuring, or finds entertainment when it comes unſent for. To ſuffer a temptation, is a miſery: but if we then ſet upon the mortification of it, it is an occaſion of virtue; and never is criminal unleſs we give conſent. But then alſo it would be conſidered, that it is not good offering our ſelves to fire ordeal, to confirm our innocence; nor prudent to enter into battle without need, and to ſhew our valour; nor ſafe to procure a temptation, that we may have the reward of mortification of it. For mortification of the ſpirit is not commanded as a duty finally reſting in itſelf, or immediately landing upon God's glory, ſuch as are acts of charity and devotion, chaſtity and juſtice: but it is the great inſtrument of humility and all other graces; and therefore is to be undertaken to deſtroy a ſin, and to ſecure a virtuous habit. And beſides that to call on a danger is to tempt God, and to invite the devil[n], (and no man is ſure of a victory;) it is alſo great imprudence to create a need, that we may take it away again; to drink poiſon, to make experiment of the antidote: and at the beſt it is but running back, to come juſt to the ſame place again. For he that is not tempted, does not ſin; but he that invites a temptation, that he might overcome it, or provokes a paſſion, that he may allay it, is then but in the ſame condition after his pains and his danger. He was not ſure he ſhould come ſo far.

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[m] Nemo adeò ferus eſt, ut non miteſcere poſſit,
Si modo culturæ patientem commodet aurem. *Hor.*

[n] Vide *Diſc.* of Temptation.

BRITISH MUSEUM 5 AU 70

Pag. 87. XIV.

And Jeſus *when he was baptized, went up straitway out of the Water; and lo, the Heavens were opened unto him, and he saw* the Spirit of God *descending like a Dove, and lo, a Voice from Heaven, saying,* this is my beloved Son in whom I am well pleaſed. *S^t. Matt. Chap. 3. Ver. 16. 17.*

The PRAYER.

O Deareſt God, who haſt framed man of ſoul and body, and fitted him with faculties and proportionable inſtruments to ſerve thee according to all our capacities, let thy Holy Spirit rule and ſanctify every power and member both of ſoul and body, that they may keep that beauteous order which in our creation thou didſt intend, and to which thou doſt reſtore thy people in the renovations of grace: that our affections may be guided by reaſon, our underſtanding may be enlightened with thy word, and then may guide and perſuade our will: that we ſuffer no violent tranſportation of paſſions, nor be overcome by a temptation, nor conſent to the impure ſolicitations of luſt: that ſin may not reign in our mortal bodies, but that both bodies and ſouls may be conformable to the ſufferings of the holy Jeſus: that in our body we may bear the marks and dying of our Lord, and in our ſpirits we may be humble and mortified, and like him in all his imitable perfections: that we may die to ſin, and live to righteouſneſs; and after our ſuffering together with him in this world, we may reign together with him hereafter. To whom, in the unity of the moſt myſterious Trinity, be all glory and dominion and praiſe for ever and ever. Amen.

SECT. IX.

Of JESUS being Baptized, and going into the Wilderneſs to be tempted.

1. NOW the full time was come, Jeſus took leave of his mother and his trade, to begin his father's work, and the office prophetical, in order to the redemption of the world: And when *John was baptizing in Jordan, Jeſus came to John to be baptized of him.* The Baptiſt had never ſeen his face, becauſe they had been from their infancy driven to ſeveral places, deſigned to ſeveral employments, and never met till now. But immediately the Holy Ghoſt inſpired St. John with a diſcerning and knowing ſpirit, and at his firſt arrival he knew him, and did him worſhip. And when Jeſus deſired to be baptized, *John forbad him, ſaying, I have need to be baptized of Thee, and comeſt thou to me?* For the baptiſm of John, although it was not a direct inſtrument of the ſpirit for the collation of Grace, neither find we it adminiſtred in any form of words, not ſo much as in the name of Chriſt to come, as [a] many dream: (becauſe even after John had baptized, the Phariſees ſtill doubted if he were the Meſſias; which they would not, if in his form of miniſtration he had publiſhed Chriſt to come after him; and alſo becauſe it had not been proper for Chriſt himſelf to have received that baptiſm whoſe form had ſpecified himſelf to come hereafter; neither would it conſiſt with the revelation which John had, and the confeſſion which he made, to baptize in the name of Chriſt to come, whom the ſpirit marked out to him to be come already, and himſelf pointed at him with his finger:) yet it was a ceremonious conſignation of the doctrine of repentance, which was one great part of the covenant evangelical, and was a divine inſtitution[b]; the ſuſception of it was in order to the fulfilling all righteouſneſs; it was a ſign of humility, the perſons baptized confeſſed their ſins; it was a ſacramental diſpoſing to the baptiſm and faith of Chriſt. But therefore John wondered why the Meſſias, the Lamb of God, pure and without ſpot, who needed not the abſterſions of repentance, or the waſhings of baptiſm, ſhould demand it, and of him a ſinner, and his ſervant. And in the Hebrew goſpel of St. Matthew which the Nazarenes uſed at Berœa (as St. Hierom reports) theſe words are added[c]; [*The mother of the Lord and his brethren ſaid unto him, John Baptiſt baptizeth to the remiſſion of ſins, let us go and be baptized of him. He ſaid unto them, What have I ſinned, that I ſhould go and be baptized of him?*] And this part of the ſtory is alſo told by Juſtin Martyr[d]. But Jeſus wanted not a propoſition to conſign by his baptiſm pro-

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[a] *Gabriel Sotus, Scotus,* &c.

[b] *Acts* xix. 4. προοίμιον τοῦ εὐαγγελίου τῆς χάριτος.

[c] Quæſt. ad Orthod. 73.

[d] Dial. 3. adverſ. Pelag.

portionable enough to the analogy of its inſtitution: for as others profeſſed their return towards innocence, ſo he avowed his perſeverance in it. And though he was never called in ſcripture [a Sinner,] yet he was made Sin for us; that is, he did undergo the ſhame and the puniſhment: and therefore it was proper enough for him to perform the ſacrament of ſinners.

2. But the holy Jeſus, who came (as himſelf, in anſwer to the Baptiſt's queſtion, profeſſed) to fulfil all righteouſneſs, would receive that rite which his Father had inſtituted in order to the manifeſtation of his Son[e]. For although the Baptiſt had a glimpſe of him by the firſt irradiations of the ſpirit; yet John profeſſed, That he therefore came *baptizing with water*, that *Jeſus might be manifeſted to Iſrael:* and it was alſo a ſign given to the Baptiſt himſelf, that *on whomſoever he ſaw the ſpirit deſcending and remaining*, he is the perſon *that baptizeth with the Holy Ghoſt*. And God choſe to actuate the deſign at the waters of Jordan, in great and religious aſſemblies convened there at John's Baptiſm; and therefore Jeſus came to be baptized, and by this baptiſm became known to John; who as before he gave to him an indiſcriminate teſtimony, ſo now he pointed out the perſon in his ſermons and diſcourſes, and by calling him the [f] Lamb of God, propheſied of his paſſion, and preached him to be the world's redeemer, and the ſacrifice for mankind. He was now manifeſt to Iſrael; he confirmed the baptiſm of John; he ſanctified the water to become ſacramental and miniſterial in the remiſſion of ſins; he by a real event declared, that to them who ſhould rightly be baptized, the kingdom of heaven ſhould certainly be opened; he inſerted himſelf by that ceremony into the ſociety and participation of holy people, of which communion himſelf was head and prince; and he did in a ſymbol purify human nature, whoſe ſtains and guilt he had undertaken.

3. As ſoon as John had performed his miniſtry, and *Jeſus was baptized, he prayed*, and *the heavens were opened*, and the air clarified by a new and [g] glorious light, *and the Holy Ghoſt in the manner of a dove alighted upon* his ſacred head, and God the Father gave *a voice from heaven, ſaying, Thou art my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleaſed.* This was the inauguration and proclamation of the Meſſias, when he began to be the great prophet of the new covenant. And this was the greateſt meeting that ever was upon earth, where the whole cabinet of the myſterious Trinity was opened and ſhewn, as much as the capacities of our preſent imperfections will permit; the ſecond perſon in the veil of humanity; the third [h] in the ſhape, or with the motion of a dove; but the firſt kept his primitive ſtate: and as to the Iſraelites he gave notice, by way of caution, *Ye ſaw no ſhape, but ye heard a voice*; ſo now alſo God the Father gave teſtimony to his Holy Son, and appeared only in a voice, without any viſible repreſentment.

4. When the rite and the ſolemnity was over, *Chriſt aſcended up out of the waters*, and left ſo much virtue behind him, that, as Gregorius Turonenſis reports[i], that creek of the river where his holy body had been baptized was indued with a healing quality, and a power of curing lepers that bathed themſelves in thoſe waters, in the faith and with invocation of the holy name of Jeſus. But the manifeſtation of this power was not till afterwards, for as yet Jeſus did no miracles.

5. As ſoon as ever the Saviour of the world was baptized, had opened the heavens, which yet never had been opened to man, and was declared the Son of God, *Jeſus was by the ſpirit driven into the wilderneſs*; not by an unnatural violence, but by the efficacies of inſpiration, and a ſupernatural inclination and activity of reſolution: for it was the holy ſpirit that bare him thither; he was led by the good ſpirit to be tempted by the evil. Whither alſo he was pleaſed to retire, to make demonſtration that even in an active life, ſuch as he was deſigned to and intended, ſome receſſes and temporary diſmiſſions of the world are moſt expedient, for ſuch perſons eſpecially whoſe office is prophetical; and for inſtitution of others, that by ſuch vacancies in prayer and contemplation they may be better enabled to teach others, when they have in ſuch retirements converſed with God.

6. In the deſart, which was four miles from the place of his baptiſm, and about twenty miles from Jeruſalem, as the common computations are, he did abide *forty days and forty nights*; where he was perpetually diſturbed and aſſaulted with evil ſpirits, in the midſt of wild beaſts, in a continual faſt, without eating bread or drinking water. *And the*

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[e] Ἐβαπτίσθη δὲ καὶ ἐνήστευσεν (Ἰησοῦς,) οὐκ αὐτὸς ἀπορυπώσεως, ἢ νηστείας χρείαν ἔχων ἢ καθάρσεως, ὁ τῇ φύσει καθαρὸς καὶ ἅγιος, ἀλλ᾽ ἵνα καὶ Ἰωάννῃ ἀλήθειαν προσμαρτυρήσῃ, καὶ ὑμῖν ὑπογραμμὸν παράσχηται. *Clem.* Conſtit. Apoſt. l. 7. c. 23.

[f] Symbolum ſupplicii crucis. *Juſt. Mart.*

[g] Καὶ εὐθὺς περιέλαμψε τὸν τόπον φῶς μέγα. Evang. *Ebion.*

[h] Ὡσεὶ περιστερὰν. *Mat.* iii. 16. *Mark* i. 10. ἐν σωματικῷ εἴδει. *Luke* iii. 22.

[i] Cap. 17. de gloria Martyr.

Clark & Pine Sc.

Then the Devil leaveth him, and behold Angels came and ministred unto him. St. Matt. Chap. 4th Ver. 11th *the angels miniſtred to him*, being meſſengers of comfort and ſuſtentation ſent from his father for the ſupport and ſervice of his humanity, and employed in reſiſting and diſcountenancing the aſſaults and temporal hoſtilities of the ſpirits of darkneſs.

7. Whether the devils appeared in any horrid and affrighting ſhapes, is not certain: but it is more likely, to a perſon of ſo great ſanctity and high deſignation they would appear more angelical and immaterial, in repreſentments intellectual, in words and ideas, temptations and inticements; becauſe Jeſus was not a perſon of thoſe low weakneſſes to be affrighted or troubled with an ugly phantaſm, which can do nothing but abuſe the weak and imperfect conceptions of perſons nothing extraordinary. And this was the way which Satan or the prince of the devils took, whoſe temptations were reſerved for the laſt aſſault, and the great day of trial. For at the expiration of his forty days, Jeſus being hungry, the tempter invited him only to eat bread of his own providing, which might refreſh his humanity, and prove his divinity; hoping that his hunger, and the deſire of convincing the devil, might tempt him to eat before the time appointed. *But Jeſus anſwered, It is written, man ſhall not live by bread alone; but by every word that proceeds out of the mouth of God:* meaning, that in every word of God, whether the commandment be general or ſpecial, a promiſe is either expreſſed or implied of the ſupply of all proviſions neceſſary for him that is doing the work of God. And that was the preſent caſe of Jeſus, who was then doing his father's work, and promoting our intereſt, and therefore was ſure to be provided for: and therefore ſo are we.

8. The Devil, having failed in this aſſault, tries him again, requiring but a demonſtration of his being the Son of God. He *ſets him upon the* [k] *battlement of the temple*, and invites him to *throw himſelf down*, upon a pretence that *God would ſend his angels* to keep his ſon; and quotes ſcripture for it. But Jeſus underſtood it well; and though he was ſecured of God's protection, yet he would not *tempt* God, nor ſolicit his Providence to a dereliction, by tempting him to an unneceſſary conſervation. This aſſault was ſilly and weak. But at laſt he unites all his power of ſtratagem, and *places* the holy Jeſus *upon an exceeding high mountain*; and by an angelical power draws into one centre ſpecies [l] and ideas from all the kingdoms and glories of the world, and makes an admirable map of beauties; and repreſents it to the eyes of Jeſus, ſaying, that all that was put into his power to give, and he *would give it him, if he would fall down and worſhip him*. But then the Holy Lamb was angry as a provoked lion, and commanded him away, when his temptations were violent, and his demands impudent and blaſphemous. *Then the Devil leaveth him, and the angels came and miniſtred unto him*, bringing ſuch things as his neceſſities required; after he had by a forty-days faſt done penance for our ſins, and conſigned to his church the doctrine and diſcipline of faſting in order to a contemplative life, and the reſiſting and overcoming all the temptations and allurements of the devil, and all our ghoſtly enemies.

Ad SECT. IX.

Conſiderations upon the Baptizing, Faſting, and Temptation of the Holy JESUS *by the devil.*

1. WHEN the day did break, and the Baptiſt was buſy in his offices, the ſun of righteouſneſs ſoon entered upon our hemiſphere: and after he had lived a life of darkneſs and ſilence for thirty years together, yet now that he came to do the greateſt work in the world, and to miniſter in the moſt honourable embaſſy, he would do nothing of ſingularity, but *fulfil all righteouſneſs*, and ſatisfy all commands, and join in the common rites and ſacraments, which all people innocent or penitent did undergo, either as deleteries of ſin, or inſtruments of grace. For ſo he would needs be baptized by his ſervant: and though he was of purity ſufficient to do it, and did actually by his baptiſm purify the purifier, and ſanctify that and all other ſtreams to a holy miniſtry and

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[k] Πτερύγιον, ἀκρωτήριον, τὸ ἐπάνω τῶν ναῶν ἀνατιθέμενον ζώδιον.

[l] Φαινόμενα ἐν τῷ ἀέρι φαντάσματα ἄστατα ὄντα καὶ ἀβέβαια.

effect; yet he went in, bowing his head like a ſinner, uncloathing himſelf like an imperfect perſon, and craving to be waſhed, as if he had been cruſted with an impure leproſy. Thereby teaching us to ſubmit our ſelves to all thoſe rites which he would inſtitute: and although ſome of them be, like the baptiſm of John, joined with confeſſion of ſins, and publication of our infirmities; yet it were better for us to lay by our loads, and waſh our ulcers, than by concealing them, out of vainer deſires of impertinent reputation, cover our diſeaſe till we are heart-ſick and die. But when ſo holy a perſon does all the pious miniſtries of the more imperfect, it is a demonſtration to us, that a life common and ordinary, without affectation or ſingularity, is the moſt prudent and ſafe. Every great change, every violence of fortune, all eminencies and unevenneſſes whatſoever, whether of perſon or accident or circumſtance, put us to a new trouble, require a diſtinct care, create new dangers, object more temptations, mark us out the object of envy, make our ſtanding more inſecure, and our fall more contemptible and ridiculous. But an even life ſpent with as much rigour of duty to God as ought to be, yet in the ſame manner of devotions, in the ſuſception of ordinary offices, in bearing public burthens, frequenting public aſſemblies, performing offices of civility, receiving all the rites of an eſtabliſhed religion, complying with national cuſtoms and hereditary ſolemnities of a people, in nothing diſquieting public peace, or diſreliſhing the great inſtruments of an innocent communion, or diſſolving the circumſtantial ligaments of charity, or breaking laws, and the great relations and neceſſitudes of the world, out of fancy or ſingularity, is the beſt way to live holily, and ſafely and happily; ſafer from ſin and envy, and more removed from trouble and temptation.

2. When Jeſus came to John to be baptized, John, out of humility and modeſty, refuſed him: but when Jeſus, by reduplication of his deſire, fortifying it with a command, made it in the Baptiſt to become a duty, then he obeyed. And ſo alſo did the primitive clerks refuſe to do offices of great dignity and higheſt miniſtry, looking through the honour upon the danger, and paſſing by the dignity they conſidered the charge of the cure, and knew that the eminency of the office was in all ſenſes inſecure to the perſon; till by command and peremptory injunction of their ſuperiors it was put paſt a diſpute, and became neceſſary, and that either they muſt periſh inſtantly in the ruins and precipices of diſobedience, or put it to the hazard and a fair venture for a brighter crown or a bigger damnation. I wiſh alſo this care were entailed and did deſcend upon all ages of the church. For the ambitious ſeeking of dignities and prelacies eccleſiaſtical is grown the peſt of the church, and corrupts the ſalt it ſelf, and extinguiſhes the lights, and gives too apparent evidences to the world, that neither the end is pure, nor the intention ſanctified, nor the perſon innocent; but the purpoſe ambitious or covetous, and the perſon vicious, and the very entrance into church-offices is with an impure torch, and a foul hand, or an heart empty of the affections of religion, or thoughts of doing God's work. I do not think the preſent age is to be treated with concerning denying to accept rich prelacies and pompous dignities: but it were but reaſonable that the main intention and intellectual deſign ſhould be to appreciate and eſteem the office and employment to be of greateſt conſideration. It is lawful to deſire a biſhoprick; neither can the unwillingneſs to accept it, be, in a prudent account, adjudged the apteſt diſpoſition to receive it, (eſpecially if done in[m] ceremony, juſt in the inſtant of their entertainment of it, and poſſibly after a long ambition:) but yet it were well if we remember that ſuch deſires muſt be ſanctified with holy care and diligence in the office. For the honey is guarded with thouſands of little ſharp ſtings and dangers; and it will be a ſad account, if we be called to audit for the crimes of our dioceſe after our own tallies are made even: and he that believes his own load to be big enough, and trembles at the apprehenſion of the horrors of dooms-day, is not very wiſe if he takes up thoſe burthens which he ſees have cruſhed their bearers, and preſſes his own ſhoulders till the bones crack, only becauſe the bundles are wrapt in white linnen, and bound with ſilken cords. *He that deſires the office of a biſhop, deſires a good work*, ſaith St. Paul: and therefore we muſt not look on it for the fair-ſpreading ſails and the beauteous ſtreamers which the favour of princes hath put to it, to make it ſail fairer and more ſecure againſt the dangers of ſecular diſcomforts, but upon the burthen it bears. Prelacy is a good work; and a good work well done is very honourable, and ſhall be rewarded: but he that conſiders the infinite dangers of miſcarrying, and that the loſs of the ſhip will be imputed to the pilot, may think it many times the ſafeſt courſe to put God or his ſuperiors to the charge of a command before he undertakes ſuch great miniſtries. And he that enters in by the force of authority, as he himſelf receives a teſtimony of his worth and aptneſs to the employmemt, ſo he gives the world another, that his ſearch for it was not criminal, nor his perſon immodeſt; and by his weighty apprehenſion of his dangers he will conſider

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[m] In Pontifical. Rom.

his work; and obtain a grace to do it diligently, and to be accepted graciouſly. And this was the modeſty and prudence of the Baptiſt.

3. Jesus *was baptized, he prayed, and the heavens were opened.* External rites of divine inſtitution receive benediction and energy from above; but it is by the mediation of prayer [b]. For there is nothing ritual, but it is alſo joined with ſomething moral, and required on our part in all perſons capable of the uſe of reaſon; that we may underſtand that the bleſſings of religion are works and graces too: God therefore requiring us to do ſomething, not that we may glory in it, but that we may eſtimate the grace, and go to God for it in the means of his own hallowing. Naaman had been ſtupid, if when the prophet bad him waſh ſeven times in Jordan for his cure, he had not confeſſed the cure to be wrought by the God of Iſrael and the miniſtry of his prophet, but had made himſelf the author, becauſe of his obedience to the enjoined condition: and it is but a weak fancy to derogate from God's grace, and the glory and the freedom of it, becauſe he bids us waſh before we are cleanſed, and pray when we are waſhed, and commands us to aſk before we ſhall receive. But this alſo is true from this inſtance, that the external rite of ſacrament is ſo inſtrumental in a ſpiritual grace, that it never does it but with the conjunction of ſomething moral. And this truth is of ſo great perſuaſion in the Greek church [c], that the myſtery of conſecration in the venerable euchariſt is amongſt them attributed not to any myſtical words and ſecret operations of ſyllables, but to the efficacy of the prayers of the church, in the juſt imitation of the whole action and the rite of inſtitution. And the purpoſe of it is, that we might ſecure the excellency and holineſs of ſuch prediſpoſitions and concomitant graces, which are neceſſary to the worthy and effectual ſuſception of the external rites of Chriſtianity.

4. After the Holy *Jeſus was baptized,* and had *prayed, the heavens opened* [d], *the Holy Ghoſt deſcended,* and a *voice from heaven* proclaimed him to be the *ſon of God,* and one *in whom the father was well pleaſed.* And the ſame *ointment* that was caſt upon the *head* of our high prieſt, *went unto his beard,* and thence *fell to the borders of his garment:* for as Chriſt our head felt theſe effects in manifeſtation, ſo the church believes God does to her and to her meaneſt children in the ſuſception of the holy rite of baptiſm in right, apt, and holy diſpoſitions. For the heavens open too upon us, and the Holy Ghoſt deſcends to ſanctify the waters, and to hallow the Catechumen, and to pardon the paſt and repented ſins, and to conſign him to the inheritance of ſons, and to put on his military girdle, and give him the ſacrament and oath of fidelity. For all this is underſtood to be meant by thoſe frequent expreſſions of ſcripture, calling baptiſm *the laver of regeneration, illumination, a waſhing away the filth of the fleſh, and the anſwer of a good conſcience, a being buried with Chriſt* [e], and many others of the like purpoſe and ſignification. But we may alſo learn hence ſacredly to eſteem the rites of religion, which he firſt ſanctified by his own perſonal ſuſception, and then made neceſſary by his own inſtitution and command, and God hath made to be conveyances of bleſſing and miniſtries of the Holy Spirit.

5. The *Holy Ghoſt deſcended upon* Jeſus *in the manner or viſible repreſentment of a dove:* either in ſimilitude or figure, which he was pleaſed to aſſume, as the church more generally hath believed; or at leaſt he did deſcend like a dove, and in his robe of fire hovered over the Baptiſt's head, and then ſate upon him, as the dove uſes to ſit upon the houſe of her dwelling; whoſe proprieties of nature are pretty and modeſt hieroglyphics of the duty of ſpiritual perſons, which are thus obſerved in both philoſophies. The dove ſings not, but mourns; it hath no [f] gall, ſtrikes not with its bill, hath no crooked talons, and forgets its young ones ſooneſt of any the inhabitants of the air. And the effects of the Holy Spirit are ſymbolical in all the ſons of ſanctification. For the voice of the church is ſad in thoſe accents which expreſs her own condition. But as the dove is not ſo ſad in her breaſt as in her note; ſo neither is the interior condition of the church wretched and miſerable; but indeed her ſong is moſt of it elegy within her own walls, and her condition looks ſad, and her joys are not pleaſures in the public eſtimate, but they that afflict her think her miſerable, becauſe they know not the ſweetneſſes of a holy peace and ſerenity which ſupports her ſpirit, and plains the heart under a rugged brow, making the ſoul feſtival under the noiſe of a threne and ſadder groanings. But the ſons of conſolation are alſo taught their duty by this apparition: for upon whomſoever the ſpirit deſcends, he teaches him to be meek, and charitable, neither offending by the violence of hands, or looſer language. For

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[b] 1 Cor. x. 1. &c. Gal. iii. 14, 27. 1 Pet. iii. 21. 1 Cor. xii. 7, 13. Matth. iii. 2, 6.

[c] *Juſtin Mart.* Apol. 2. *Euſeb. Emiſſ.* Serm. 5. de Paſch. S. *Auguſt.* l. 3. c. 4. de Trin.

[d] Quòd Chriſtus vidit cœlos apertos, noſtrî utique gratiâ factum eſt, quibus per lavacrum undæ regeneratricis janua panditur regni cœleſtis. *Beda* in Matt. l. 1. c. 1.

[e] *Eph.* v. 26. *Heb.* x. 32. 1 *Pet.* iii. 21. *Rom.* vi 4.

[f] Scil. in hepate: habet autem in inteſtino.

the dove is inoffenſive in beak and foot, and feels no diſturbance and violence of paſſions when its deareſt intereſts are deſtroyed: that we alſo may be of an even ſpirit in the ſaddeſt accidents, which uſually diſcompoſe our peace. And however ſuch ſymbolical Intimations receive their efficacy from the fancy of the contriver; yet here, whether this apparition did intend any ſuch moral repreſentment or no, it is certain, that where-ever the Holy Spirit does dwell, there alſo peace and ſanctity, meekneſs and charity, a mortified will and an active dereliction of our deſires do inhabit. But beſides this hieroglyphical repreſentment, this dove, like that which Noah ſent out from the Ark, did aptly ſignify the world to be renewed, and all to be turned to a new creation, and God hath made a new covenant with us, that, unleſs we provoke him, he will never deſtroy us any more.

6. No ſooner had the voice of God pronounced Jeſus to be the well-beloved Son of God, but the devil thought it of great concernment to attempt him with all his malice and his art: And that is the condition of all thoſe whom God's grace hath ſeparated from the common expectations and ſocieties of the world. And therefore the ſon of Sirach gave good advice, *My ſon, if thou come to ſerve the Lord, prepare thy ſoul for temptation*[g]. For not only the ſpirits of darkneſs are exaſperated at the declenſion of their own kingdom; but alſo the nature and conſtitution of virtues and eminent graces, which holy perſons exerciſe in their lives, is ſuch as is to be eaſily aſſailable by their contraries, apt to be leſſened by time, to be interrupted by wearineſs, to grow flat and inſipid by tediouſneſs of labour, to be omitted and grow infrequent by the impertinent diverſions of ſociety and ſecular occaſions: ſo that to reſcind the ligaments of vice, made firm by nature and evil habits, to acquire every new degree of virtue, to continue the holy fires of zeal in their juſt proportion, to overcome the devil, and to reject the invitations of the world, and the ſofter embraces of the fleſh, which are the proper employment of the ſons of God, is a perpetual difficulty, and every poſſibility of prevaricating the ſtrictneſs of a duty is a temptation, and an inſecurity to them who have begun to ſerve God in hard battels.

7. THE *Holy Spirit did drive* Jeſus *into the wilderneſs, to be tempted by the devil.* And though we are bound to pray inſtantly that we fall into no temptation; yet if by divine permiſſion, or by an inſpiration of the Holy Spirit, we be engaged in an action or courſe of life that is full of temptation, and empty of comfort, let us apprehend it as an iſſue of divine providence, as an occaſion of the rewards of diligence and patience, as an inſtrument of virtue, as a deſignation of that way in which we muſt glorify God; but no argument of diſfavour, ſince our deareſt Lord the moſt Holy Jeſus, who could have driven the devil away by the breath of his mouth, yet was by the ſpirit of his father permitted to a trial and moleſtation by the ſpirits of darkneſs. And this is St. James's counſel, *My brethren, count it all joy when ye enter into divers temptations, knowing that the trial of your faith worketh patience*[h]. So far it is a bleſſing, when the ſpirit is the inſtrument of our motion, and brings us to the trial of our faith: but if the ſpirit leaves us, and delivers us over to the devil, not to be tempted, but to be abuſed and ruined, it is a ſad condition, and the greateſt inſtance of their infelicity whom the church upon ſufficient reaſon and with competent authority delivers over to ſatan, by the infliction of the greater excommunication.

8. As ſoon as it was permitted to the devil to tempt our Lord, he, like fire, had no power to ſuſpend his act, but was as entirely determined by the fulneſs of his malice as a natural agent by the appetites of nature: that we may know to whom we owe the happineſſes of all thoſe hours and days of peace in which we ſit under the trees of Paradiſe, and ſee no ſerpent encircling the branches and preſenting us with fair fruit to ruin us. It is the mercy of God we have the quietneſs of a minute: for if the devil's chain were taken off, he would make our very beds a torment, our tables to be a ſnare, our ſleeps phantaſtic, luſtful and illuſive, and every ſenſe ſhould have an object of delight and danger, an Hyæna to kiſs, and to periſh in its embraces. But the Holy Jeſus having been aſſaulted by the devil, and felt his malice by the experiments of humanity, is become ſo merciful a High Prieſt, and ſo ſenſible of our ſufferings and danger, by the apprehenſions of compaſſion, that he hath put a hook into the noſtrils of a Leviathan: and although the reliques of ſeven nations be in our borders and fringes of our country, yet we live as ſafe as did the Iſraelites, upon whom ſometimes an inroad and invaſion was made, and ſometimes they had reſt forty years; and when the ſtorm came, ſome remedy was found out by his grace by whoſe permiſſion the tempeſt was ſtirred up. And we find many perſons who in ſeven years meet not with a violent temptation to a crime, but their battels are againſt impediments and retardations of improvement: their own rights are not directly queſtioned, but the devil and ſin are wholly upon the defenſive. Our duty here is an act of affection to

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[g] *Ecclus.* ii. 1. [h] *James* i. 2, 3.

God, making returns of thanks for the protection, and of duty to ſecure and continue the favour.

9. BUT the deſign of the Holy Ghoſt being to expoſe Jeſus to the temptation, he arms himſelf with faſting and prayer, and baptiſm, and the holy ſpirit, againſt the day of battel. He continues in the wilderneſs forty days and forty nights without meat or drink, attending to the immediate addreſſes and colloquies with God, not ſuffering the interruption of meals, but repreſenting his own and the neceſſities of all mankind with ſuch affections and inſtances of ſpirit, love and wiſdom, as might expreſs the excellency of his perſon, and promote the work of our redemption: his converſation being in this interval but a reſemblance of angelical perfection, and his [i] faſts not an inſtrument of mortification, for he needed none, he had contracted no ſtain from his own nor his parents acts; neither do we find that he was at all hungry, or afflicted with his abſtinence, till after the expiration of forty days. *He was afterwards an hungry*, (ſaith the Evangeliſt;) and his abſtinence from meat might be a defecation of his faculties, and an opportunity of prayer: but we are not ſure it intended any thing elſe. But it may concern the prudence of religion, to ſnatch at this occaſion of duty ſo far as the inſtance is imitable, and in all violences of temptation to faſt and pray; prayer being a rare antidote againſt the poiſon, and faſting a convenient diſpoſition to intenſe, actual and undiſturbed prayer. [k] And we may remember alſo that we have been baptized, and conſign'd with the ſpirit of God, and have received the adoption of Sons, and the graces of ſanctification in our baptiſms, and had then the ſeed of God put into us, and then we put on Chriſt, and entering into battel put on the whole armour of righteouſneſs; and therefore we may by obſerving our ſtrength gather alſo our duty and greateſt obligation, to fight manfully, that we may triumph glorioully.

10. THE devil's firſt temptation of Chriſt was upon the inſtances and firſt neceſſities of nature. Chriſt was hungry, and the devil invited him to break his faſt upon the expence of a miracle, by turning the ſtones into bread. But the anſwer Jeſus made was ſuch as taught us, ſince the ordinary providence of God is ſufficient for our proviſion or ſupport, extraordinary ways of ſatisfying neceſſities are not to be undertaken; but God muſt be relied upon, his time attended, his manner entertained, and his meaſure thankfully received. Jeſus refuſed to be relieved, and denied to manifeſt the divinity of his perſon, rather than he would do an act which had in it the intimation of a diffident ſpirit, or might be expounded a diſreputation to God's providence. And therefore it is an improvident care and impious ſecurity to take evil courſes and uſe vile inſtruments to furniſh our table, and provide for our neceſſities. God will certainly give us bread: and till he does, we can live by the breath of his mouth, by the word of God, by the light of his countenance, by the refreſhment of his promiſes. For if God gives not proviſions into our granaries, he can feed us out of his own, that is, out of the repoſitories of charity; if the fleſh-pots be removed, he can alſo alter the appetite; and when our ſtock is ſpent, he can alſo leſſen the neceſſity: or if that continues, he can drown the ſenſe of it in a deluge of patience and reſignation. Every word of God's mouth can create a grace, and every grace can ſupply two neceſſities, both of the body and the ſpirit; by the comforts of this to ſupport that, that they may bear each other's burthen, and alleviate the preſſure.

11. BUT the devil is always prompting us to change our ſtones into bread, our ſadneſſes into ſenſual comfort, our dryneſſes into inundations of fancy and exterior ſweetneſſes: for he knows that the aſcetic tables of mortification, and the ſtones of the deſart, are more healthful than the fulneſſes of voluptuouſneſs, and the corn of the valleys. He cannot endure we ſhould live a life of auſterity or ſelf-denial. If he can get us but to ſatisfy our ſenſes, and a little more freely to pleaſe our natural deſires, he then hath a fair field for the battel: but ſo long as we force him to fight in hedges, and moraſſes, encircling and crouding up his ſtrengths into diſadvantages, by our ſtone-walls, our hardneſſes of diſcipline and rudeneſſes of mortification, we can with more facility repel his flatteries, and receive fewer incommodities of ſpirit. But thus the devil will abuſe us by the impotency

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[i] Εἶθ' ὅταν τῆς χάριτος καταξιωθῇς, τότε σοι πρὸς ἀντικειμένας δυνάμεις παλαίειν δίδωσι τὴν ἐξουσίαν. ὥσπερ γὰρ μετὰ τὸ βάπτισμα καὶ τεσσαράκοντα ἡμέρας ἐπειρᾶτο, οὐχ ὅτι καὶ πρὸ τούτου νικᾷν οὐκ ἐδύνατο, ἀλλ' ὅτι πάντα τάξει καὶ ἀκολουθίᾳ πράττειν ἐβούλετο· οὕτω καὶ σὺ πρὸ τοῦ βαπτίσματος τοῖς ἀντικειμένοις παλαίειν μὴ τολμήσας, λαβὼν δὲ τὴν χάριν, καὶ λοιπὸν θαρσῶν τοῖς τῆς δικαιοσύνης ὅπλοις, ἀγωνίζου τότε, καὶ εἰ θέλεις εὐαγγελίζου. *Cyril. Hieroſ.* Catech. 3.

[k] Ἐάν σοι προσβάλῃ μετὰ τὸ βάπτισμα ὁ τοῦ φωτὸς διώκτης καὶ πειραστής, προσβαλεῖ δὲ (καὶ γὰρ καὶ τῷ Λόγῳ καὶ Θεῷ μου προσέβαλε διὰ τὸ κάλυμμα, τῷ κρυπτῷ φωτὶ διὰ τὸ φαινόμενον,) ἔχεις ᾧ νικήσεις, μὴ φοβηθῇς τὸν ἀγῶνα· προβαλοῦ τὸ ὕδωρ, προβαλοῦ τὸ πνεῦμα, ἐν ᾧ πάντα τὰ βέλη τοῦ πονηροῦ τὰ πεπυρωμένα σβεσθήσεται, πνεῦμα μέν ἐστιν, ἀλλὰ διαλύον ὄρη· ὕδωρ μέν ἐστιν, ἀλλὰ πυρὸς σβεστήριον. *Naziann.* Orat. in. S. Bapt.

of our natural deſires; and therefore let us go to God for ſatisfaction of our wiſhes. God can, and does, when it is good for us, change our ſtones into bread: for he is a father ſo merciful, that if *we aſk him a fiſh, he will not give us a Scorpion; if we aſk him bread, he will not offer us a ſtone*; but will ſatisfy all our deſires by miniſtrations of the ſpirit, making ſtones to become our meat, and tears our drink: which although they are unpleaſant and harſh to natural appetites; yet by the operation and influences of God's Holy Spirit they are made inſtruments of health, and life, and ſalvation.

12. THE devil perceiving Jeſus to be a perſon of greater eminency and perfection than to be moved by ſenſual and low deſires, makes a ſecond aſſault by a temptation ſomething more ſpiritual, and tempts him to preſumption and indiſcreet confidence, to a throwing himſelf down from the pinacles of the temple, upon the ſtock of predeſtination, that God might ſecure him by the miniſtry of angels, and ſo prove his being the Son of God. And indeed it is uſual with the devil, when ſevere perſons have ſo much mortified their lower appetites that they are not eaſily overcome by an invitation of carnality or intemperance, to ſtir them to opinions of their own ſanctity, and make their firſt eſcaping prove their ſecond and greater dangers. But that the devil ſhould perſuade Jeſus to throw himſelf down becauſe he was the Son of God, was an invitation to no purpoſe, ſave only that it gave occaſion to this truth, that God's providence ſecures all his ſons in the ways of nature, and while they are doing their duty; but loves not to be tempted to acts unreaſonable and unneceſſary. God will protect his ſervants in or from all evils happening without their knowledge, or againſt their will; but not from evils of their own procuring. Heron, an inhabitant of the deſart, ſuffered the ſame temptation, and was overcome by it; for he died with his fall, ſinfully and ingloriouſly. For the careſſes of God's love to his ſaints and ſervants are ſecurity againſt all but themſelves. The devil and all the world offer to do them miſchief; but then they ſhall be ſafe, becauſe they are innocent: if they once offer to do the ſame to themſelves, they loſe their protection, becauſe they loſt their prudence and their charity. But here alſo it will concern all thoſe who by their eminent employment and greater miniſtries in eccleſiaſticals are ſet upon the pinacle of the temple, to take care that the devil tempt not them to a precipice; a fall from ſo great a height will break the bones in pieces: and yet there alſo the ſtation is leſs firm, the poſture moſt uneaſy, the proſpect vertiginous, and the devil buſy and deſirous to thruſt us headlong.

13. S. HIEROM here obſerves well[1], the devil intending miſchief to our Bleſſed Saviour, invited him to caſt himſelf down. He may perſuade us to a fall, but cannot precipitate us without our own act. And it is an infinite mercy in God, that the devil, who is of malice infinite, is of ſo reſtrained and limited a power, that he can do us no ghoſtly diſadvantage, but by perſuading us to do it our ſelves. And then it will be a ſtrange imprudence, to lay violent and unreaſonable hands on our ſelves, and do that miſchief which our ſtrongeſt and moſt malicious adverſary cannot; or to be invited by the only rhetorick of a Dog's barking, to come near him, to untie his chain, to unlooſe his muzzle, for no other end but that we may be bitten. Juſt ſuch a fool is every perſon that conſents to the temptations of the devil.

14. BY this time the devil began to perceive that this was the Son of God, and deſigned to be the king of all the world, and therefore reſolved for the laſt aſſault to proffer him the kingdoms of the world; thinking ambition more likely to ruin him, becauſe he knew it was that which prevailed upon himſelf, and all thoſe fallen ſtars, the angels of darkneſs. That the devil told a lye it is moſt likely, when he ſaid he had power to diſpoſe the kingdoms of the world: for originally and by proper inherent right God alone diſpoſes all governments. But it is alſo certain, that the devil is a perſon capable of a delegate employment in ſome great mutation of ſtates: and many probabilities have been obſerved by wiſe perſonages, perſuading that the grandeur of the Roman empire was in the degrees of increment and decrement permitted to the power and managing of the devil; that the greatneſs of that government, being in all appearance full of advantage to ſatan's kingdom, and employed for the diſ-improvement of the weak beginnings and improbable increaſe of Chriſtianity, might give luſtre and demonſtration to it that it came from God, ſince the great permiſſions of power made to the devil, and acted with all art and malice in defiance of the religion, could produce no other effect upon it but that it made it grow greater; and the greatneſs was made more miraculous, ſince the devil, when his chain was off, fain would, but could not ſuppreſs it.

15. THE Lamb of God, that heard him with patience tempt him to do himſelf a miſchief, and to throw himſelf headlong, could by no means endure it when he tempted to a

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[1] *S. Hieron.* in 4. cap. Matt.

direct diſhonouring of God. Our own injuries are opportunities of patience: but when the glory of God and his immediate honour is the queſtion, then is the occaſion and preciſe minute for the flames of a clear-ſhining and unconſuming zeal. But the care of God's glory had ſo filled and imployed all the faculties of Jeſus, that he takes no notice of the offer: and it were well alſo that we had fewer opinions of the luſtre of worldly dignities; or at leaſt, that we, in imitation of our bleſſed Maſter, ſhould refuſe to accept all the world, when it is to be bought of the devil at the expence of a deadly ſin. For that government cannot be very honourable, that makes us ſlaves to the worſt of tyrants: and all thoſe princes and great perſonages who by injury and uſurpation poſſeſs and invade others rights, would do well to conſider, that a kingdom is too dearly paid for, if the condition be firſt to worſhip the Devil.

16. WHEN the devil could do no good, he departed for a time. If he could ever have ſpied a time of returning, he wanted not will nor malice to obſerve and uſe it. And although Jeſus was a perſon without danger; yet I doubt not but the Holy Ghoſt deſcribed that circumſtance, that we ſhould not have the ſecurities of a deep peace when we have had the ſucceſs of conquerors; for a ſurpriſe is moſt full of horrour, and of more certain ruin: ſo that we have no ſecurity, but a perpetual obſervation: that, together with the grace of God, (who takes care of all his ſervants, and will drive away the tempter when he pleaſes, and help us always when we need,) is as great an argument for our confidence, and encouragement to our prayers and addreſs to God, as it is ſafety to our perſon, and honour to our victory. And let us account it our honour that the trials of temptation, which is the greateſt ſadneſs of our condition, are hallowed by the temptation of Jeſus, and our condition aſſured by his aſſiſtances, and the aſſiſtances procured by our prayers moſt eaſily upon the advantage of his ſufferings and compaſſion. And we may obſerve that poverty, predeſtination, and ambition are the three quivers from which the devil drew his arrows, which (as the moſt likely to prevail) he ſhot againſt Chriſt. But now he ſhot in vain, and gave probation that he might be overcome: our captain hath conquered for himſelf and us. By theſe inſtances we ſee our danger, and how we are provided of a remedy.

The PRAYER.

O *Holy* Jeſus *who didſt fulfil all righteouſneſs, and didſt live a life of evenneſs and obedience and community, ſubmitting thy ſelf to all rites and ſanctions of divine ordinance; give me grace to live in the fellowſhip of thy holy church, a life of piety, and without ſingularity, receiving the ſweet influence of thy ſacraments and rites, and living in the purities and innocencies of my firſt ſanctification. I adore thy goodneſs infinite, that thou haſt been pleaſed to waſh my ſoul in the laver of regeneration, that thou haſt conſigned me to the participation of thy favours by the holy euchariſt. Let me not return to the infirmities of the old man, whom thou haſt crucified on thy croſs, and who was buried with thee in baptiſm; nor renew the crimes of my ſinful years, which were ſo many receſſions from baptiſmal purities: but let me ever receive the emiſſions of thy divine ſpirit, and be a ſon of God, a partner of thine immortal inheritance; and when thou ſeeſt it needful, let me receive teſtimony from heaven, that I am thy ſervant and thy child. And grant that I may ſo walk, that I neither diſrepute the honour of the Chriſtian inſtitution, nor ſtain the whiteneſſes of that innocence which thou didſt inveſt my ſoul withal when I put on the baptiſmal robe, nor break my holy vow, nor loſe my right of inheritance which thou haſt given me by promiſe and grace: but that thou mayeſt love me with the love of a father, and a brother, and a huſband, and a lord, and I ſerve thee in the communion of ſaints, in the ſuſception of ſacraments, in the actions of a holy life, and in a never-failing love or uninterrupted devotion; to the glory of thy name, and the promotion of all thoſe ends of religion which thou haſt deſigned in the excellent œconomy of Chriſtianity. Grant this, holy* Jeſus, *for thy mercy's ſake, and for the honour of thy name, which is and ſhall be adored for ever and ever.* Amen

DISCOURSE V.

Of Temptation.

1. GOD, who is the fountain of good, did chuſe rather to bring good out of evil, than not to ſuffer any evil to be: not only becauſe variety of accidents and natures do better entertain our affections and move our ſpirits, who are tranſported and ſuffer great impreſſions by a circumſtance, by the very oppoſition and accidental luſtre and eminency of contraries; but alſo that the glory of the divine providence in turning the nature of things into the deſigns of God might be illuſtrious, and that may in a mixt condition have more obſervation, and after our danger and our labour we may obtain a greater reward. For temptation is the opportunity of virtue and a crown: God having diſpoſed us in ſuch a condition, that our virtues muſt be difficult, our inclinations averſe and corrigible, our avocations many, our hoſtilities bitter, our dangers proportionable; that our labour might be great, our inclinations ſuppreſſed and corrected, our intentions be made actual, our enemies be reſiſted, and our dangers paſs into ſecurity and honour, after a conteſtation, and a victory, and a perſeverance. It is every man's caſe: [a]Trouble is as certainly the lot of our nature and inheritance, and we are ſo ſure to be tempted, that in the deepeſt peace and ſilence of ſpirit oftentimes is our greateſt danger: not to be tempted, is ſometimes our moſt ſubtle temptation. It is certain then, we cannot be ſecure, when our ſecurity is our enemy: but therefore we muſt do as God himſelf does, make the beſt of it, and not be ſad at that which is the public portion and the caſe of all men, but order it according to their intention, place it in the eye of virtue, that all its actions and motions may tend thither, there to be changed into felicities. But certain it is, unleſs we firſt be cut and hewn in the mountains, we ſhall not be fixed in the Temple of God; but by inciſion and contuſions our roughneſſes may become plain, or our ſparks kindled, and we may be either for the temple or the altar, ſpiritual building or holy fire, ſomething that God ſhall delight in: and then the temptation was not amiſs.

2. AND therefore we muſt not wonder that oftentimes it ſo happens, that nothing will remove a temptation, no diligence, no advices, no labour, no prayers: not becauſe theſe are ineffectual, but becauſe it is moſt fit the temptation ſhould abide for ends of God's deſigning. And although S. Paul was a perſon whoſe prayers were likely to be prevalent, and his induſtry of much prudence and efficacy toward the drawing out of his thorn; yet God would not do it, but continued his war, only promiſing to ſend him ſuccour, *My grace is ſufficient for thee*[b]: meaning, he ſhould have an enemy to try his ſpirit and improve it, and he ſhould alſo have God's grace to comfort and ſupport it; but as without God's grace the enemy would ſpoil him, ſo without an enemy God's grace would never ſwell up into glory and crown him. For the careſſes of a pleaſant fortune are apt to ſwell into extravagancies of ſpirit, and burſt into the diſſolution of manners; and unmixt joy is dangerous: but if in our faireſt flowers we ſpy a locuſt, or feel the uneaſineſs of a ſack-cloth under our fine linen, or our purple be tied with an uneven and a rude cord; any little trouble, but to correct our wildneſſes, though it be but a death's head ſerved up at our feaſts, it will make our tables fuller of health, and freer from ſnare, it will allay our ſpirits, making them to retire from the weakneſs of diſperſion, to the union and ſtrength of a ſober recollection.

3. SINCE therefore it is no part of our implyoment or our care to be free from all the attempts of an enemy, but to be ſafe in deſpight of his hoſtility; it now will concern us to inform our ſelves of the ſtate of the war in general, and then to make proviſions and to put on armour accordingly.

4. FIRST, S. Cyprian often obſerves[c], and makes much of the diſcourſe, that the devil, when he intends a battery, firſt views the ſtrengths and ſituation of the place. His ſenſe drawn out of the cloud of an allegory is this:° the devil firſt conſiders the conſtitution and temper of the perſon he is to tempt; and where he obſerves his natural inclination apt for a vice, he preſents him with objects, and opportunity, and arguments fitting to his caitive diſpoſition; from which he is likely to receive the ſmaller oppoſition, ſince there is a party within that deſires his intromiſſion. Thus to luſtful natures he repreſents the ſofter whiſpers of the ſpirit of fornication: to the angry and revengeful he offers to conſideration the ſatisfactions and

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[a] Erras, mi frater, erras, ſi putas unquam Chriſtianum perſecutionem non pati. Tunc maxime oppugnaris, ſi te oppugnari neſcis. *S. Hier.* ad Heliod.

[b] 2 *Cor.* xii. 9.

[c] Serm. de Zelo.

° This is rather a curious remark from the pen of a writer who indulges in many such "clouds of allegory".

content of a full revenge, and the emiſſions of anger; to the envious he makes panegyrics on our rivals, and ſwells our fancies to opinion, our opinion to ſelf-love, ſelf-love to arrogance, and theſe are ſupported by contempt of others, and all determine upon envy, and expire in malice. Now in theſe caſes, when our natures are caitive and unhandſome, it were good we were conſcious of our own weakneſſes, and by ſpecial arts and ſtrengths of mortification fortify that part where we are apt and expoſed to danger : we are ſure enough to meet a ſtorm there, and we alſo are likely to periſh in it, unleſs we correct thoſe averſeneſſes and natural indiſpoſitions, and reduce them to the evenneſſes of virtue or the affections and moderation of a good nature. Let us be ſure that the devil take not a helve from our own branches to fit his axe, that ſo he may cut the tree down. And certainly he that does violence to his nature, will not be eaſy to the entertainment of affections preternatural and violent.

5. SECONDLY, but the devil alſo obſerves all our exterior accidents, occaſions and opportunities of action; he ſees what company we keep, he obſerves what degrees of love we have to our wives, what looſeneſs of affection towards children, how prevalent their perſuaſions, how inconvenient their diſcourſes, how trifling their intereſts, and to what degrees of determination they move us by their importunity or their power. The devil tempted Adam by his wife, becauſe he ſaw his affections too pliant, and encircling her with the entertainment of fondneſs, joy, wonder, and amorous fancy. It was her hand that made the fruit beauteous to Adam. *She ſaw it fair* of it ſelf, *and ſo ſhe did eat*: but Adam was not moved by that argument, but, *the woman gave it me, and I did eat.* She gave vivacity to the temptation, and efficacy to the argument. And the ſeverity of the man's underſtanding would have given a reaſonable anſwer to the inſinuations of the ſerpent: that was an ugly beaſt, and his arguments not being of themſelves convincing to a wiſe perſon, either muſt put on advantages of a fair inſinuation and repreſentment, or they are returned with ſcorn: but when the beauteous hands of his young virgin-miſtreſs became the orators [d], the temptation was an amorevolezza; he kiſſes the preſenter, and hugs the ruin. Here therefore is our ſafeſt courſe, to make a retrenchment of all thoſe excreſcences of affections which, like the wild and irregular ſucker, draw away nouriſhment from the trunk, making it as ſteril as it ſelf is unprofitable. As we muſt reſtrain the inclinations of nature, ſo alſo of ſociety and relation, when they become inconvenient; and let nothing of our family be ſo adopted or naturalized into our affections, as to create within us a new concupiſcence, and a ſecond time ſpoil our nature. What God intended to us for a help, let not our fondneſſes convert into a ſnare. And he that is not ready to deny the importunities, and to reject the intereſts of a wife, or child, or friend, when the queſtion is for God, deſerves to miſs the comforts of a good, and to feel the troubles of an imperious woman.

6. THIRDLY, we alſo have ends and deſigns of our own, ſome great purpoſe upon which the greateſt part of our life turns. It may be we are to raiſe a family, to recover a ſunk eſtate; or elſe ambition, honour, or a great imployment is the great hinge of all our greater actions: and ſome men are apt to make haſte to be rich, or are to paſs through a great many difficulties to be honourable. And here the devil will ſwell the hopes and obſtruct the paſſages: he will heighten the deſire, and multiply the buſineſs of acceſs; making the concupiſcence more impatient, and yet the way to the purchaſe of our purpoſes ſo full of employment and variety, that both the implacable deſire and the multitude of changes and tranſactions may increaſe the danger, and multiply the ſin. When the enemy hath obſerved our ends, he makes his temptations to reflect from that angle which is direct upon them, provoking to malice and impatience againſt whomſoever we find ſtanding in our way, whether willingly or by accident. Then follow naturally all thoſe ſins which are inſtrumental to removing the impediments, to facilitating the paſſage, to endearing our friends, to procuring more confidents, to ſecuring our hopes, and entring upon poſſeſſion. Simon Magus had a deſire to be accounted ſome great one; and by that purpoſe he was tempted to ſorcery and divination; and with a new object he brought a new ſin into the world, adding ſimony to his ſorcery, and taught poſterity that crime, which till then had neither name nor being. And thoſe eccleſiaſticks who violently affect rich or pompous prelacies, pollute themſelves with worldly arts, growing covetous as Syrian merchants, ambitious as the Levantine princes, factious as the people, revengeful as jealouſy, and proud as conquerors and uſurpers: and by this means beaſts are brought into the temple, and the temple it ſelf is expoſed to ſale, and the holy rites as well as the beaſts of ſacrifice are made venal. To prevent the infinite inconveniences that thruſt themſelves into the common and great roads of our life, the beſt courſe is to cut our great chanel into little rivulets. making our ends the more, that we may be indifferent to any, propoſing nothing great, that our deſires may be little: for ſo we ſhall be better able to digeſt the troubles of an enemy, the contradictions of

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[d] Habet n. voluptatem quandam admonitio uxoria, quum plurimum ametur quod conſulit. S. *Chryſoſt.*

an unhandſome accident, the croſſing of our hopes, becauſe our deſires are even, and our ends are leſs conſiderable; and we can with much readineſs divert upon another purpoſe, having another ready with the ſame proportion to our hopes and deſires as the firſt. Thus if we propound to our ſelves an honeſt imployment, or a quiet retirement, a work of charity abroad, or of devotion at home, if we miſs in our firſt ſetting forth, we return to ſhore, where we can negotiate with content, it being alike to us either to traffic abroad with more gain, or trade at home with more ſafety. But when we once grow great in our deſires, fixing too earneſtly upon one object, we either grow impatient, (as Rachel, *give me children, or I die*;) or take ill courſes, and uſe unlawful means, (as Thamar, chuſing rather to lie with her father than die without iſſue;) or elſe are miſerable in the loſs and fruſtration of our hopes, (like the women of Ramah, who would not be comforted.) Let therefore our life be moderate, our deſires reaſonable, our hopes little, our ends none in eminency and prelation above others[e]. For as the rays of light paſſing through the thin air end in a ſmall and undiſcerned pyramis; but reflected upon a wall are doubled, and increaſe the warmth to a ſcorching and troubleſome heat: ſo the deſires of man, if they paſs through an even and an indifferent life towards the iſſues of an ordinary and neceſſary courſe, they are little and within command; but if they paſs upon an end or aim of difficulty or ambition, they duplicate and grow to a diſturbance. And we have ſeen the even and temperate lives of indifferent perſons continue in many degrees of innocence: but the temptation of buſy deſigns is too great even for the beſt of diſpoſitions.

7. BUT theſe temptations are craſſe and material, and ſoon diſcernable: it will require ſome greater obſervation to arm againſt ſuch as are more ſpiritual and immaterial. For he hath apples to cozen children, and gold for men: the kingdoms of the world for the ambition of princes, and the vanities of the world for the intemperate; he hath diſcourſes and fair-ſpoken principles to abuſe the pretenders to reaſon, and he hath common prejudices for the more vulgar underſtandings. Amongſt theſe I chuſe to conſider ſuch as are by way of principle or propoſition.

8. THE firſt great principle of temptation I ſhall note, is a general miſtake, which excuſes very many of our crimes upon pretence of infirmity, calling all thoſe ſins to which by natural diſpoſition we are inclined (though by careleſſneſs and evil cuſtoms they are heightened to a habit) by the name of ſins of infirmity; to which men ſuppoſe they have reaſon and title to pretend. If, when they have committed a crime, their conſcience checks them, and they are troubled, and, during the interval and abatement of the heats of deſire, reſolve againſt it, and commit it readily at the next opportunity; then they cry out againſt the weakneſs of their nature, and think, as long as this body of death is about them, it muſt be thus, and that this condition may ſtand with the ſtate of grace: and then the ſins ſhall return periodically, like the revolutions of a quartan ague, well and ill for ever, till death ſurprizes the miſtaker. This is a patron of ſins, and makes the temptation prevalent by an authentic inſtrument. And they pretend the words of *S. Paul, for the good that I would, that I do not; but the evil that I would not, that I do. For there is a law in my members rebelling againſt the law of my mind, bringing me into captivity to the law of Sin*[f]. And thus the ſtate of ſin is miſtaken for a ſtate of grace, and the imperfections of the law are miſcalled the affections and neceſſities of nature, that they might ſeem to be incurable, and the perſons apt for an excuſe therefore, becauſe for nature there is no abſolute cure. But that theſe words of S. Paul may not become a ſavour of death and inſtruments of a temptation to us, it is obſervable, that the apoſtle by a fiction of perſon (as is[g] uſual with him) ſpeaks of himſelf not as in the ſtate of regeneration under the goſpel, but under the difficulties, obſcurities, inſufficiencies and imperfections of the law; which indeed he there contends to have been a rule good and holy, apt to remonſtrate our miſery, becauſe by its prohibitions, and limits given to natural deſires, it made actions (before indifferent) now to be ſins, it added many curſes to the breakers of it, and by an efficacy of contrariety it made us more deſirous of what was now unlawful: but it was a covenant in which our nature was reſtrained, but not helped: it was provoked, but not ſweetly aſſiſted; our underſtandings were inſtructed, but our wills not ſanctified, and there were no ſuppletories of repentance; every greater ſin was like the fall of an angel, irreparable by any myſtery, or expreſs recorded or enjoined. Now of a man under this covenant he deſcribes the condition to be ſuch, that he underſtands his duty, but by the infirmities of nature he is certain to fall, and by the helps of the law not ſtrengthened againſt it, nor reſtored after: and therefore he calls himſelf under that notion a miſerable man ſold under ſin, not doing according to the rules of the law or the dictates of his reaſon, but by the unaltered miſery of his nature certain to

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[e] Vim temperatam Dii quoque provehunt
In majus: iidem odêre vires
Omne nefas animo moventes.

[f] *Rom.* vii. 19, 23.

[g] Ut videre eſt *Rom.* iii. 7. *Gal.* ii. 18. 1 *Cor.* vi. 12. & x. 23, 29, 30. & xiii. 2.

prevaricate. But the perſon deſcribed here is not S. Paul, is not any juſtified perſon, not ſo much as a Chriſtian, but one who is under a ſtate of direct oppoſition to the ſtate of grace; as will manifeſtly appear if we obſerve the antitheſis from St. Paul's own characters. For the man here named is ſuch, as in whom *ſin wrought all concupiſcence, in whom ſin lived, and ſlew him*[h]; (ſo that he was *dead in treſpaſſes and ſins*:) and although he *did delight in the law after his inward man*[i], that is, his underſtanding had intellectual complacencies and ſatisfactions, which afterwards he calls *ſerving the law of God with his mind*[k], (that is, in the firſt diſpoſitions and preparations of his ſpirit;) yet he could act nothing; for *the law in his members* did inſlave him, *and brought him into captivity to the law of ſin*[l]. So that this perſon was full of actual and effective luſts, he was a ſlave to ſin, and dead in treſpaſſes. But the ſtate of a regenerate perſon is ſuch, as to have *crucified the fleſh with the affections and luſts*[m]; in whom *ſin did not reign*, not only in the mind, but even alſo not *in the mortal body*; over whom *ſin had no dominion*; in whom *the old man was crucified*, and *the body of ſin was deſtroyed*, and *ſin not at all ſerved*[n]. And to make the antitheſis yet clearer, in the very beginning of the next chapter the Apoſtle ſaith, *that the ſpirit of life in Chriſt Jeſus had made him free from the law of ſin and death*[o]; under which law, he complained immediately before, he was *ſold and killed:* to ſhew the perſon was not the ſame in theſe ſo different and contradictory repreſentments. No man in the ſtate of grace can ſay, *the evil that I would not, that I do:* if by *evil* he means any evil that is habitual, or in its own nature deadly.

9. So that now let no man pretend an inevitable neceſſity to ſin: for if ever it come to a cuſtom or to a great violation, though but in a ſingle act, it is a condition of carnality, not of ſpiritual life; and thoſe are not the infirmities of nature, but the weakneſſes of grace, that make us ſin ſo frequently: which the Apoſtle truly affirms to the ſame purpoſe, *the fleſh luſteth againſt the ſpirit, and the ſpirit againſt the fleſh; and theſe are contrary the one to the other*[p]: *ſo that* [*ye cannot do*] or [*that ye*[q] *do not do*] *the things that ye would.* This diſability proceeds from the ſtrength of the fleſh, and weakneſs of the ſpirit. For he adds, *But if ye be led by the ſpirit, ye are not under the law*[r]: ſaying plainly that the ſtate of ſuch a combate, and diſability of doing good, is a ſtate of a man *under the law*, or *in the fleſh*, which he accounts all one; but every man that is ſanctifyed under the goſpel, is *led by the ſpirit*, and *walks in the ſpirit, and brings forth the fruits of the ſpirit.* It is not our excuſe, but the aggravation of our ſin, that we fall again in deſpite of ſo many reſolutions to the contrary. And let us not flatter our ſelves into a confidence of ſin, by ſuppoſing the ſtate of grace can ſtand with the cuſtom of any ſin: for it is the ſtate either of an *animalis homo*, (as the Apoſtle calls him) that is, a man in pure naturals, without the clarity of divine revelations, who *cannot perceive or underſtand the things of God*[s]; or elſe of the *carnal man*, that is, a perſon who, though in his mind he is convinced, yet he is not yet freed from the dominion of ſin, but only hath his eyes opened, but not his bonds looſed. For by the perpetual analogy and frequent expreſſes in Scripture, *the ſpiritual perſon*, or the man *redeemed by the ſpirit of life in Chriſt Jeſus*, is *free from the law*, and the *dominion*, and the *kingdom*, and *power* of all ſin[t]. *For to be carnally minded is death; but to be ſpiritually minded is life and peace.*

10. BUT ſins of infirmity in true ſenſe of Scripture ſignify nothing but the ſins of an unholy and an unſanctified nature, when they are taken for actions done againſt the ſtrength of reſolution, out of the ſtrength of natural appetite and violence of deſire: and therefore in Scripture the ſtate of ſin and the ſtate of infirmity is all one. *For when we were yet without ſtrength, in due time Chriſt died for the ungodly*[u], (ſaith the Apoſtle.) The condition in which we were when *Chriſt* became a ſacrifice for us, was certainly a condition of ſin and enmity with God; and yet this he calls a being *without ſtrength*, or in a ſtate of weakneſs and infirmity: which we, who believe all our ſtrength to be derived from Chriſt's death, and the aſſiſtance of the Holy Spirit, the fruit of his aſcenſion, may ſoon apprehend to be the true meaning of the word. And in this ſenſe is that ſaying of our Bleſſed Saviour, *the whole have no need of a phyſician, but they that are weak:* for therefore *Chriſt came into the world to ſave ſinners*; thoſe are the perſons of Chriſt's infirmary, whoſe reſtitution and reduction to a ſtate of life and health was his great deſign. So that whoſoever ſin habitually, that is, conſtantly, periodically, at the revolution of a temptation, or frequently or eaſily, are perſons who ſtill remain in the ſtate of ſin and death; and their intervals of piety are but preparations to a ſtate of grace, which they may then be when they are not uſed

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[h] *Rom.* vii. 8, 9, 11. [i] *verſe* 22. [k] *verſe* 25. [r] *verſe* 18. [s] *Rom.* vii. 14. [t] *Rom.* viii. 6.
[l] *verſe* 23. [m] *Gal.* v. 24. [n] *Rom.* vi. 6, 12, 14. [u] *Rom.* v. 6. ὄντων ἡμῶν ἀσθενῶν, τουτέστιν ἀσεβῶν; *without ſtrength, that is, ungodly.*
[o] *Rom.* viii. 2. [p] *Gal.* v. 17. [q] ἵνα μὴ ποιῆτε·

to countenance or excuſe the ſin, or to flatter the perſon [x]. But if the intermediate reſolutions of emendation (though they never run beyond the next aſſault of paſſion or deſire) be taken for a ſtate of grace blended with infirmities of nature, they become deſtructive of all thoſe purpoſes, through our miſtake, which they might have promoted if they had been rightly underſtood, obſerved and cheriſhed. Sometimes indeed the greatneſs of a temptation may become an inſtrument to excuſe ſome degrees of the ſin, and make the man pitiable, whoſe ruin ſeems almoſt certain, becauſe of the greatneſs and violence of the enemy, meeting with a natural aptneſs; but then the queſtion will be, whither and to what actions that ſtrong temptation carries him; whether to a work of a mortal nature, or only to a ſmall irregularity, that is, whether to death, or to a wound. For whatever the principle be, if the effect be death, the man's caſe was therefore to be pitied becauſe his ruin was the more inevitable; not ſo pitied, as to excuſe him from the ſtate of death. For let the temptation be never ſo ſtrong, every Chriſtian man hath aſſiſtances ſufficient to ſupport him, ſo as that, without his own yielding, no temptation is ſtronger than that grace which God offers him: for if it were, it were not ſo much as a ſin of infirmity, it were no ſin at all. This therefore muſt be certain to us; when the violence of our paſſions or deſires overcomes our reſolutions and fairer purpoſes, againſt the dictate of our reaſon, that indeed is a ſtate of infirmity, but it is alſo of ſin and death, a ſtate of immortification; becauſe the offices of grace are to crucify the old man, that is, our former and impurer converſation, to ſubdue the petulancy of our paſſions, to reduce them to reaſon, and to reſtore empire and dominion to the ſuperior faculties. So that this condition in proper ſpeaking is not ſo good as the infirmity of grace, but it is no grace at all: for *whoever are Chriſt's, have crucified the fleſh with the affections and luſts* [y]. Thoſe other imperfect, ineffective reſolutions are but the firſt approaches of the kingdom of Chriſt, nothing but the clarities of lightning, dark as ſoon as light: and they therefore cannot be excuſes to us, becauſe the contrary weakneſſes (as we call them) do not make the ſin involuntary, but choſen and purſued; and in true ſpeaking it is the ſtrength of the luſt, not the infirmity of a ſtate of grace.

11. But yet there is a condition of grace which is a ſtate of little and imperfect ones, ſuch as are called in ſcripture *ſmoaking flax* and *bruiſed reeds*; which is a ſtate of the firſt dawning of the ſun of righteouſneſs, when the lights of grace new riſe upon our eyes. And then indeed they are weak, and have a more dangerous neighbourhood of temptations and deſires [z]; but they are not ſubdued by them: they ſin not by direct election: their actions criminal are but like the ſlime of *Nilus*, leaving rats half formed; they ſin but ſeldom; and when they do, it is in ſmall inſtances; and then alſo by ſurpriſe, by inadvertency; and then alſo they interrupt their own acts, and leſſen them perpetually; and never do an act of ſinfulneſs, but the principle is ſuch as makes it to be involuntary in many degrees. For when the underſtanding is clear, and the dictate of reaſon undiſturbed and determinate, whatſoever then produces an irregular action excuſes not, becauſe the action is not made the leſs voluntary by it; for the action is not made involuntary from any other principle but from ſome defect of underſtanding, either in act, or habit, or faculty. For where there is no ſuch defect, there is a full deliberation according to the capacity of the man, and then the act of election that follows is clear and full, and is that proper diſpoſition which makes him truly capable of puniſhment or reward reſpectively. Now although in the firſt beginnings of grace there is not a direct ignorance to excuſe totally; yet becauſe a ſudden ſurpriſe or an inadvertency is not always in our power to prevent, theſe things do leſſen the election and freedom of the action: and then becauſe they are but ſeldom, and never proceed to any length of time, or any great inſtances of crime, and are every day made ſtill more infrequent, becauſe grace growing ſtronger, the obſervation and advertency of the ſpirit and the attendance of the inner man grows more effectual and buſy, this is a ſtate of the imperfection of grace, but a ſtate of grace it is. And it is more commonly obſerved to be expreſſed in the imperfection of our good actions, than in the irregularity of bad actions. And in this ſenſe are thoſe words of our Bleſſed Saviour, *the ſpirit truly is willing, but the fleſh is weak*: which in this inſtance was not expreſſed in ſin, but in a natural imperfection, which then was a receſſion from a civility, a not watching with the Lord. And this is the only infirmity that can conſiſt with the ſtate of grace.

12. So that now we may lay what load we pleaſe upon our nature, and call our violent and unmortified deſires by the name of an imperfect grace: but then we are dangerouſly miſtaken, and flatter our ſelves into an opinion of piety, when we are in the gall of bitterneſs; ſo making our miſery the more certain and irremediable, becauſe we think it needs nothing but a perpetuity and perſeverance to bring us to Heaven. The violence of paſſion

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[x] Vide *Auguſt. l.* 2. *c.* 17. de Peccatorum meritis, & Enchir. 18.

[y] *Gal.* v. 24.

[z] *S. Auguſt.* lib. de Gratia & liber. Arbit. c. 17. & c. 29.

and deſires is a miſery of nature, but a perfect principle of ſin; multiplying and repeating the acts, but not leſſening the malignity. But ſins of infirmity, when we mean ſins of a leſs and lower malice, are ſins of a leſs and imperfect choice, becauſe of the unavoidable imperfection of the underſtanding. Sins of infirmity are always infirm ſins, that is, weak and imperfect in their principle, and in their nature, and in their deſign; that is, they are actions incompleat in all their capacities. But then paſſions and periodical inclinations conſiſting with a regular and determined and actual underſtanding muſt never be their principle: for whatſoever proceeds thence is deſtructive of ſpiritual life, and inconſiſtent with the ſtate of Grace. But ſins of infirmity, when they pretend to a leſs degree of malignity and a greater degree of excuſe, are ſuch as are little more than ſins of pure and inculpable ignorance: for in that degree in which any other principle is mixt with them, in the ſame degree they are criminal and inexcuſable. For as a ſin of infirmity is pretended to be little in its value and malignity: ſo it is certain, if it be great in the inſtance, it is not a ſin of infirmity, that is, it is a ſtate or act of death, and abſolutely inconſiſtent with the ſtate of grace.

13. SECONDLY, another principle of temptation pregnant with ſin, and fruitful of monſters, is a weaker pretence, which leſs wary and credulous perſons abuſe themſelves withal, pretending as a ground for their confidence and incorrigible purſuance of their courſes, that they have a good meaning, that they intend ſometimes well, and ſometimes not ill, and this ſhall be ſufficient to ſanctify their actions, and to hallow their ſin. And this is of worſe malice, when religion is the colour for a war, and the preſervation of faith made the warrant for deſtruction of charity, and a zeal for God made the falſe light to lead us to diſobedience to man, and hatred of idolatry is the uſher of ſacrilege, and the defiance of ſuperſtition the introducer of profaneneſs, and reformation made the colour for a ſchiſm, and liberty of conſcience the way to a bold and ſaucy hereſy: for the end may indeed hallow an indifferent action, but can never make ſtraight a crooked and irregular. It was not enough for Saul to cry *for God and the ſacrifice*, that he ſpared the fat flocks of Amalek: and it would be a ſtrange zeal and forwardneſs, that rather than the altar of incenſe ſhould not ſmoak, will burn *aſſa fœtida*, or the marrow of a man's bones. For as God will be honoured by us, ſo alſo in ways of his own appointment [a]: for we are the makers of our religion, if we in our zeal for God do what he hath forbidden us. And every ſin committed for religion is juſt ſuch a violence done to it, as it ſeeks to prevent or remedy.

14. AND ſo it is if it be committed for an end or pretence of charity, as well as of religion. We muſt be curious that no pretence engage us upon an action that is certainly criminal in its own nature. Charity may ſometimes require our lives, but no obligation can endear a damnation to us. We are not bound to the choice of an eternal ruin, to ſave another. Indeed ſo far as an option will go, it may concern the excreſcences of piety to chuſe by a tacit or expreſs act of volition *to become Anathema for our brethren* [b], that is, by putting a caſe and fiction of law, to ſuppoſe it better, and wiſh it rather that I ſhould periſh than my nation. Thus far is charitable, becauſe it is innocent: for as it is great love to our country, ſo it is no uncharitableneſs to our ſelves: for ſuch options always are ineffective, and produce nothing but rewards of charity, and greater glory. And the holy *Jeſus* himſelf, who only could be and was effectively accurſed to ſave us, got by it an exceeding and mighty glorification: and S. Paul did himſelf advantage by his charitable devotion for his countrymen. But ſince God never puts the queſtion to us, ſo that either we or our nation muſt be damned, he having fixt every man's final condition upon his own actions in the virtue and obedience of Chriſt, if we miſtake the expreſſes of charity, and ſuffer our ſelves to be damned indeed for God's glory or our brethren's good, we ſpoil the duty, and ruin our ſelves when our option comes to act. But it is obſervable, that although religion is often pretended to juſtify a ſin, yet charity is but ſeldom: which makes it full of ſuſpicion, that religion is but the cover to the death's head, and at the beſt is but an accuſing of God, that he is not willing or not able to preſerve religion without our irregular and impious co-operations. But however though it might concern us to wiſh our ſelves rather accurſed than religion, or our prince, or our country ſhould periſh, (for I find no inſtances that it is lawful ſo much as to wiſh it for the preſervation of a ſingle friend;) yet it is againſt charity to bring ſuch a wiſh to paſs, and by ſin to damn our ſelves really for a good end either of religion or charity.

15. LET us therefore ſerve God as he hath deſcribed the way: for all our acceſſes to him, being acts of his free conceſſion and grace, muſt be by his own deſignation and appointment. We might as well have choſen what ſhape our bodies ſhould be of, as of what inſtances the ſubſtance of our religion ſhould conſiſt.

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[a] Vide hiſtoriam Uzzæ 2 *Sam.* vi. 6, 7, 8, 9.

[b] *Rom.* ix. 3.

16. THIRDLY, a third principle of temptation is, an opinion of proſecuting actions of civility, compliance and ſociety, to the luxation of a point of piety and ſtricter duty: and good natures, perſons of humane and ſweeter diſpoſitions, are too apt to daſh upon this rock of offence. But the evil that I would note is, that there are ſome conditions of men to whom a vice is ſo accuſtomed, that he that mingles with them muſt handle the crime and touch the venom. There are ſome vices which are national, there are ſome that are points of honour, ſome are civilities of entertainment: and they are therefore accounted unavoidable, becauſe the underſtandings of men are degenerous as their manners, and it is accounted ſottiſh and phantaſtical not to communicate in their accuſtomed looſeneſſes. Amongſt ſome men all their firſt addreſſes are drinkings, their entertainments intemperate beyond the permiſſions of Chriſtian auſterity; their drink is humorous, and their humours quarellous, and it is diſhonourable not to engage in duel, and venture your ſoul to aſcertain an empty reputation. Theſe inconveniencies rely upon falſe opinions and vain fancies, having no greater foundation than the ſottiſh diſcourſes of ignorant and ungodly perſons; and they have no peculiar and appropriate remedy, but a reſolute ſeverity of manners, and a conſideration what is required of us as Chriſtians to confront againſt thoſe fonder cuſtoms and expectations from us, as we engage in the puddles of the world and are blended in ſociety.

17. TO which purpoſes we muſt be careful not to engage too freely in looſer company, never without buſineſs or unavoidable accidents: and when we mingle in affairs, it will concern our ſafety to watch, leſt multitude of talk, goodneſs and facility of nature, the delight of company, and the freedom and ill cuſtomed civilities do by degrees draw us away from our guards and retirement of ſpirit. For in theſe caſes every degree of diſſolution diſarms us of our ſtrengths: and if we give way ſo far as we think it tolerable, we inſtantly and undiſcernibly paſs into unlawful and criminal. But our beſt defences are depoſited in a ſevere and prudent underſtanding, and diſcerning the ſottiſhneſs of ſuch principles which repreſent vice in civil language, and propound a crime to you under the cover of kindneſs: which is juſt ſo much recompenſe as it is ſatisfaction to a condemned perſon that he was accuſed by a witty orator, and ſentenced by an eloquent judge. Remember always, that the friendſhips of the world are enmity with God; and that thoſe ſocieties which are combined by relations of drink, and wantonneſs, and impertinency, and crimes, are either inconſiderable in civility, or reaſon, or reputation: no wiſe man is moved by their teſtimony or diſcourſes; and they are ſo impotent, rude and undiſcerning a theatre, that moſt commonly he is the beſt man who from thence is the worſt reported and repreſented.

18. BUT in all the inſtances of this great evil, the very ſtating the queſtion right is above half the victory. For it is a queſtion between miſtaken civility and certain duty; piety on one ſide, and the diſguiſes of humanity on the other. God and man are the parties intereſted: and to counterpoiſe the influence of the ſight and face of man, (which being in a viſible communication, it is not in ſome natures to neglect or contradict,) there are all the excellencies of God, the effects of his power, his certain preſence and omniſcience, the ſeverities of his judgment, and the ſweetneſs and invitation of his mercies; beſides the prudence, wiſdom, and ſatisfaction to the ſpirit when we wiſely neglect ſuch ſottiſh and low abuſes and temptations, to conform to the rules of reaſon and duty, in compliance with the purpoſes of God and our own felicities.

19. THESE ill-managed principles are dangers as univerſal as an infected air; yet there are ſome diſeaſes more proper to the particular ſtate of religion: Firſt, To young beginners in religion he repreſents the difficulties of religion, and propounds the greater examples of holy perſons, and affrights them with thoſe mountains of piety, obſerving where and upon what inſtance of ſeverity his fancy will be moſt apprehenſive and afflicted: and this he fails not often to repreſent with a purpoſe, that by believing no piety leſs than the greateſt can be good, he may deſpair of thoſe heights, and retire into the ſecurities and indifferences of a careleſs life. But this is to be cured by all thoſe inſtruments of piety which in ſpecial are incentives of the love of God, and endearments of ſpiritual and religious affections; and particularly by conſideration of the divine goodneſs, who knows whereof we are made, and remembers that we are but duſt, and will require no more of us than according to our powers and preſent capacities. But the ſubject-matter of this temptation is conſider'd and refuted in the diſcourſe of the love of God [c].

20. BUT moſt commonly young beginners are zealous and high, and not ſo eaſily tempted to receſſion, till after a long time, by a revolution of affections, they are abated by a deferveſcency in holy actions. The devil uſes to prompt them on; not that he

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[c] *Part 2. in Explicat. of the Decalogue, 1 Com.*

loves the piety and the progreſs, but that he would engage the perſon in imprudences, and ſuch forwardneſs of expreſſes, which either are in their own nature indiſcretions, or from which, by reaſon of the incapacity of the perſon, it is neceſſary for him to retire. A new convert is like a bird newly entered into a net, through which poſſibly ſhe might paſs without danger, if her fears and unreaſonable ſtrivings did not entangle her: but when by buſy and undiſturbed flutterings ſhe diſcompoſes the order of it, ſhe is entangled and unpenned, and made a prey to her treacherous enemy. Such are the indiſcreet ſtrivings and too forward enterprizes of new penitents, whom we ſhall obſerve too often undertaking great auſterities, making vows and caſting bands upon their liberty, and ſnares upon their perſons, thinking nothing great enough to expiate their ſin, or to preſent to God, or to endear their ſervices, or ſecure their perſeverance; and therefore they lay a load of fetters upon themſelves, or rather cut off their legs that they may never go back; therefore laying an obligation of vows and intolerable burthens on themſelves, that by theſe they may by a compendium of piety redeem the time, and by thoſe make it poſſible to prevaricate. But the obſervation of the ſad events and final accidents of theſe men hath given probation of the indiſcretion of ſuch furious addreſſes and beginnings. And it was prudently done of Meletius of Antioch[d], when he viſited the dioceſes of Syria, and the ſeveral religious perſons famous for ſevere undertakings; eſpying that Simeon Stylites dwelt upon a pillar, and had bound his leg with a ſtrong chain of iron, he ſent for a ſmith, cauſing it to be knocked off, and ſaid, “To a man that loves God, his mind is a “ ſufficient chain.” For the loads of voluntary auſterities raſhly undertaken make religion a burthen when their firſt heats expire; and their vows, which are intended to ſecure the practice and perpetuate the piety, are but the occaſions of an aggravate crime: and the vow does not ſecure the piety, but the wearineſs and ſatiety of the duty tempts to the breaking of the vow, or at leaſt makes the man impatient, when he cannot perſiſt with content, nor retire with ſafety.

21. It therefore concerns all ſpiritual guides, to manage their new converts with ſober counſels and moderate permiſſions, knowing that ſublime ſpeculations in the metaphyſics are not fit entertainment for an infant-underſtanding. There is *milk for babes, and ſtrong meat for men* of riper piety: and it will employ all the regular ſtrength of young beginners to conteſt againſt the reliques of thoſe miſchiefs which remain ſince the expulſion of the old man, and to maſter thoſe difficulties which by the nature of the ſtate are certainly conſequent to ſo late mutation. And if we by the furies of zeal and the impatience of miſtaken piety are violent and indiſcreet in the deſtroying of our enemies, we probably may tread the thiſtle down, and trample upon all its appearances, and yet leave the root in the ground with haſte and imprudent forwardneſs. Gentle and ſoft counſels are the ſureſt enemies to your vice, and the beſt conſervators and promoters of a virtuous ſtate: but a haſty charge and the conduct of a young leader may engage an early ſpirit in dangers and diſhonours. And this temptation is of ſo much greater danger, becauſe it hath a face of zeal, and meets with all encouragements from without; every man being apt to cheriſh a convert, and to enflame his new fires: but few conſider the inconveniences that are conſequent to indiſcreet beginnings, and the worſe events uſually appendent to ſuch inconveniences.

22. Indeed it is not uſual that prudence and a new-kindled zeal meet in the ſame perſon: but it will therefore concern the ſafety of new converts, who cannot guide themſelves, to give themſelves up to the conduct of an experienced ſpiritual perſon, who being diſintereſted in thoſe heats of the firſt apprehenſions, and being long taught, by the obſervation of the accidents of a ſpiritual life, upon what rocks raſhneſs and zeal uſually do engage us, can beſt tell what degrees and what inſtances of religion they may with moſt ſafety undertake. But for the general, it is beſt in the addreſſes of grace to follow the courſe of nature: let there be an infancy, and a childhood, and a vigorous youth; and by the divers and diſtant degrees of increment let the perſons be eſtabliſhed in wiſdom and Grace. But above all things, let them be careful that they do not lay upon themſelves neceſſities of any laſting courſe, no vows of perpetuity in any inſtance of uncommanded action or degree of religion: for he may alter in his capacity and exterior condition; he may ſee by experience, that the particular engagement is imprudent; he may, by the virtue of obedience, be engaged on a duty inconſiſtent with the conveniences and advantages of the other; and his very loſs of liberty in an uncommanded inſtance may tempt him to inconvenience. But then, for the ſingle and tranſient actions of piety, although in them the danger is leſs even though the imprudence be great, yet it were well if new beginners in religion would attempt a moderate and an even piety, rather than

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[d] *Theod.* l. 5. c. 4.

actions of eminency, leſt they retire with ſhame, and be afflicted with ſcruple, when their firſt heats are ſpent, and expire in wearineſs and temptation. It is good to keep within the circuits of a man's affections, not ſtretching out all the degrees of fancy and deſire, but leaving the appetites of religion rather unſatisfied, and ſtill deſiring more, than by ſtretching out the whole faculty leave no deſires but what are fulfilled and wearied.

23. Thirdly, I ſhall not need here to obſerve ſuch temptations which are direct invitations to ſin, upon occaſion of the piety of holy perſons; ſuch as are ſecurity, too much confidence, pride and vanity: theſe are part of every man's danger, and are to be conſidered upon their ſeveral arguments. Here I was only to note the general inſtruments of miſchief. It remains now that I ſpeak of ſuch remedies and general antidotes, not which are proportioned to ſins in ſpecial, but ſuch as are preventions or remedies and good advices in general.

24. First, Let every man abſtain from all occaſions of ſin as much as his condition will permit. And it were better to do ſome violence to our ſecular affairs, than to procure apparent or probable danger to our ſouls. For if we ſee not a way open and ready prepared to our iniquity, our deſires oftentimes are not willing to be troubled: but opportunity gives life and activeneſs to our appetites. If David had not from his towers beheld the private beauties of Bathſheba, Uriah had lived, and his wife been unattempted: but ſin was brought to him by that chance, and entering at the caſement of his eyes, ſet his heart on fire, and deſpoiled him of his robes of honour and innocence. The riches of the wedge of gold and the beauty of the Babyloniſh garment made Achan ſacrilegious upon the place, who was innocent enough in his preceding purpoſes. And therefore that ſoul that makes it ſelf an object to ſin, and invites an enemy to view its poſſeſſions, and live in the vicinage, loves the ſin it ſelf: and he that is pleaſed with the danger, would willingly be betrayed into the neceſſity and the pleaſure of the ſin. For he can have no other end to entertain the hazards, but that he hath a farther purpoſe to ſerve upon them: he loves the pleaſure of the ſin, and therefore he would make the condition of ſinning certain and unavoidable. And therefore Holy Scripture, which is admirable and curious in the cautions and ſecurities of virtue, does not determine its precepts in the preciſe commands of virtuous actions, but alſo binds up our ſenſes, obſtructs the paſſage of temptation, blocks up all the ways and avenues of vice, commanding us *to make a covenant with our eyes*, *not to look upon a maid*, *not to ſit with a woman that is a ſinger*, *not to conſider the wine when it ſparkles, and gives its colour rightly in the cup*; but *to ſet a watch before our mouths*, *to keep the door of our lips*; and many more inſtances to this purpoſe, that ſin may not come ſo near as to be repulſed: as knowing, ſin hath then prevailed too far, when we give the denial to its ſolicitations.

25. We read a ſtory of a virtuous lady, that deſired of St. Athanaſius to procure for her, out of the number of the widows fed from the eccleſiaſtical corban, an old woman moroſe, peeviſh and impatient, that ſhe might by the ſociety of ſo ungentle a perſon have often occaſion to exerciſe her patience, her forgiveneſs and charity. I know not how well the counſel ſucceeded with her; I am ſure it was not very ſafe: and to invite the trouble to triumph over it, is to wage a war of an uncertain iſſue for no end but to get the pleaſures of the victory, which oftentimes do not pay for the trouble, never for the danger. An Egyptian, who acknowledged fire for his god, one day doing his devotions kiſſed his god after the manner of worſhippers, and burnt his lips. It was not in the power of that falſe and imaginary deity to cure the real hurt he had done to his devouteſt worſhipper. Juſt ſuch a fool is he that kiſſes a danger, though with a deſign of virtue, and hugs an opportunity of ſin for an advantage of piety: he burns himſelf in the neighbourhood of the flame, and twenty to one but he may periſh in its embraces. And he that looks out a danger that he may overcome it, does as did the Perſian, who worſhipping the ſun, looked upon him when he prayed him to cure his ſore eyes. The ſun may as well cure a weak eye, or a great burthen knit a broken arm, as a danger can do him advantage that ſeeks ſuch a combat which may ruin him, and after which he rarely may have this reward, that it may be ſaid of him, he had the good fortune not to periſh in his folly. It is eaſier to prevent a miſchief than to cure it: and beſides the pain of the wound, it is infinitely more full of difficulty to cure a broken leg, which a little care and obſervation would have preſerved whole. To recover from a ſin is none of the eaſieſt labours that concern the ſons of men; and therefore it concerns them rather not to enter into ſuch a narrow ſtreight, from which they can never draw back their head, without leaving their hair and ſkin and their ears behind. If God pleaſe to try us, he means no hurt, and he does it with great reaſon and great mercy: but if we go to try our ſelves, we may mean well, but not wiſely. For as it is ſimply unlawful for weak perſons to ſeek

a temptation, ſo for the more perfect it is dangerous. We have enemies enough without, and one of our own within [e]: but we become our own tempter, when we run out to meet the world, or invite the devil home, that we may throw holy water upon his flames, and call the danger nearer, that we may run from it. And certainly men are more guilty of many of their temptations than the devil [f], through their incurioufneſs or raſhneſs doing as much miſchief to themſelves as he can: for he can but offer; and ſo much we do when we run into danger. Such were thoſe ſtories of S. Antony provoking the devil to battel. If the ſtories had been as true as the actions were raſh and ridiculous, the ſtory had faſtened a note of indiſcretion upon that good man: though now I think there is nothing but a mark of fiction and falſhood on the writer.

26. SECONDLY, poſſibly without fault we may be engaged in a temptation; but then we muſt be diligent to reſiſt the firſt beginnings. For when our ſtrength is yet entire and unabated, if we ſuffer our ſelves to be overcome, and conſent to its firſt and weakeſt attempts, how ſhall we be able to reſiſt when it hath tried our conteſtation, and wearied our patience, when we are weaker and prevailed upon, and the temptation is ſtronger and triumphant in many degrees of victory? By how much a hectic fever is harder to be cured than a tertian, or a conſumption of the lungs than a little diſtillation of rheum upon the throat; by ſo much it is harder to prevail upon a triumphing luſt than upon its firſt inſinuations. But the ways of reſiſting are of a different conſideration, proportionably to the nature of the crimes.

27. FIRST, If the temptation be to crimes of pleaſure and ſenſuality, let the reſiſtance be by flight [g]: for in caſe of luſt, even to conſider the arguments againſt it is half as great temptation as to preſs the arguments for it: for all conſiderations of ſuch allurements make the ſoul perceive ſomething of its reliſh, and entertain the fancy. Even the pulling pitch from our cloaths defiles the fingers; and ſome adherences of pleaſant and carnal ſins will be remanent even from thoſe conſiderations which ſtay within the circuit of the flames, though but with purpoſe to quench the fire and preſerve the houſe. Chaſtity cannot ſuffer the leaſt thought of the reproaches of the ſpirit of impurity: and it is neceſſary to all that will keep their purity and innocence againſt ſenſual temptations, to avoid every thing that may prejudice *decorum*. Libanius the Sophiſter reports, that a painter being one day deſirous to paint Apollo upon a laurel-board, the colours would not ſtick, but were rejected: out of which his fancy found out this extraction, that the chaſte Daphne (concerning whom the poets feign [h], that flying from Apollo, who attempted to raviſh her, ſhe was turned into a laurel-tree) could not endure him, even the painting, and rejected him after the loſs of her ſenſitive powers. And indeed, chaſte ſouls do even to death reſent the leaſt image and offer of impurity. Whatſoever is like a ſin of uncleanneſs, he that means to preſerve himſelf chaſte muſt avoid, as he would avoid the ſin: in this caſe there being no difference but of degrees between the inward temptation and the crime.

28. SECONDLY, if the temptation be to crimes of troubleſome and preternatural deſires or intellectual nature, let the reſiſtance be made *conſertâ manu*, by a perfect fight, by the amaſſing of ſuch arguments in general and remedies in particular which are apt to become deleteries to the ſin, and to abate the temptation. But in both theſe inſtances the reſiſtance muſt at leaſt be as ſoon as the attempt is, leſt the violence of the temptation out-run our powers: for if againſt our full ſtrength it hath prevailed to the firſt degrees, its progreſs to a compleat victory is not ſo improbable as were its ſucceſſes at the firſt beginnings. But to ſerve this and all other ends in the reſiſting and ſubduing a temptation, theſe following conſiderations have the beſt and moſt univerſal influence.

29. FIRST, conſideration of the preſence of God, who is witneſs of all our actions, and a revenger of all impiety. This is ſo great an inſtrument of fear and religion, that whoever does actually conſider God to be preſent, and conſiders what the firſt conſideration ſignifies, either muſt be reſtrained from the preſent temptation, or muſt have thrown off all the poſſibilities and aptneſſes of virtue; ſuch as are modeſty, and reverence, and holy fear. For if the face of a man ſcatters all baſe machinations, and we dare not act our crimes in the theatre, unleſs we be impudent as well as criminal: much more does the ſenſe of a preſent Deity fill the places of our heart with veneration and the awe of religion, when it is throughly apprehended and actually conſidered. We ſee not God, he is not in our thoughts, when we run into darkneſs to act our impurities. For we dare not commit adultery if a boy be preſent; behold, the boy is ſent off with an excuſe, and God abides there, but yet we

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[e] Sed quid ego omne malum mundique, hominúmque maligni
Hoſtis ad invidiam detorqueo? quum mala noſtra,
Ex noſtris concreta animis, genus, & caput, & vim,
Quid ſint, quid valeant, ſumunt de corde parente.
Prud. Hamartig.

[f] *Ecclus.* xxi. 27. Quum exſecratur impius Satanam, ſuam ipſius animam exſecratur.

[g] Time videre unde poſſis cadere: noli fieri perversâ ſimplicitate ſecurus. S. *Aug.*

[h] Καὶ ἀρνεῖται τὸν ἔρωτα, κἂν τὸ δένδρον.

commit the crime; it is becauſe, as Jacob ſaid at Bethel, *God was in that place, and we knew not of it*; and yet we neither breathe nor move an artery but in him and by his aſſiſtance. [i] *In him we live, and move, and have our being.* And, [k] *All things are naked and open in his ſight.* [l] *The iniquity of my people is very great; for they ſay, the Lord ſeeth not.* [m] *Shall not he that made the eye ſee?* [n] *To him the night and day are both alike.* Theſe and many to the ſame deſign are the voices of Scripture, that our ſpirits may retire into the beholding of God, to the purpoſes of fear and holineſs, with whom we do cohabit by the neceſſities of nature, and the condition of our eſſence wholly in dependence: and then only we may ſin ſecurely, when we can contrive to do it ſo that God may not ſee us.

30. THERE are many men who are ſervants of the eyes, as the Apoſtle's phraſe is [o], who when they are looked on, act virtue with much pompouſneſs and theatrical bravery; but theſe men, when the theatre is empty, put off their upper garment, and retire into their primitive baſeneſs. Diogenes endured the extremity of winter's cold [p], that the people might wonder at his auſterity and philoſophical patience: but Plato ſeeing the people admiring the man [q], and pitying the ſufferance, told them, that the way to make him warm himſelf, was for them to be gone, and to take no notice of him. For they that walk as in the ſight of men [r], ſerve that deſign well enough when they fill the public voice with noiſes and opinions, and are not by their purpoſes engaged to act in private: but they, who are ſervants of the eyes of God, and walk as in the divine preſence, perceive the ſame reſtraints in darkneſs, in cloſets, and grots, as in the light and midſt of theatres. And that conſideration impoſes upon us a happy neceſſity of doing virtuouſly, which preſents us placed in the eyes of our judge. And therefore it was not unhandſomely ſaid of a Jewiſh Doctor, "If every man would "conſider God to be the great eye of the world watching perpetually over all our actions, and "that his hand is indefatigable, and his ear ever open, poſſibly ſin might be extirpated from off "the face of the earth". And this is the condition of beatitude; and the bleſſed ſouls within their regions of light and felicity cannot ſin, becauſe of the viſion beatifical, they always behold the face of God. And thoſe who partake of this ſtate by way of conſideration, which is eſſential to the condition of the bleſſed, and derive it into practice and diſcourſe, in proportion to this ſhall retain an innocence and a part of glory.

31. FOR it is a great declenſion of human reaſon, and a diſreputation to our Spirits, that we are ſo wholly led by ſenſe, that we will not walk in the regions of the ſpirit, and behold God by our eyes of faith and diſcourſe, ſuffering our courſe of life to be guided by ſuch principles which diſtinguiſh our natures from beaſts, and our conditions from vicious, and our ſpirits from the world, and our hopes from the common ſatisfactions of ſenſe and corruption. The better half of our nature is of the ſame conſtitution with that of angels: and therefore although we are drenched in matter and the communications of earth, yet our better part was deſigned to converſe with God. And we had, beſides the eye of reaſon, another eye of faith put into our ſouls, and both clarified with revelations and demonſtrations of the ſpirit, expreſſing to us ſo viſible and clear characters of God's preſence, that the expreſſion of the ſame ſpirit is, *we may feel him, for he is within us* [s], and about us, and we are in him, and in the comprehenſions of his embracings, as birds in the air, or as infants in the wombs of their pregnant mothers [t]. And that God is pleaſed not to communicate himſelf to the eyes of our body, but ſtill to remain inviſible, beſides that it is his own glory and perfection, it is alſo no more to us but like a retreat behind a curtain, where when we know our judge ſtands as an eſpial, and a watch over our actions, we ſhall be ſottiſh if we dare to provoke his jealouſy, becauſe we ſee him not, when we know that he is cloſe by, though behind the cloud.

32. THERE are ſome general impreſſions upon our ſpirits, which by way of preſumption and cuſtom poſſeſs our perſuaſions, and make reſtraint upon us to excellent purpoſes; ſuch as are the religion of holy places, reverence of our parents, preſence of an auſtere, an honourable, or a virtuous perſon [u]. For many ſins are prevented by the company of a witneſs, eſpecially if, beſides the ties of modeſty, we have alſo towards him an indearment

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[i] *Act.* xvii. 28. [k] *Heb.* iv. 13. [l] *Ezek.* ix. 9. *Jer.* xxiii. 24. [m] Pſal. xciv. 9. [n] Pſal. cxxxix. 12.

[o] *Epheſ.* vi. 6. Ὀφθαλμόδουλοι.

[p] Non u. virtute ac ſtudiis ut haberentur philoſophi laborabant; ſed vultum & triſtitiam, & diſſentientem à cæteris habitum, peſſimis moribus prætendebant. *Quintil.* l. 1. procem.

[q] Ambitio & luxuria & impotentia ſcenam deſiderant; ſanabis iſta, ſi abſconderis. *Senec. ep.* 15.

[r] Magna vobis, ſi diſſimulare non vultis, injecta neceſſitas probitatis, cum omnia agitis ante oculos Judicis cuncta cernentis. *Boeth.* l. 5. Conſol. proſâ ult.

[s] *Acts* xvii. 27.

[t] Πεπεισμένοι ὅτι οἱ θεοὶ
Ἠέρα ἑσσάμενοι πάντῃ φοιτῶσιν ἐπ' αἶαν,
Ἀνθρώπων ὕβρεις τε καὶ εὐνομίας ἐφορῶντες.

[u] Aliquem habeat animus quem revereatur, cujus authoritate etiam ſecretum tuum ſanctius fiat. Quid prodeſt incluſam eſſe conſcientiam? patemus Deo. *Senec.* l. 1. ep. 11.

of [x] reverence and fair opinion; and if he were with us in our privacies, he would cauſe our retirements to be more holy. St. Ambroſe reports of the virgin Mary, that ſhe had ſo much piety and religion in her countenance and deportment, that divers perſons, moved by the veneration and regard of her perſon, in her preſence have firſt commenced their reſolutions of chaſtity and ſober living. However the ſtory be, her perſon certainly was of ſo expreſs and great devotion and ſanctity, that he muſt needs have been of a very impudent diſpoſition and firm immodeſty, who durſt have ſpoken unhandſome language in the preſence of ſo rare a perſon. And why then any rudeneſs in the preſence of God, if that were as certainly believed and conſidered? For whatſoever amongſt men can be a reſtraint of vice, or an indearment of virtue, all this is highly verified in the preſence of God, to whom our conſcience in its very concealments is a fair table written in capital letters by his own finger: and then if we fail of the advantage of this exerciſe, it muſt proceed either from our diſhonourable opinion of God, or our own fearleſs inadvertency, or from a direct ſpirit of reprobation. For [y] it is certain, that this conſideration is in its own nature apt to correct our manners, to produce the fear of God, and humility, and ſpiritual and holy thoughts, and the knowledge of God and of our ſelves, and the conſequents of all theſe, holy walking and holy comforts. And by this only argument St. Paphnutius and St. Ephrem are reported in church-ſtory to have converted two harlots from a courſe of diſſolution to great ſanctity and auſterity.

33. BUT then this preſence of God muſt not be a meer ſpeculation of the underſtanding: though ſo only it is of very great benefit and immediate efficacy, yet it muſt reflect as well from the will as from diſcourſe: and then only we walk in the preſence of God, when by faith we behold him preſent, when we ſpeak to him in frequent and holy prayers, when we beg aid from him in all our needs, and ask counſel of him in all our doubts, and before him bewail our ſins, and tremble at his preſence. This is an entire exerciſe of Religion. And beſides that the preſence of God ſerves to all this, it hath alſo eſpecial influence in the diſimprovement of temptations, becauſe it hath in it many things contrariant to the nature and efficacy of temptations; ſuch as are conſideration, reverence, ſpiritual thoughts, and the fear of God: for where-ever this conſideration is actual, there either God is highly deſpiſed, or certainly feared. In this caſe we are made to declare: for our purpoſes are concealed only in an incurioufneſs and inconſideration; but whoever conſiders God as preſent, will in all reaſon be as religious as in the temple, the reverence of which place cuſtom or religion hath imprinted in the ſpirits of moſt men. So that as Ahaſuerus ſaid of Haman, *Will he raviſh the Queen in mine own houſe?* aggravating the crime by the incivility of the circumſtance; God may well ſay to us, whoſe religion compels us to believe God every-where preſent. Since the divine preſence hath made all places holy, and every place hath a numen in it, even the eternal God, we unhallow the place, and deſecrate the ground whereon we ſtand, ſupported by the arm of God, placed in his heart, and enlightned by his eye, when we ſin in ſo ſacred a preſence.

34. THE ſecond great inſtrument againſt temptation is meditation of death [z]. Raderus reports, that a certain virgin, to reſtrain the inordination of intemperate deſires, which were like thorns in her fleſh, and diſturbed her ſpiritual peace, ſhut her ſelf up in a ſepulcher, and for twelve years dwelt in that ſcene of death. It were good we did ſo too, making tombs and coffins preſential to us by frequent meditation. For God hath given us all a definitive arreſt in Adam, and from it there lies no appeal; [a] but it is infallibly and unalterably appointed for all men once to die, or to be changed; to paſs from hence to a condition of eternity, good, or bad. Now becauſe this law is [b] certain, and the time and the manner of its execution is uncertain, and from this moment eternity depends, and that after this life the final ſentence is irrevocable, that all the pleaſures here are ſudden, tranſient, and unſatisfying, and vain; he muſt needs be a fool that knows not to diſtinguiſh moments from eternity. And ſince it is a condition of neceſſity, eſtabliſhed by divine decrees, and fix'd by the indiſpenſable laws of nature, that we ſhall after a very little duration paſs on to a condition ſtrange, not underſtood, then unalterable, and yet of great mutation from this, even

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[x] Tiberius inter bona maláque mixtus incolumi matre; inteſtabilis ſævitiâ, ſed obtectis libidinibus, dum Sejanum dilexit timuítve: poſtremo in ſcelera ſimul ac dedecora prorupit, poſtquam, remoto pudore & metu, ſuo tantùm ingenio utebatur. *Tacit. l. 6. c. 51.*

[y] Ὁρῶ γὰρ ἡμᾶς οὐδὲν ὄντας ἄλλο πλὴν
Εἴδωλ᾽ ὅσοιπερ ζῶμεν, ἢ κούφην σκιάν.
Τοιαῦτα τοίνυν εἰσορῶν, ὑπέρογκον
Μηδὲν ποτ᾽ εἴπῃς αὐτὸς εἰς θεοὺς ἔπος.
Sophoc.

[z] Tota philoſophia nihil eſt niſi Meditatio mortis. *Plato.*

[a] Μόνος θεῶν γὰρ θάνατος οὐ δῶρον ἐρᾷ. Οὐδ᾽ ἄν τι θύων, οὔτ᾽ ἐπισπένδων ναοῖς. *Æſchyl.* Ἀθανασία δ᾽ οὐκ ἔϛιν, οὐδ᾽ ἂν συναγάγῃς τὰ Ταντάλου τάλαντα ἱκανὰ λεγόμενα. *Menan.* Vita humana propè utì ferrum eſt: ſi exerceas, conteritur; ſi non exerceas, tamen rubigo interficit. *Cato* apud *A. Gell. l.* 11. c. 2.

[b] Πρὸς μὲν τὰ ἄλλα πάντα ἀσφάλειάν ἐστι προΐϛαθαι· χάριν δὲ θανάτου πάντες ἄνθρωποι ἀτείχιϛον πόλιν οἰκοῦμεν. *Metrodor.* Phil.

of greater diſtance from that in which we are here, than this is from the ſtate of beaſts[c]: this, when it is conſidered, muſt in all reaſon make the ſame impreſſion upon our underſtandings and affections, which naturally all ſtrange things and all great conſiderations are apt to do, that is, create reſolutions and reſults paſſing through the heart of man, ſuch as are reaſonable and prudent, in order to our own felicities; that we neglect the vanities of the preſent temptation, and ſecure our future condition, which will, till eternity it ſelf expires, remain ſuch as we make it to be by our deportment in this ſhort tranſition and paſſage through the world.

35. And that this diſcourſe is reaſonable, I am therefore confirmed becauſe I find it to be to the ſame purpoſe uſed by the Spirit of God, and the wiſeſt perſonages in the world. *My ſoul is always in my hand, therefore do I keep thy commandments*[d], ſaid David. He looked upon himſelf as a dying perſon, and that reſtrained all his inordinations; and ſo he prayed, *Lord, teach me to number my days, that I may apply my heart unto wiſdom*[e]. And therefore the Egyptians uſed to ſerve up a ſkeleton to their feaſts, that the diſſolutions and vapours of wine might be reſtrained with that bunch of myrrh, and the vanities of their eyes chaſtiſed by that ſad object[f]: for they thought it unlikely a man ſhould be tranſported far with any thing low or vicious, that looked long and often into the hollow eye-pits of a death's-head, or dwelt in a charnel-houſe. And ſuch conſiderations make all the importunity and violence of ſenſual deſires to diſband. For when a man ſtands perpetually at the door of eternity, and, as did John the almoner, every day is building of his ſepulchre, and every night one day of our life is gone and paſſed into the poſſeſſion of death; it will concern us to take care that the door leading to hell do not open upon us, that we be not cruſhed to ruin by the ſtones of our grave, and that our death become not a conſignation to us to a ſad eternity. For all the pleaſures of the whole world[g], and in all its duration, cannot make recompence for one hour's torment in hell: and yet if wicked perſons were to ſit in hell for ever, without any change of poſture or variety of torment beyond that ſeſſion, it were unſufferable beyond the endurance of nature. And therefore where little leſs than infinite miſery in an infinite duration ſhall puniſh the pleaſures of ſudden and tranſient crimes, the gain of pleaſure and the exchange of banks here for a condition of eternal and miſerable death, is a permutation fit to be made by none but fools and deſperate perſons, who made no uſe of a reaſonable ſoul, but that they in their periſhing might be convinced of unreaſonableneſs, and die by their own fault.

36. THE uſe that wiſe men have made when they reduced this conſideration to practice, is to believe every day to be the laſt of their life; for ſo it may be, and for aught we know it will. And then think what you would avoid, or what you would do, if you were dying, or were to-day to ſuffer death by ſentence and conviction; and that in all reaſon, and in proportion to the ſtrength of your conſideration, you will do every day. For that is the ſublimity of wiſdom[h], to do thoſe things living, which are to be deſired and choſen by dying perſons. An alarm of death every day renewed, and preſſed earneſtly, will watch a man ſo tame and ſoft, that the precepts of religion will dwell deep in his ſpirit. But they that *make a covenant with the grave, and put the evil day far from them*, they are the men that eat ſpiders and toads for meat greedily, and a temptation to them is as welcome as joy, and they ſeldom diſpute the point in behalf of piety or mortification. For they that look upon death at a diſtance, apprehend it not but in ſuch general lines and great repreſentments that deſcribe it only as future and poſſible: but nothing of its terrors, or affrightments, or circumſtances of advantage, are diſcernible by ſuch an eye, that diſturbs its ſight and diſcompoſes the poſture, that the object may ſeem another thing than what it is truly and really. St. Auſtin with his mother Monica was led one day by a Roman Prætor to ſee the tomb of Cæſar. Himſelf thus deſcribes the corps[i]: "It looked "of a blue mold, the bone of the noſe laid bare, the fleſh of the nether lip quite fallen "off, his mouth full of worms, and in his eye-pits two hungry toads feaſting upon the re"manent portion of fleſh and moiſture; and ſo he dwelt in his houſe of darkneſs." And if every perſon tempted by an opportunity of luſt or intemperance would chuſe ſuch a room for his privacy, that company for his witneſs, that object to allay his appetite, he would

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[c] Dies iſte quem tanquam extremum reformidas, æterni Natalis eſt. Per hoc ſpatium quod ab infantia patet in ſenectutem, in aliam naturæ ſumimu partem. *Senec.* Ep. 102.

[d] *Pſal.* cxix. 109. [e] *Pſal.* xc. 12.

[f] Θάνατος πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν ἔστω σοι καθ' ἡμέραν, καὶ οὐδὲν οὐδέποτε ταπεινὸν ἐνθυμήσῃ, οὐδὲ ἄγαν ἐπιθυμήσεις τινός. *Epict.* Enchir. cap. 28.

[g] Linquenda tellus, & domus, & placens
Uxor; neque harum, quas colis, arborum
Te, præter inviſas cupreſſos,
Ulla brevem dominum ſequetur.
Hor. l. 2. *od.* 14.

[h] Hic eſt apex ſummæ ſapientiæ, ea viventem facere, quæ morienti eſſent appetenda.

[i] Καὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ σποδός εἰμι, Νίνου μεγάλης βασιλεύσας. In epitaph. Sardanapali.

ſoon find his ſpirit more ſober, and his deſires obedient. I end this with the counſel of St. Bernard[k]: "Let every man, in the firſt addreſs to his actions, conſider, whether if he "were now to die, he might ſafely and prudently do ſuch an act, and whether he would "not be infinitely troubled that death ſhould ſurprize him in the preſent diſpoſitions; and "then let him proceed accordingly." For ſince our treaſure is in earthen veſſels, which may be broken in pieces by the colliſion of ten thouſand accidents, it were not ſafe to treaſure up wrath in them: for if we do, we ſhall certainly drink it in the day of recompenſe.

37. THIRDLY, Before, and in, and after all this, the bleſſed Jeſus propounds prayer as a remedy againſt temptations; *Watch and pray that ye enter not into temptation*[l]. For beſides that prayer is the great inſtrument of obtaining victory by the grace of God, as a fruit of our deſires and of God's natural and eſſential goodneſs; the very praying againſt a temptation, if it be hearty, fervent and devout, is a denying of it, and part of the victory: for it is a diſclaiming the entertainment of it, it is a poſitive rejection of the crime; and every conſent to it is a ceaſing to pray, and to deſire remedy. And we ſhall obſerve, that whenſoever we begin to liſten to the whiſpers of a tempting ſpirit, our prayers againſt it leſſen, as the conſent encreaſes: there being nothing a more direct enemy to the temptation than prayer, which as it is of it ſelf a profeſſed hoſtility againſt the crime, ſo it is a calling in auxiliaries from above to make the victory more certain. If temptation ſets upon thee, do thou ſet upon God: for he is as ſoon overcome as thou art, as ſoon moved to good as thou art to evil; [m] he is as quickly invited to pity thee, as thou to aſk him: provided thou doſt not finally reſt in the petition, but paſs into action, and endeavour by all means human and moral to quench the flame newly kindled in thy bowels, before it come to devour the marrow of the bones. For a ſtrong prayer, and a lazy, incurious, unobſervant walking, are contradictions in the diſcourſes of religion. [n] Ruffinus tells us a ſtory of a young man ſolicited by the ſpirit of uncleanneſs, who came to an old religious perſon, and begged his prayers. It was in that age when God uſed to anſwer prayers of very holy perſons by more clear and familiar ſignifications of his pleaſure than he knows now to be neceſſary. But after many earneſt prayers ſent up to the throne of grace, and the young man not at all better'd, upon conſideration and enquiry of particulars, he found the cauſe to be, becauſe the young man relied ſo upon the prayers of the old eremite, that he did nothing at all to diſcountenance his luſt or contradict the temptation. But then he took another courſe, enjoined him auſterities and exerciſes of devotion, gave him rules of prudence and caution, tied him to work and to ſtand upon his guard: and then the prayers returned in triumph, and the young man trampled upon his luſt. And ſo ſhall I and you, by God's grace, if we pray earneſtly and frequently, if we watch carefully that we be not ſurprized, if we be not idle in ſecret, nor talkative in public, if we read the Scriptures, and conſult with a ſpiritual guide, and make religion to be our work, that ſerving of God be the buſineſs of our life, and our deſigns be to purchaſe eternity: then we ſhall walk ſafely, or recover ſpeedily, and, by doing advantages to piety, ſecure a greatneſs of religion and ſpirituality, to our ſpirits and underſtanding. But remember, that when Iſrael fought againſt Amalek, Moſes's prayer and Moſes's hand ſecured the victory; his prayer grew ineffectual when his hands were ſlack: to remonſtrate to us, that we muſt co-operate with the grace of God, praying devoutly, and watching carefully, and obſerving prudently, and labouring with diligence and aſſiduity.

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[k] In ſpeculo monach. Ἡβώοις Φίλε θυμέ· τάχ' ἂν τινες ἄλλοι ἔσοιντο Ἄνδρες, ἐγὼ δὲ θανὼν γαῖα μέλαιν ἔσομαι. Fragm. *Theog.*

[l] *Matth.* xxvi. 41.

[m] ——— Hic levare functum
Pauperem laboribus
Vocatus atque non vocatus audit.
Hor. l. 2. *od.* 18.

[n] Lib. iii. 13.

The

The PRAYER.

ETernal God and moſt merciful father, I adore thy wiſdom, providence, and admirable diſpenſation of affairs in the ſpiritual kingdom of our Lord Jeſus*: that thou, who art infinitely good, doſt permit ſo many ſadneſſes and dangers to diſcompoſe that order of things and ſpirits which thou didſt create innocent and harmleſs, and doſt deſign to great and ſpiritual perfections; that the emanation of good from evil by thy over-ruling power and excellencies may force glory to thee from our ſhame, and honour to thy wiſdom by theſe contradictory accidents and events. Lord, have pity upon me in theſe ſad diſorders, and with mercy know my infirmities. Let me, by ſuffering what thou pleaſeſt, co-operate to the glorification of thy grace, and magnifying thy mercy: but never let me conſent to ſin; but with the power of thy majeſty, and mightineſs of thy prevailing mercy, reſcue me from thoſe throngs of dangers and enemies which daily ſeek to deflour that innocence with which thou didſt clothe my ſoul in the new birth. Behold, O God, how all the ſpirits of darkneſs endeavour the extinction of our hopes, and the diſperſion of all thoſe graces, and the prevention of all thoſe glories, which the holy Jeſus hath purchaſed for every loving and obedient ſoul. Our very meat and drink are full of poiſon, our ſenſes are ſnares, our buſineſs is various temptation, our ſins are inlets to more, and our actions made occaſions of ſins. Lord, deliver me from the malice of the devil, from the fallacies of the world, from my own folly; that I be not devoured by the firſt, nor cheated by the ſecond, nor betrayed by my ſelf. But let thy grace, which is ſufficient for me, be always preſent with me; let thy ſpirit inſtruct me in the ſpiritual warfare, arming my underſtanding, and ſecuring my will, and fortifying my ſpirit with reſolutions of piety, and incentives of religion, and deleteries of ſin: that the dangers I am encompaſſed withal may become unto me an occaſion of victory and triumph, through the aids of the Holy Ghoſt, and by the croſs of the Lord* Jeſus*, who hath for himſelf and all his ſervants triumphed over ſin and hell and the grave, even all the powers of darkneſs; from which, by the mercies of* Jeſus *and the merits of his paſſion, now and ever deliver me and all thy faithful people.* Amen.

DISCOURSE VI.

Of Baptiſm.

PART I.

1. WHEN the holy Jeſus was to begin his prophetical office, and to lay the foundation of his church on the corner-ſtone, he firſt temper'd the cement with water, and then with blood, and afterwards built it up by the hands of the ſpirit. Himſelf enter'd at that door by which his Diſciples for ever after were to follow him: for therefore he went in at the door of baptiſm, that he might hallow the entrance which himſelf made to the houſe he was now building.

2. As is was in the old, ſo it is in the new creation. Out of the waters God produced every living creature: and when at firſt *the ſpirit moved upon the waters*, and gave life, it was the type of what was deſigned in the renovation. Every thing that lives now, is born of water and the ſpirit: and Chriſt, who is our creator and redeemer in the new birth, opened the fountains and hallowed the ſtream. Chriſt, who is our life, went down into the waters of baptiſm: and we, who deſcend thither, find the effects of life. It is *living water*, of which whoſo drinks, needs not to drink of it again; for *it ſhall be in him a well of water ſpringing up to life eternal*[a].

3. BUT becauſe every thing is reſolved into the ſame principles from whence it was taken; the old world, which by the power of God came from the waters, by their own ſin fell into the waters again, and were all drowned, and only eight perſons were ſaved by an Ark. And the world renewed upon the ſtock and reſerves of that mercy, conſigned

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[a] *John* iv. 14.

the ſacrament of baptiſm in another figure: for then God gave his ſign from heaven, that by water the world ſhould never again periſh; but he meant, that they ſhould be ſaved by water: for *baptiſm, which is a figure like to this, doth alſo now ſave us by the reſurrection of Jeſus Chriſt*[b].

4. AFTER this, the Jews report, that the world took up the doctrine of baptiſms, in remembrance that the iniquity of the old world was purged by water: and they waſhed all that came to the ſervice of the true God, and by that baptiſm bound them to the obſervation of the precepts which God gave to Noah.

5. BUT when God ſeparated a family for his own ſpecial ſervice, he gave them a ſacrament of initiation, but it was a ſacrament of blood, the covenant of circumciſion. And this was the fore-runner of baptiſm, but not a type: when that was abrogated, this came into the place of it; and that conſigned the ſame faith which this profeſſes. But it could not properly be a type, whoſe nature is by a likeneſs of matter or ceremony to repreſent the ſame myſtery. Neither is a ceremony, as baptiſm truly is, properly capable of having a type; it ſelf is but a type of a greater myſteriouſneſs. And the nature of types is, in ſhadow to deſcribe by dark lines a future ſubſtance[c]. So that altho' circumciſion might be a type of the effects and graces beſtowed in baptiſm; yet of the baptiſm or ablution it ſelf it cannot be properly, becauſe of the unlikeneſs of the ſymbols and configurations, and becauſe they are both equally diſtant from ſubſtances, which types are to conſign and repreſent. The firſt biſhops of Jeruſalem, and all the Chriſtian Jews for many years, retained circumciſion together with baptiſm; and Chriſt himſelf, who was circumciſed, was alſo baptized: and therefore it is not ſo proper to call circumciſion a type of baptiſm. It was rather a ſeal and ſign of the ſame covenant to Abraham and the fathers and to all Iſrael, as baptiſm is to all ages of the Chriſtian church.

6. AND becauſe this rite could not be adminiſtred to all perſons, and was not at all times after its inſtitution; God was pleaſed by a proper and ſpecific type to conſign this rite of baptiſm, which he intended to all, and that for ever: and God, when the family of his church grew ſeparate, notorious, numerous and diſtinct, ſent them into their own country by a baptiſm through which the whole nation paſs'd; for *all the fathers were under the cloud, and all paſſed through the ſea, and were all baptized unto Moſes in the cloud and in the ſea*[d]. So by a double figure foretelling, that as they were initiated to Moſes's law by the cloud above and the ſea beneath; ſo ſhould all the perſons of the church, men, women and children, be initiated unto Chriſt by the ſpirit from above and the water below. For it was the deſign of the Apoſtle in that diſcourſe, to repreſent that the fathers and we were equal as to the privileges of the covenant: he proved that we do not exceed them, and it ought therefore to be certain that they do not exceed us, nor their children ours.

7. BUT after this, ſomething was to remain which might not only conſign the covenant which God made with Abraham, but be as a paſſage from the fathers through the ſynagogue to the church, from Abraham by Moſes to Chriſt: and that was circumciſion, which was a rite which God choſe to be a mark to the poſterity of Abraham, to diſtinguiſh them from the nations which were not within the covenant of grace; and to be a ſeal of the righteouſneſs of faith, which God made to be the ſpirit and life of the covenant.

8. BUT becauſe circumciſion, although it was miniſtred to all the males, yet it was not to the females, although they and all the nation were baptized and initiated into Moſes in the cloud and in the ſea; therefore the children of Iſrael, by imitation of the Patriarchs, the poſterity of Noah, uſed alſo ceremonial baptiſms to their women and to their proſelytes, and to all that were circumciſed. And the Jews deliver, that Sarah and Rebecca, when they were adopted into the family of the church, that is, of Abraham and Iſaac, were baptized: and ſo were all ſtrangers that were married to the ſons of Iſrael. And that we may think this to be typical of Chriſtian baptiſm, the doctors of the Jews had a tradition, that when the Meſſias would come, there ſhould be ſo many proſelytes, that they could not be circumciſed, but ſhould be baptized. The tradition proved true, but not for their reaſon.

BUT that this rite of admitting into myſteries, and inſtitutions, and offices of religion, by baptiſms, was uſed by the poſterity of Noah, or at leaſt very early among the Jews, beſides the teſtimonies of their own doctors, I am the rather induced to believe, becauſe the Heathens had the ſame rite in many places, and in ſeveral religions. So they

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[b] 1 *Pet.* iii. 21. [c] Umbra in lege, imago in evangelio, veritas in cœlo. S. *Ambr.* [d] 1 *Cor.* x. 1, 2.

initiated diſciples into the ſecrets of [e] Mithra: and the prieſts of Cotytto were called [f] Baptæ, becauſe by baptiſm they were admitted into the religion. And they [g] thought murder, inceſt, rapes, and the worſt of crimes, were purged by dipping in the ſea or freſh ſprings. And a proſelyte is called, in Arrianus, Βεβαμμένος, *Intinctus*, a baptized perſon.

9. But this ceremony of baptizing was ſo certain and uſual among the Jews in their admitting proſelytes and adopting into inſtitutions, that to baptize and to make diſciples are all one. And when John the Baptiſt, by an order from heaven, went to prepare the way to the coming of our bleſſed Lord, he preached repentance, and baptized all that profeſſed they did repent. He taught the Jews to live good lives, and baptized with the baptiſm of a prophet; ſuch as was not uſually done by extraordinary and holy perſons in the change or renewing of diſcipline or religion. Whether *John's Baptiſm was from heaven, or of men*, Chriſt aſked the Phariſees. That it was from heaven, the people therefore believed, becauſe he was a Prophet and an holy perſon: but it implies alſo, that ſuch baptiſms are ſometimes from men, that is, uſed by perſons of an eminent religion or extraordinary fame, for the gathering of diſciples and admitting proſelytes. And the diſciples of Chriſt did ſo too[h]: even before Chriſt had inſtituted the ſacrament for the Chriſtian church, the diſciples that came to Chriſt were baptized by his Apoſtles.

10. And now we are come to the gates of baptiſm. All theſe till John were but types and preparatory baptiſms, and John's baptiſm was but the prologue to the baptiſm of Chriſt. The Jewiſh baptiſms admitted proſelytes to Moſes and to the law of ceremonies: John's baptiſm called them to believe in the Meſſias now appearing, and to repent of their ſins, to enter into the kingdom which was now at hand, and preached that repentance which ſhould be for the remiſſion of ſins. His baptiſm remitted no ſins, but preached and conſigned repentance, which in the belief of the Meſſias, whom he pointed to, ſhould pardon ſins. But becauſe he was taken from his office before the work was compleated, the diſciples of Chriſt finiſhed it[i]: They went forth preaching the ſame ſermon of repentance, and the approach of the kingdom, and baptized, or made proſelytes or diſciples, as John did; only they (as it is probable) baptized in the name of Jeſus, which it is not ſo likely John did. And this very thing might be the cauſe of the [k] different forms of baptiſm recorded in the Acts; of [l] *baptizing in the name of Jeſus*, and at other times [m] *in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt*: the former being the manner of doing it in purſuance of the deſign of John's baptiſm, and the latter the form of inſtitution by Chriſt for the whole Chriſtian church, appointed after his reſurrection: the diſciples at firſt uſing promiſcuouſly what was uſed by the ſame authority, though with ſome difference of myſtery.

11. The Holy Jeſus having found his way ready prepared by the preaching of John and by his baptiſm, and the Jewiſh manner of adopting proſelytes and diſciples into the religion, a way chalked out for him to initiate diſciples into his religion, took what was ſo prepared, and changed it into a perpetual ſacrament. He kept the ceremony, that they who were led only by outward things might be the better called in and eaſier enticed into the religion, when they entred by a ceremony which their nation always uſed in the like caſes: and therefore without change of the outward act, he put into it a new ſpirit, and gave it a new grace and a proper efficacy; he ſublimed it to higher ends, and adorned it with ſtars of heaven; he made it to ſignify greater myſteries, to convey greater bleſſings, to conſign the bigger promiſes, to cleanſe deeper than the ſkin, and to carry proſelytes farther than the gates of the inſtitution. For ſo he was pleaſed to do in the other ſacrament: he took the ceremony which he found ready in the cuſtom of the Jews, where the *Major-domo*, after the paſchal ſupper, gave bread and wine to every perſon of his family; he changed nothing of it without, but transferred the rite to greater myſteries, and put his own ſpirit to their ſign, and it became a ſacrament evangelical. It was ſo alſo in the matter of excommunication, where the Jewiſh practice was made to paſs into Chriſtian diſcipline. Without violence and noiſe old things became new, while he fulfilled the law, making it up in full meaſures of the ſpirit.

12. By theſe ſteps baptiſm paſſed on to a divine evangelical inſtitution, which we find to be conſigned by three Evangeliſts. *Go ye therefore and teach all nations, baptizing them in the the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghoſt*[n]. It was one of

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[e] *Tertul.* de Præſcript. c. 40.

[f] Scholiaſt. in *Juv.* Sat. 2. l. 1.

[g] O nimiùm faciles, qui triſtia crimina cædis Tolli fluminéâ poſſe putatis aquâ!

[h] *John* iv. 2.

[i] Audi quid Scripturæ doceant: Joannis baptiſma non tam peccata dimiſit, quàm baptiſma pœnitentiæ fuit in peccatorum remiſſionem, idque in futuram remiſſionem quæ eſſet poſtea per ſanctificationem Chriſti ſubſequutura. *Hieronym.* adv. Luciferian.

[k] Vide ſuprà *Sect.* 9. *n.* 1.

[l] *Acts* viii. 16. *Acts* ii. 38.

[m] *Mat.* xxviii. 19.

[n] *Mat.* xxviii. 19.

the laſt commandments the holy Jeſus gave upon the earth, when he taught his Apoſtles *the things which concerned his kingdom.* For, *He that believeth and is baptized ſhall be ſaved*[o]: but, *Unleſs a man be born of water and the Holy Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of heaven*[p]; agreeable to the decretory words of God by Abraham in the circumciſion, to which baptiſm does ſucceed in the conſignation of the ſame covenant and the ſame ſpiritual promiſes, *The uncircumciſed child whoſe fleſh is not circumciſed, that ſoul ſhall be cut off from his people; he hath broken my covenant*[q]. The Manichees, Seleucus, Hermias, and their followers[r], people of a day's abode and ſmall intereſt, but of malicious doctrine, taught baptiſm not to be neceſſary, not to be uſed, upon this ground, becauſe they ſuppoſed that it was proper to John to *baptize with water*, and reſerved for Chriſt, as his peculiar, to *baptize with the Holy Ghoſt and with fire.* Indeed Chriſt baptized none otherwiſe; he ſent his ſpirit upon the church in pentecoſt, and baptized them with fire, the ſpirit appearing like a flame: but he appointed his Apoſtles to baptize with water, and they did ſo, and their ſucceſſors after them, every-where and for ever, not expounding but obeying the preceptive words of their Lord, which were almoſt the laſt that he ſpake upon earth. And I cannot think it needful to prove this to be neceſſary by any more arguments; for the words are ſo plain, that they need no expoſition: and yet if they had been obſcure, the univerſal practice of the Apoſtles and the church for ever is a ſufficient declaration of the commandment. No tradition is more univerſal, no, not of Scripture it ſelf; no words are plainer, no, not the ten commandments: and if any ſuſpicion can be ſuper-induced by any jealous or leſs-diſcerning perſon, it will need no other refutation, but to turn his eyes to thoſe lights by which himſelf ſees Scripture to be the word of God, and the commandments to be the declaration of his will.

13. BUT that which will be of greateſt concernment in this affair, is, to conſider the great benefits that are conveyed to us in this ſacrament: for this will highly conclude, that the precept was for ever; which God ſo ſeconds with his grace and mighty bleſſings; and the ſuſception of it neceſſary, becauſe we cannot be without thoſe excellent things which are the graces of the ſacrament.

14. FIRST, The fruit is, That *in baptiſm we are admitted to the kingdom of Chriſt*, preſented unto him, conſigned with his ſacrament, enter into his militia, give up our underſtandings and our choice to the obediencc of Chriſt, and in all ſenſes that we can become his diſciples, witneſſing a good confeſſion, and undertaking a holy life. And therefore in Scripture μαθητεύειν and βαπτίζειν are conjoined in the ſignifications, as they are in the myſtery. It is a giving up our names to Chriſt, and it is part of the foundation or the firſt principles of the religion, as appears in St. Paul's catechiſm[s]: it is ſo the firſt thing, that it is for babes and neophytes, in which they are matriculated and adopted into the houſe of their father, and taken into the hands of their mother. Upon this account baptiſm is called in antiquity, *Eccleſiæ janua, porta Gratiæ, & primus introitus Sanctorum ad æternam Dei & Eccleſiæ conſuetudinem*[t]; The gate of the church, the door of grace, the firſt entrance of the ſaints to an eternal converſion with God and the church. *Sacramentum initiationis, & intrantium Chriſtianiſmum inveſtituram*, (St. Bernard calls it;) The ſacrament of initiation, and the inveſtiture of them that enter into the religion. And the perſon ſo entring is called πεπεισμένος and συγκατατεθειμένος[u], one of the religion, or a proſelyte and convert, and one added to the number of the church; in imitation of that of St. Luke, Ὁ Κύριος προσετίθει σωζομένους τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, *God added to the church thoſe that ſhould be ſaved*[x]: juſt as the church does to this day and for ever, baptizing infants and catechumens: σωζόμενοι προστίθενται, they are added to the church, that they may be added to the Lord, and the number of the inhabitants of heaven.

15. SECONDLY, The next ſtep beyond this is adoption into the covenant[y], which is an immediate conſequent of the firſt preſentation; this being the firſt act of man, that, the firſt act of God. And this is called by St. Paul a being [z] *baptized in one ſpirit into one body*; that is, we are made capable of the communion of ſaints, the bleſſings of the faithful, the privileges of the church. By this we are, as St. Luke calls it, [a] τεταγμένοι εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον, *ordained* or *diſpoſed, put into the order of eternal life*, being made members of the myſtical body under Chriſt our head.

16. THIRDLY, And therefore Baptiſm is a new birth, by which we enter into the new world, the new creation, the bleſſings and ſpiritualities of the kingdom. And this

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[o] *Mark* xvi. 16.

[p] *John* iii. 5.

[q] *Gen.* xvii. 14.

[r] S. *Aug.* Hæreſ. 46. 59.

[s] *Heb.* vi. 1, 2.

[t] S. *Aug.* l. 2. c. 1. de Cat. Rudib.

[u] *Juſt. Martyr.* Apol. 2.

[x] *Acts* ii. 47.

[y] Τὸ βάπτισμα καὶ υἱοθεσίας χάριν τυγχάνειν. *Cyr. I. Hieroſol.* Catech. 2.

[z] 1 *Cor.* xii. 13.

[a] *Acts* xiii. 48.

is the expreſſion which our Saviour himſelf uſed to [b] Nicodemus, *Unleſs a man be born of water and the ſpirit.* And it is by [c] St. Paul called λουτρὸν παλιγγενεσίας, *the laver of regeneration.* For now we begin to be reckoned in a new *cenſus* or account; God is become our father, Chriſt our elder brother, the Spirit the earneſt of our inheritance, the church our mother; our food is the body and blood of our Lord, faith is our learning, religion our employment, and our whole life is ſpiritual, and heaven the object of our hopes, and the mighty price of our high calling. And from this time forward we have a new principle put into us, the ſpirit of grace, which, beſides our ſoul and body, is a principle of action, of one nature, and ſhall with them enter into the portion of our inheritance. And therefore the primitive Chriſtians, who conſigned all their affairs and goods and writings with ſome marks of their Lord, uſually writing Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς, Θεοῦ Υἱὸς, Σωτήρ, *Jeſus Chriſt, the Son of God, our Saviour*, made it an abbreviature, by writing only the capitals thus, I. X. Θ. Υ. Σ. which the Heathens in mockery and deriſion made Ἰχθὺς, which ſignifies a fiſh, and they uſed it for Chriſt, as a name of reproach. But the Chriſtians owned the name, and turned it into a pious metaphor, and were content that they ſhould enjoy their pleaſure in the acroſtic. But upon that occaſion Tertullian ſpeaks pertinently to this article[d], *Nos piſciculi, ſecundum ἰχθὺν noſtrum Jeſum Chriſtum, in aqua naſcimur:* Chriſt, whom you call a fiſh, we acknowledge to be our Lord and Saviour; and we, if you pleaſe, are the little fiſhes, for we are born in water, thence we derive our ſpiritual life. And becauſe from henceforward we are a new creation, the church uſes to aſſign new relations to the catechumens, ſpiritual fathers and ſuſceptors; and, at their entrance into baptiſm, the Chriſtian and Jewiſh proſelytes did uſe to cancel all ſecular affections to their temporal relatives. *Nec quicquam priùs imbuuntur quàm contemnere Deos, exuere patriam, parentes, liberos, fratres vilia habere*, ſaid Tacitus of the Chriſtians.[e] Which was true in the ſenſe only that Chriſt ſaid, *He that doth not hate father or mother for my ſake, is not worthy of me*; that is, He that doth not hate them *præ me*, rather than forſake me forſake them, is unworthy of me.

17. Fourthly, *In baptiſm all our ſins are pardoned*, according to the words of a prophet[f], *I will ſprinkle clean water upon you, and ye ſhall be clean from all your filthineſs.* "The catechumen deſcends into the font a ſinner, he ariſes purified; he goes down the "ſon of death, he comes up the ſon of the reſurrection; he enters in the ſon of folly and "prevarication, he returns the ſon of reconciliation; he ſtoops down the child of wrath, "and aſcends the heir of mercy; he was the child of the devil, and now he is the "ſervant and the Son of God." They are the words of venerable Bede concerning this myſtery[g]. And this was ingeniouſly ſignified by that Greek inſcription upon a font, which is ſo prettily contrived, that the words may be read after the Greek or after the Hebrew manner, and be exactly the ſame; ΝΙΨΟΝ ΑΝΟΜΗΜΑ, ΜΗ ΜΟΝΑΝ ΟΨΙΝ *Lord, waſh my ſin, and not my face only.* And ſo it is intended and promiſed. [h] *Ariſe and be baptized, and waſh away thy ſins, and call on the name of the Lord*, ſaid *Ananias* to *Saul.* For [i] *Chriſt loved the church, and gave himſelf for it, that he might ſanctify and cleanſe it*, τῷ λουτρῷ τοῦ ὕδατος ἐν ῥήματι, *with the waſhing of water in the word*, that is, baptiſm in the Chriſtian religion. And therefore [k] Tertullian calls baptiſm *lavacrum compendiatum*, a compendious laver, that is, an entire cleanſing the ſoul in that one action juſtly and rightly performed. In the rehearſal of which doctrine it was not an unpleaſant etymology that Anaſtaſius Sinaita gave of baptiſm, βάπτισμα *quaſi* πάπτασμα, ἐν ᾧ βάλλεται, ἤγουν πίπτει, τὸ πταῖσμα, in which our ſins are thrown off: and they fall like leeches when they are full of blood and water, or like the chains from St. Peter's hands at the preſence of the angel. Baptiſm is ἀνεκλόγιστος ἄφεσις ἁμαρτιῶν, an entire, full forgiveneſs of ſins, ſo that they ſhall never be called again to ſcrutiny.

———— *Omnia Dæmonis arma*
His merguntur aquis, quibus ille renaſcitur infans
Qui captivus erat [l] ————

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[b] *John* iii. 5.

[c] *Titus* iii. 5. Διὰ βαπτισμοῦ ἀρχὴ ἑτέρου βίου γίνεται ἡμῖν, ἡ παλιγγενεσία, καὶ σφραγὶς καὶ φυλακτήριον, καὶ φωτισμός. *Damaſc.* l. 4. *Orth. fid.* c. 10.

[d] Lib. de Baptiſ. c. 1.

[e] Lib. v. Hiſt.

[f] *Ezek.* xxxvi. 25. Πιστεύω ἓν βάπτισμα εἰς ἄφεσιν τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν. Symb. Nicen.

[g] Lib. 1. c. 3. in Joann.

[h] *Acts* xxii. 16.

[i] *Eph.* v. 25, 26.

[k] Lib. 5. adv. Marc. c. 9. Θάλασσα κλύζει πάντα τῶν ἀνθρώπων κακά. Gr. prov. Annon ità credimus, quia omne genus peccati, cùm ad ſalutare lavacrum venimus, aufertur? *Origen.* hom. 15. in Joſu. Ecce quicquid iniquitatum ſempiternus ignis excoquere & expiare vix poſſet, ſubitò ſacro fonte ſubmerſum eſt, & de æternis debitis breviſſimo lavacri compendio cum indulgentiſſimo creditore tranſactum eſt. *Ambroſ.* l. 1. c. 7. de Pœnit. Qui dicit peccata in Baptiſmo non funditus dimitti, dicat in mari rubro Ægyptios non veraciter mortuos. S. *Greg. M.* l. 9. ep. 39.

[l] *Arator*, l. 2. Hiſt. Apoſt.

The captivity of the ſoul is taken away by the blood of redemption, and the fiery darts of the devil are quenched by theſe ſalutary waters; and what the flames of hell are expiating or puniſhing to eternal ages, that is waſhed off quickly in the holy font, and an eternal debt paid in an inſtant.' For ſo ſure as the Egyptians were drowned in the red ſea, ſo ſure are our ſins waſhed in this holy flood. For this is a red ſea too; theſe waters ſignify the blood of Chriſt; *Theſe are they that have waſhed their robes, and made them white in the blood of the Lamb*[m]. Τὸ αἷμα καθαρίζει, τὸ ὕδωρ καθαρίζει, καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα ἁγνίζει· τὸ αἷμα διὰ πνεύματος, τὸ πνεῦμα διὰ ὕδατος, *The blood* of Chriſt *cleanſeth us, the water cleanſeth us, the ſpirit purifieth us; the blood by the ſpirit, the ſpirit by the water*[n]; all in Baptiſm, and in purſuance of that baptiſmal ſtate. [o] *Theſe three* are they that *bear record in earth, the ſpirit, the water, and the blood*[o]; καὶ οἱ τρεῖς εἰς τὸ ἕν εἰσι, *and theſe three agree in one*, or *are to one purpoſe*; and they agree in Baptiſm, and in the whole purſuance of the aſſiſtances which a Chriſtian needs all the days of his life. And therefore St. Cyril calls Baptiſm τῶν τοῦ Χριστοῦ παθημάτων ἀντίτυπον, the antitype of the paſſions of Chriſt. It does preconſign the death of Chriſt, and does the infancy of the work of grace, but not weakly; it brings from death to life: and though it brings us but to the birth in the new life, yet this is a greater change than is in all the periods of our growth to manhood, to a perfect man in Chriſt Jeſus.

18. FIFTHLY, Baptiſm does not only pardon our ſins, but puts us into a ſtate of pardon for the time to come. For Baptiſm is the beginning of the new life, and an admiſſion of us into the evangelical covenant: which on our parts conſiſts in a ſincere and timely endeavour to glorify God by faith and obedience; and on God's part, he will pardon what is paſt, aſſiſt us for the future, and not meaſure us by grains and ſcruples, or exact our duties by the meaſure of an angel, but by the ſpan of a man's hand. So that by Baptiſm we are conſigned to the mercies of God, and the graces of the goſpel; that is, that our pardon be continued, and our piety be a ſtate of repentance. And therefore that Baptiſm which in the Nicene creed we profeſs to be for the remiſſion of ſins, is called in the Jeruſalem creed the Baptiſm of repentance; that is, it is the entrance of a new life, the gate to a perpetual change and reformation, all the way continuing our title to the hopes of forgiveneſs of ſins. And this excellency is clearly recorded by St. Paul: *The kindneſs and love of God our Saviour towards man hath appeared, not by works of righteouſneſs which we have done*[p]; that's the formality of the goſpel covenant, not to be exacted by the ſtrict meaſures of the law; but according to his mercy he ſaved us, that is, by gentleneſs and remiſſions, by pitying and pardoning us, by relieving and ſupporting us, becauſe he remembers that we are but duſt: and all this mercy we are admitted to, and is conveyed to us, διὰ λουτροῦ παλιγγενεσίας, by the laver of regeneration, and the renewing of the Holy Ghoſt. And this plain evident doctrine was obſerved, explicated and urged againſt the Meſſalians, who ſaid that Baptiſm was like a razor, that cuts away all the ſins that were paſt, or preſently adhering, but not the ſins of our future life. Οὐδὲ γὰρ τοῦτο μόνον ἐπαγγέλλεται τὸ μυστήριον, ἀλλὰ τὰ τούτων μείζω καὶ πλειότερα· ἀῤῥαβὼν γάρ ἐστι τῶν μελλόντων ἀγαθῶν καὶ τῆς ἐσομένης ἀναστάσεως τύπος, καὶ κοινωνία τῶν δεσποτικῶν παθημάτων, καὶ μετουσία τῆς δεσποτικῆς ἀναστάσεως, καὶ ἱμάτιον σωτηρίου, καὶ χιτὼν εὐφροσύνης, καὶ στολὴ φωτοειδὴς, μᾶλλον δὲ αὐτὸ φῶς[q]. This ſacrament promiſes more and greater things; it is the earneſt of future good things, the type of the reſurrection, the communication of the Lord's paſſion, the partaking of his reſurrection, the robe of righteouſneſs, the garment of gladneſs, the veſtment of light, or rather light it ſelf. And for this reaſon it is that baptiſm is not to be repeated, becauſe it does at once all that it can do at an hundred times: for it admits us to the condition of repentance and evangelical mercy, to a ſtate of pardon for our infirmities and ſins, which we timely and effectually leave; and this is a thing that can be done but once, as a man can begin but once. He that hath once entred in at this gate of life, is always in poſſibility of pardon, if he be in a poſſibility of working and doing after the manner of a man that which he hath promiſed to the Son of God. And this was expreſly delivered and obſerved by St. Auſtin[r]; "That which the Apoſtle ſays, *Cleanſing him with the waſhing of water in the word*, is to be underſtood, that in the ſame laver of regeneration and word of ſanctification all the evils of the regenerate are cleanſed and healed; not only the ſins that are paſt, which are all now remitted in baptiſm, but alſo thoſe that are contracted afterwards by human ignorance and infirmity: not that baptiſm be repeated as often as we ſin[s], but becauſe by this which is once adminiſtred, is brought to

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[m] *Rev.* vii. 14.

[n] 1 *John* i. 7. *Acts* xxii. 16. *Tit.* iii. 5. *Heb.* ix. 14.

[o] 1 *John* v. 8.

[p] *Tit.* iii. 4, 5.

[q] *Theodor.* Ep. de Div. decr. cap. de Bapt.

[r] Lib. de Nuptiis c. 23. & Tract. 124. in Joan.

[s] Vide *Salmer.* tom. 13. p. 487.

“ paſs that pardon of all ſins, not only of thoſe that are paſt, but alſo thoſe which will “ be committed afterwards, is obtained.” The Meſſalians denied this, and it was part of their hereſy in the undervaluing of Baptiſm; and for it they are moſt excellently confuted by Iſidore Peluſiot, in his 3d book, 195 epiſtle to the Count Hermin, whither I refer the reader.

19. IN proportion to this doctrine it is that the Holy Scripture calls upon us to live a holy life, in purſuance of this grace of baptiſm. And St. Paul recalls the lapſed Galatians to their covenant, and the grace of God ſtipulated in baptiſm: *Ye are all children of God by faith in Jeſus Chriſt*[t], that is, *heirs of the promiſe*, and *Abraham's ſeed*[u]; that promiſe which cannot be diſannulled, encreaſed or diminiſhed, but is the ſame to us as it was to Abraham, the ſame before the law and after. Therefore do not you hope to be juſtified by the law, for you are entered into the covenant of faith, and are to be juſtified thereby. This is all your hope, by this you muſt ſtand for ever, or you cannot ſtand at all; but by this you may: for *you are God's children by faith*, that is, not by the law, or the covenant of works. And that you may remember whence you are going, and return again, he proves that they are the children of God by faith in Jeſus Chriſt, becauſe they *have been baptized into Chriſt*, and ſo *put on Chriſt*[x]. This makes you children, and ſuch as are to be *ſaved by faith*, that is, a covenant, *not of works*, but of pardon in *Jeſus Chriſt*, the author and eſtabliſher of this covenant. For this is the covenant made in Baptiſm, that *being juſtified by his grace, we ſhall be heirs of life eternal: for by grace*, that is, by favour, remiſſion and forgiveneſs in *Jeſus Chriſt, ye are ſaved*. This is the only way that we have of being juſtified, and this muſt remain as long as we are in hopes of heaven; for beſides this we have no hopes: and all this is ſtipulated and conſigned in baptiſm, and is of force after our fallings into ſin and riſings again. In purſuance of this the ſame Apoſtle declares, that the ſeveral ſtates of ſin are ſo many receſſions from the ſtate of baptiſmal grace; and if we arrive to the direct apoſtaſy, and renouncing of, or a contradiction to the ſtate of baptiſm, we are then unpardonable, becauſe we are fallen from our ſtate of pardon. This St. Paul conditions moſt ſtrictly in his epiſtle to the Hebrews. *This is the covenant I will make in thoſe days: I will put my laws in their hearts; and their ſins and iniquities will I remember no more. Now where remiſſion of theſe is, there is no more offering for ſin*[y]. That is, our ſins are ſo pardoned that we need no more oblation, we are then made partakers of the death of Chriſt; which we afterwards renew in memory and euchariſt and repreſentment. But the great work is done in baptiſm; for ſo it follows, *Having boldneſs to enter into the holieſt by the blood of Jeſus, by a new and living way, that is, by the veil of his fleſh*[z], his incarnation. But how do we enter into this? Baptiſm is the door, and the ground of this confidence for ever: for ſo he adds, *Let us draw near with a true heart in full aſſurance of faith, having our hearts ſprinkled from an evil conſcience, and our bodies waſhed with pure water.* This is the conſignation of this bleſſed ſtate, and the gate to all this mercy. *Let us hold faſt the profeſſion of our* [a]*faith*, that is, the religion of a Chriſtian, the faith into which we were baptized; for that is the faith that juſtifies and ſaves us: *Let us* therefore *hold faſt* this *profeſſion of* this *faith*, and do all the intermedial works in order to the conſervation of it, ſuch as are *aſſembling in the* [b] *communion of ſaints*, (the uſe of the word and ſacrament is included in the precept,) *mutual exhortation, good example*, and the like. *For if we ſin wilfully after we have received the knowledge of the truth*, that is, if we ſin againſt the profeſſion of this faith, and hold it not faſt, but let the faith and the profeſſion go wilfully, (which afterwards he calls *a treading under foot the Son of God, accounting the blood of the covenant wherewith he was ſanctified an unholy thing*, and *a doing deſpite to the ſpirit of grace*[c], viz. which moved upon thoſe waters, and did illuminate him in baptiſm,) if we do this, there is no more ſacrifice for ſins, no more deaths of Chriſt into which you may be baptized; that is, you are fallen from the ſtate of pardon and repentance into which you were admitted in baptiſm, and in which you continue ſo long as you have not quitted your baptiſmal rites and the whole covenant. Contrary to this is that which St. Peter calls *making our calling and election ſure*, that is, a doing all that which may continue us in our ſtate of baptiſm and the grace of the covenant. And between theſe two ſtates of abſolute apoſtaſy from, and entirely adhering to and ſecuring, this ſtate of calling and election, are all the intermedial ſins, and being overtaken in ſingle faults, or declining towards vicious habits, which in their ſeveral proportions are degrees of danger and ſecurity; which St. Peter calls λήθην καθαρισμοῦ τῶν πάλαι αὐτοῦ ἁμαρτιῶν, *a forgetting our baptiſm* or *purification from our ſins.*[d] And in this

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[t] *Gal.* iii. 26.
[u] *Verſe* 29.
[x] *Gal.* iii. 27.
[y] *Heb.* x. 16, &c.
[z] *Verſe* 19, &c.
[a] Τῆς ἐλπίδος, *ſcil. ad futurum reſpiciens.*
[b] Ἐπισυναγωγὴ, παράκλησις, κατανόησις.
[c] *Verſe* 29.
[d] 2 *Pet.* i. 9. Vide Par. 2. Diſc. 9. *of Repentance.* num. 9. *ad* 31.

ſenſe are thoſe words, *The juſt ſhall live by faith*, that is, by that profeſſion which they made in baptiſm; from which if they ſwerve not, they ſhall be ſupported in their ſpiritual life. It is a Grace which, by virtue of the covenant conſigned in baptiſm, does like a centre tranſmit effluxes to all the periods and portions of our life; our whole life, all the periods of our ſucceeding hopes are kept alive by this. This conſideration is of great uſe, beſides many other things, to reprove the folly of thoſe who in the primitive church deferred their baptiſm till their death-bed: becauſe baptiſm is a laver of ſanctification, and drowns all our ſins, and buries them in the grave of our Lord, they thought they might ſin ſecurely upon the ſtock of an after-baptiſm; for unleſs they were ſtrangely prevented by a ſudden accident, a death-bed baptiſm they thought would ſecure their condition. But early ſome of them durſt not take it, much leſs in the beginning of their years, that they might at leaſt gain impunity for their follies and heats of their youth. Baptiſm hath influence into the pardon of all our ſins committed in all the days of our folly and infirmity; and ſo long as we have not been baptized, ſo long we are out of the ſtate of pardon: and therefore an early baptiſm is not to be avoided upon this miſtaken fancy and plot upon heaven; it is the greater ſecurity towards the pardon of our ſins, if we have taken it in the beginning of our days.

20. FIFTHLY, the next benefit of baptiſm, which is alſo a verification of this, is a ſanctification of the baptized perſon by the ſpirit of grace.

> *Sanctus in hunc cœlo deſcendit Spiritus amnem,*
> *Cœleſtique ſacras fonte maritat aquas:*
> *Concipit unda Deum, ſanctámque liquoribus almis*
> *Edit ab æterno ſemine progeniem* [e].

The Holy Ghoſt deſcends upon the waters of baptiſm, and makes them prolifical, apt to produce children unto God. And therefore S. Leo compares the font of baptiſm to the womb of the bleſſed Virgin when it was repleniſhed with the Holy Spirit. And this is the baptiſm of our deareſt Lord: his miniſters baptize with water, our Lord at the ſame time verifies their miniſtry with giving the Holy Spirit. They are joined together by St. Paul, *We are by one ſpirit baptized into one body* [f]; that is, admitted into the church by baptiſm of water and the ſpirit. This is that which our bleſſed Lord calls a being *born of water and of the ſpirit* [g]: by water we are ſacramentally dead and buried, by the ſpirit we are made alive. But becauſe theſe are myſterious expreſſions, and, according to the ſtyle of Scripture, high and ſecret in ſpiritual ſignifications, therefore, that we may underſtand what theſe things ſignify, we muſt conſider it by its real effects, and what it produces upon the ſoul of a man.

21. FIRST, it is the ſuppletory of original righteouſneſs, by which Adam was at firſt gracious with God, and which he loſt by his prevarication. It was in him a principle of wiſdom and obedience, a relation between God and himſelf, a title to the extraordinary mercies of God, and a ſtate of friendſhip. When he fell, he was diſcompoſed in all, the links of the golden chain and bleſſed relation were broken: and it ſo continued in the whole life of man, which was ſtained with the evils of this folly and the conſequent miſchiefs. And therefore when we began the world again, entering into the articles of a new life, God gave us his ſpirit to be an inſtrument of our becoming gracious perſons, and of being in a condition of obtaining that ſupernatural end which God at firſt deſigned to us. And therefore as our baptiſm is a ſeparation of us from unbelieving people: ſo the deſcent of the Holy Spirit upon us in our baptiſm is a conſigning or marking us for God, as the ſheep of his paſture, as the ſoldiers of his army, as the ſervants of his houſhold: we are ſo ſeparated from the world, that we are appropriated to God, ſo that God expects of us duty and obedience; and all ſins are acts of rebellion and undutifulneſs. Of this nature was the ſanctification of Jeremy and John the baptiſt from their mother's womb; that is, God took them to his own ſervice by an early deſignation, and his ſpirit marked them to a holy miniſtry. To this alſo relates that of St. Paul, whom God by a decree ſeparated from his mother's womb to the miniſtry of the Goſpel: the decree did antedate the act of the ſpirit, which did not deſcend upon him until the day of his baptiſm. What theſe perſons were in order to exterior miniſtries, that all the faithful are in order to faith and obedience, conſigned in baptiſm by the ſpirit of God to a perpetual relation to God, in a continual ſervice and title to his promiſes. And in this ſenſe the Spirit of God is called σφραγὶς, *a ſeal* [h]; *in whom alſo, after that ye believed, ye were ſealed with that Holy Spirit of promiſe* [i]. Τὸ μὲν ὕδωρ καθαίρει, τὸ δὲ πνεῦμα σφραγίζει τὴν ψυχήν. *The water waſhes the body, and the ſpirit ſeals*

3 *ſeals*

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[e] *Paul.* Ep. 12 ad Serenum.

[f] 1 *Cor.* xii. 13.

[g] *John* iii. 5. S. *Baſil.* de Spir. S. c. 15.

[h] 2 *Cor.* i. 22. *Eph.* iv. 30. *John* vi. 27.

[i] *Eph.* i. 13. S. *Cyril. Hieroſ.* Catech. 3.

ſeals the ſoul, viz. to a participation of thoſe promiſes which he hath made, and to which we receive a title by our baptiſm.

22. SECONDLY, the ſecond effect of the ſpirit is light or illumination; that is, the Holy Spirit becomes unto us the author of holy thoughts and firm perſuaſions, and ſets to his ſeal that the word of God is true, into the belief of which we are then baptized, and makes faith to be a grace, and the underſtanding reſigned, and the will confident, and the aſſent ſtronger than the promiſes, and the propoſitions to be believed, becauſe they are beloved; and we are taught the ways of godlineſs after a new manner, that is, we are made to perceive the ſecrets of the kingdom, and to love religion, and to long for Heaven and heavenly things, and to deſpiſe the world, and to have new reſolutions, and new perceptions, and new delicacies, in order to the eſtabliſhment of faith, and its increments and perſeverance[k]. Τῇ λαμπίσῃ ψυχῇ ἀπὸ κατακλυσμοῦ ἀνιδρυθεὶς ὁ Θεὸς, οἱονεὶ θρόνον αὐτὴν ἑαυτῷ κατεργάζεται. *God ſits in the ſoul when it is illuminated in baptiſm, as if he ſate in his Throne*; that is, he rules by a firm perſuaſion, and entire principles of obedience. And therefore baptiſm is called in ſcripture φωτισμὸς, and the baptized φωτισθέντες *illuminated*; *call to mind the former days in which you were illuminated*[l]: and the ſame phraſe is in the 6th. to the *Hebrews*[m], where the parallel places expound each other. For that which St. Paul calls ἅπαξ φωτισθέντες, *once illuminated*, he calls after, λαβόντες τὴν ἐπίγνωσιν τῆς ἀληθείας, *a receiving the knowledge of the truth*. And that you may perceive this to be wholly meant of baptiſm, the Apoſtle expreſſes it ſtill by ſynonyma's, *taſting of the heavenly gift, and made partakers of the Holy Ghoſt, ſprinkled in our hearts from an evil conſcience, and waſhed in our bodies with pure water*[n]: all which alſo are a *ſyllabus* or collection of the ſeveral effects of the graces beſtowed in baptiſm. But we are now inſtancing in that which relates moſt properly to the underſtanding: in which reſpect the Holy Spirit alſo is called *anointing* or *unction*: and the myſtery is explicated by St. *John*, *the anointing which ye have received of him abideth in you; and ye need not that any man teach you, but as the ſame anointing teacheth you of all things*[o].

23. THIRDLY, *the Holy Spirit deſcends upon us in baptiſm, to become the principle of a new life*, to become *a holy ſeed*, ſpringing up to holineſs; and is called by St. John σπέρμα Θεοῦ, *the ſeed of God*[p]: and the purpoſe of it we are taught by him, *whoſoever is born of God* (that is, he that is regenerated and entered into this new birth) *doth not commit ſin; for his ſeed remaineth in him: and he cannot ſin, becauſe he is born of God*. The ſpirit of God is the ſpirit of life; and now that he by the ſpirit is born anew, he hath in him that principle which, if it be cheriſhed, will grow up to life, to life eternal. And this is *the ſpirit of ſanctification, the victory over the world*, the deletery of concupiſcence, the life of the ſoul, and the perpetual principle of grace ſown in our ſpirits in the day of our adoption to be the ſons of God, and members of Chriſt's body. But take this myſtery in the words of S. Baſil: "There are two ends propoſed in baptiſm; to wit, to aboliſh the body of ſin, that "we may no more bring forth fruit unto death; and to live in the ſpirit, and to have our "fruit to ſanctification. The water repreſents the image of death, receiving the body in "its boſom, as in a ſepulchre: but the quickning ſpirit ſends upon us a vigorous δύναμιν, "power or efficacy, even from the beginning renewing our ſouls from the death of ſin "unto life. For as our mortification is perfected in the water, ſo the ſpirit works life in "us[q]." To this purpoſe is the diſcourſe of St. Paul; having largely diſcourſed of our being baptized into the death of Chriſt, he adds this as the corollary of all[r], *he that is*[s] *dead is free from ſin*: that is, being mortified and *buried*[t] *in* the waters of *baptiſm*, we have a *new life* of righteouſneſs put into us; we are quitted from the dominion of ſin, and are [u] *planted together in the likeneſs of Chriſt's reſurrection*, [x] *that henceforth we ſhould not ſerve ſin*.

24 FOURTHLY, but all theſe intermedial bleſſings tend to a glorious concluſion; for *baptiſm does alſo conſign us to a holy reſurrection*. It takes the ſting of death from us, by burying us together with Chriſt; and takes off ſin, which is the ſting of death, and then we ſhall be partakers of a bleſſed reſurrection. This we are taught by St. Paul, *Know ye not that ſo many of us as were baptized into Jeſus Chriſt, were baptized into his death? for if we have been planted together in the likeneſs of his death, we ſhall be alſo in the likeneſs of his Reſurrection*[y]. That declares the real event in its due ſeaſon. But becauſe baptiſm conſigns it, and admits us to a title to it, we are ſaid, with St. Paul, *to be riſen with Chriſt in baptiſm; buried with him in baptiſm, wherein alſo you are riſen with him through the faith of the operation of God, which hath raiſed him from the dead*[z]. Which expreſſion

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[k] *S. Baſil.* in Pſal. xxviii.

[l] *Heb.* x. 32.

[m] *verſe* 4.

[n] *Heb* vi. 4.

[o] 1 *John* ii. 20. *verſe* 27.

[p] 1 *John* iii. 9.

[q] Lib. de Spir. S. c. 18.

[r] *Rom.* vi. 7.

[s] χρηστὸν ποιεῖν, *i. e.* ἀποκτιννύναι, *Plutarch.*

[t] ib. *verſe* 4.

[u] *verſe* 5.

[x] *verſe* 6. Vide *Diſc.* 9. *of Repentance.* n. 46.

[y] *Rom.* vi. 3, 5.

[z] *Col.* ii. 12.

I deſire to be remembered, that by it we may better underſtand thoſe other ſayings of the Apoſtle, of *putting on Chriſt in baptiſm*, *putting on the new man*, &c. for theſe only ſignify ἐπιχείρημα, or the deſign on God's part, and the endeavour and duty on man's: we are then conſigned to our duty, and to our reward; we undertake one, and have a title to the other. And though men of ripeneſs and reaſon enter inſtantly into their portion of work, and have preſent uſe of the aſſiſtances, and ſomething of their reward in hand; yet we cannot conclude, that thoſe that cannot do it preſently are not baptized rightly, becauſe they are not in capacity to *put on the new man* in righteouſneſs, that is, in an actual holy life. For they may *put on the new man* in baptiſm, juſt as *they are riſen with Chriſt*. Which becauſe it may be done by faith before it is done in real event, and it may be done by ſacrament and deſign before it be done by a proper faith; ſo alſo may our putting on the new man be: it is done ſacramentally; and that part which is wholly the work of God does only antedate the work of man, which is to ſucceed in its due time, and is after the manner of preventing grace. But this is by the bye. In order to the preſent articles, baptiſm is by Theodoret called μετουσία τῆς δεσποτικῆς ἀναστάσεως, *a participation of the Lord's reſurrection.*

25. FIFTHLY and laſtly, *by baptiſm we are ſaved*; that is, we are brought from death to life here, and that is *the firſt reſurrection*; and we are brought from death to life hereafter, by virtue of the covenant of the ſtate of grace into which in baptiſm we enter, and are preſerved from the *ſecond death*, and receive a glorious and an eternal life. *He that believeth and is baptized ſhall be ſaved*[a], ſaid our bleſſed Saviour; and, *according to his mercy be ſaved us, by the waſhing of regeneration and renewing of the Holy Ghoſt*[b].

26. AFTER theſe great bleſſings ſo plainly teſtified in Scripture and the doctrine of the primitive church, which are regularly conſigned and beſtowed in baptiſm, I ſhall leſs need to deſcend to temporal bleſſings, or rare contingencies, or miraculous events, or probable notices of things leſs certain. Of this nature are thoſe ſtories recorded in the writings of the church, that Conſtantine was cured of a leproſy in baptiſm[c]; Theodoſius recovered of his diſeaſe, being baptized by the biſhop of Theſſalonica[d]; and a paralytic Jew was cured as ſoon as he became a Chriſtian, and was baptized by Atticus of C P.[e] and biſhop Arnulph baptizing a leper alſo cured him, ſaid Vincentius Bellovacenſis. It is more conſiderable which is generally and piouſly believed by very many eminent perſons in the church, that at our baptiſm God aſſigns an angel guardian, for then the catechumen, being made a ſervant and brother to the Lord of angels, is ſure not to want the aids of them who *pitch their tents round about them that fear the Lord*[f]; and that this guard and miniſtry is then appointed when themſelves are admitted into the inheritance of the promiſes: and their title to ſalvation is hugely agreeable to the words of St. Paul, *are they not all miniſtring ſpirits, ſent forth to miniſter to them who ſhall be heirs of ſalvation*[g]*?* where it appears, that the title to the inheritance is the title to this miniſtry, and therefore muſt begin and end together. But I inſiſt not on this, though it ſeems to me hugely probable. All theſe bleſſings put into one ſyllabus have given to baptiſm many honourable appellatives in Scripture and other divine writers, calling it ἀναγέννησιν, παλιγγενεσίαν, ὄχημα πρὸς Θεὸν, ὄχημα πρὸς οὐρανὸν, βασιλείας πρόξενον, τὴν κλεῖδα τῆς βασιλείας τῶν οὐρανῶν, μεγάλην περιτομὴν ἀχειροποίητον, ἀνακαίνωσιν, ἀγαθῆς συνειδήσεως ἐπερώτημα, ἀῤῥαβῶνα, ἐνέχυρον, ἀπόδειξιν, ἀνάκτισιν, ἔνδυμα φωτεινὸν[h], *ſacramentum vitæ & æternæ ſalutis*; *a new birth*, *a regeneration*, *a renovation*, *a chariot carrying us to God*, *the great circumciſion*, *a circumciſion made without hands*, *the key of the kingdom*, *the paranymph of the kingdom*, *the earneſt of our inheritance*, *the anſwer of a good conſcience*, *the robe of light*, *the ſacrament of a new life and of eternal ſalvation.* Ἄερσον μὲν ὕδωρ· This is celeſtial water, ſpringing from the ſides of the rock upon which the church was built, when the rock was ſmitten with the rod of God.

27. IT remains now that we enquire what concerns our duty, and in what perſons or in what diſpoſitions baptiſm produces all theſe glorious effects: for the ſacraments of the church work in the virtue of Chriſt, but yet only upon ſuch as are ſervants of Chriſt, and hinder not the work of the ſpirit of grace. For the water of the font and the ſpirit of the ſacrament are indeed to waſh away our ſins, and to purify our ſouls; but not unleſs we have a mind to be purified. The ſacrament works pardon for them that hate their ſin, and procures grace for them that love it. They that are guilty of ſins muſt repent of them, and renounce them, and they muſt make a profeſſion of the faith of Chriſt, and give or be given up to the obedience of Chriſt; and then they are rightly diſpoſed. *He that believeth and is baptized ſhall be ſaved*[i], ſaith Chriſt; and St. Peter call'd out to the whole aſſembly,

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[a] *Mark* xvi. 16.

[b] *Tit.* iii. 5.

[c] *Niceph.* l. 7. c. 35.

[d] *Socr.* l. 5. *c.* 6.

[e] Idem. l. 7. c. 7.

[f] *Pſal.* xxxiv. 7.

[g] *Heb.* i. 14.

[h] *Baſil. Theod. Epiphan. Nazianz.* Col. ii. 2. *Cyril. Hieroſ. Dionyſ. Areop. Aug.* l. 2. c. 13. contra Creſcon. Gram.

[i] *Mark* xvi. 16.

repent and be baptized every one of you[k]. Concerning this Juſtin Martyr gives the ſame account of the faith and practice of the church; Ὅσοι ἂν πεισθῶσι ϗ πιστεύωσιν, &c[l]. "Whoſoever "are perſuaded and believe thoſe things to be true which are delivered and ſpoken by us, "and undertake to live accordingly, they are commanded to faſt and pray, and to aſk of "God remiſſion for their former ſins, we alſo praying together with them, and faſting. "Then they are brought to us where water is, and are regenerated in the ſame manner "of regeneration by which we our ſelves are regenerated." For in baptiſm St. Peter obſerves there are two parts, the body and the ſpirit. That is σαρκὸς ἀπόθεσις ῥύπου, *the putting away the filth of the fleſh*[m], that is the material waſhing; and this is baptiſm no otherwiſe than a dead corps is a man: the other is συνειδήσεως ἀγαθῆς ἐπερώτημα, *the anſwer of a good conſcience towards God*, that is, the converſion of the ſoul to God; that's the effective diſpoſition in which baptiſm does ſave us. And in the ſame ſenſe are thoſe ſayings of the primitive doctors to be underſtood. *Anima non lavatione, ſed reſponſione, ſancitur*[n]; the ſoul is not healed by waſhing, *viz.* alone, but by the anſwer, the ἐπερώτημα in St. Peter, the correſpondent of our part of the covenant: for that's the perfect ſenſe of this unuſual expreſſion. And the effect is attributed to this, and denied to the other, when they are diſtinguiſhed. So Juſtin Martyr affirms[o]; "The only baptiſm that can heal us is "repentance and the knowledge of God. For what need is there of that baptiſm that can "only cleanſe the fleſh and the body? be waſhed in your fleſh from wrath and covetouſneſs, "from envy and hatred; and behold the body is pure." And Clemens Alexandrinus upon that proverbial ſaying, Ἴσθι μὴ λουτρῷ ἀλλὰ νόῳ καθαρός, *be not pure in the laver, but in the mind*, adds, "I ſuppoſe that an exact and a firm repentance is a ſufficient purification to a man; if judg-"ing and conſidering our ſelves for the facts we have, done before we proceed to that which "is before us, conſidering that which follows, and cleanſing or waſhing our mind from ſenſual "affections and from former ſins." Juſt as we uſe to deny the effect to the inſtrumental cauſe, and attribute it to the principal, in the manner of ſpeaking, when our purpoſe is to affirm this to be the principal, and of chief influence. So we ſay, it is not the good lute, but the ſkilful hand, that makes the muſic: It is not the body, but the ſoul, that is the man: and yet he is not the man without both. For baptiſm is but the material part in the ſacrament, it is the ſpirit that giveth life; whoſe work is faith and repentance begun by himſelf without the ſacrament, and conſigned in the ſacrament, and actuated and encreaſed in the co-operation of our whole life. And therefore baptiſm is called in the Jeruſalem Creed ἓν βάπτισμα μετανοίας εἰς ἄφεσιν τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν, *one baptiſm of repentance for the remiſſion of ſins*; and by Juſtin Martyr[p], λουτρὸν τῆς μετανοίας ϗ τῆς γνώσεως τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὃ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀνομίας τῶν λαῶν τοῦ Θεοῦ γέγονεν, *the baptiſm of repentance and the knowledge of God, which was made for the ſins of the people of God.* He explains himſelf a little after, τὸ βάπτισμα τὸ μόνον καθαρίσαι τοὺς μετανοήσαντας δυνάμενον, *baptiſm that can only cleanſe them that are penitent. In ſacramentis Trinitati occurrit fides credentium & profeſſio, quæ apud acta conficitur angelorum, ubi miſcentur cæleſtia & ſpiritualia ſemina; ut ſancto germine nova poſſit renaſcentium indoles procreari; ut dum Trinitas cum fide concordat, qui natus fuerit ſeculo renaſcatur ſpiritualiter Deo. Sic fit hominum pater Deus, ſancta fit mater eccleſia*, ſaid *Optatus*[q]. The faith and profeſſion of the believers meets with the ever-bleſſed Trinity, and is recorded in the regiſter of angels, where heavenly and ſpiritual ſeeds are mingled; that from ſo holy a ſpring may be produced a new nature of the regeneration; that while the Trinity (viz. that is invocated upon the baptized) meets with the faith of the catechumen, he that was born to the world may be born ſpiritually to God. So God is made a father to the man, and the holy church a mother. Faith and repentance ſtrip the old man naked, and make him fit for baptiſm; and then the Holy Spirit moving upon the waters cleanſes the ſoul, and makes it to put on the new man, who grows up to perfection and a ſpiritual life, to a life of glory, by our verification of our undertaking in baptiſm on our part, and the graces of the ſpirit on the other. For the waters pierce no further than the ſkin, till the perſon puts off his affection to the ſin that he hath contracted; and then he may ſay, *Aquæ intraverunt uſque ad animam meam*, the waters are entered even unto my ſoul, to purify and cleanſe it, by the waſhing of water, and the renewing by the Holy Spirit. The ſum is this; Βαπτιζόμενοι φωτιζόμεθα, φωτιζόμενοι υἱοποιούμεθα, υἱοποιούμενοι τελειούμεθα, τελειούμενοι ἀθανατιζόμεθα[r]. *Being baptized we are illuminated, being illuminated we are adopted to the inheritance of ſons, being adopted we are promoted toward perfection, and being perfected we are made immortal.*

Quiſquis in hos fontes vir venerit, exeat indè
Semideus, tactis citò nobilitetur in undis.

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[k] *Acts* ii. 38.

[l] Apol. ad Anton. Cæſ.

[m] 1 *Pet.* iii. 21.

[n] *Tert.* de Reſ. Carn.

[o] Ad. Tryphon. Jud.

[p] Dial. cum Tryph.

[q] Lib. 2. adv. Parm.

[r] *Clem. Alex.* lib. 1. Pædag. c. 6.

28. THIS is the whole doctrine of baptiſm, as it is in it ſelf conſidered, without relation to rare circumſtances or accidental caſes. And it will alſo ſerve to the right underſtanding of the reaſons why the church of God hath in all ages baptized all perſons that were within her power, from whom the church could ſtipulate that they were or might be relatives of Chriſt, ſons of God, heirs of the promiſes, and partners of the covenant, and ſuch as did not hinder the work of baptiſm upon their ſouls. And ſuch were not only perſons of age and choice, but the infants of Chriſtian parents. For the underſtanding and verifying of which truth, I ſhall only need to apply the parts of the former diſcourſe to their particular caſe, premiſing firſt theſe propoſitions.

Of Baptizing Infants.

PART II.

1. BAPTISM is the key in Chriſt's hand, and therefore opens, as he opens, and ſhuts by his rule: and as Chriſt himſelf did not do all his bleſſings and effects unto every one, but gave to every one as they had need; ſo does baptiſm. Chriſt did not cure all men's eyes, but them only that were blind; *Chriſt came not to call the righteous, but ſinners to repentance:* that is, they that lived in the fear of God, according to the covenant in which they were debtors, were indeed improved and promoted higher by Chriſt; but not called to that repentance to which he called the vicious Gentiles, and the adulterous perſons among the Jews, and the hypocritical Phariſees. There are ſome ſo innocent that they need no repentance, (ſaith the Scripture:) meaning, that though they do need contrition for their ſingle acts of ſin, yet they are within the ſtate of grace, and need not repentance as it is a converſion of the whole man. And ſo it is in baptiſm, which does all its effects upon them that need them all, and ſome upon them that need but ſome: and therefore as it pardons ſins to them that have committed them, and do repent and believe; ſo to the others, who have not committed them, it does all the work which is done to the others above or beſides that pardon.

2. SECONDLY, when the ordinary effect of a ſacrament is done already by ſome other efficiency or inſtrument, yet the ſacrament is ſtill as obligatory as before, not for ſo many reaſons or neceſſities, but for the ſame commandment. Baptiſm is the firſt ordinary current in which the ſpirit moves and deſcends upon us; and where God's ſpirit is, they are the ſons of God, for Chriſt's ſpirit deſcends upon none but them that are his: and yet Cornelius, who had received the Holy Spirit, and was heard by God, and viſited by an angel, and accepted in his alms and faſtings and prayers, was tied to the ſuſception of baptiſm [a]. To which may be added, that the receiving the effects of baptiſm before-hand was uſed as an argument the rather to adminiſter baptiſm. The effect of which conſideration is this, that baptiſm and its effects may be ſeparated, and do not always go in conjunction: the effect may be before, and therefore much rather may it be after its ſuſception; the ſacrament operating in the virtue of Chriſt, even as the ſpirit ſhall move: according to that ſaying of St. Auſtin [b], *Sacroſancto lavacro inchoata innovatio novi hominis perficiendo perficitur in aliis citiùs in aliis tardius:* and St. Bernard [c], *Lavari quidem citò poſſumus, ſed ad ſanandum multâ curatione opus eſt.* The work of regeneration, that is begun in the miniſtry of baptiſm, is perfected in ſome ſooner, in ſome later: we may ſoon be waſhed, but to be healed is a work of a long cure.

3. THIRDLY, the diſpoſitions which are required to the ordinary ſuſception of baptiſm, are not neceſſary to the efficacy, or required to the nature of the ſacrament, but accidentally, and becauſe of the ſuperinduced neceſſities of ſome men: and therefore the conditions are not regularly to be required. But in thoſe accidents it was neceſſary for a Gentile proſelyte to repent of his ſin, and to believe in Moſes's law, before he could be circumciſed. But Abraham was not tied to the ſame conditions, but only to faith in God; but Iſaac was not tied to ſo much; and circumciſion was not of Moſes, but of the fathers: and yet after the ſanction of Moſes's law, men were tied to conditions, which were then made neceſſary to them that entered into the covenant, but not neceſſary to the nature of the covenant it ſelf. And ſo it is in the ſuſception of baptiſm: If a ſinner enters into the font, it is neceſſary he be ſtripped of thoſe appendages which himſelf ſewed upon his nature, and then repentance is a neceſſary diſpoſition: if his

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[a] *Acts* x. 47.

[b] *Aug.* de moribus Eccleſ. Cath. *l.* 1. *c.* 35.

[c] *Bern.* Serm. de Cœna Dom.

underſtanding hath been a ſtranger to religion, polluted with evil principles and a falſe religion, it is neceſſary he have an actual faith, that he be given in his underſtanding up to the obedience of Chriſt. And the reaſon of this is plain, becauſe in theſe perſons there is a diſpoſition contrary to the ſtate and effects of Baptiſm; and therefore they muſt be taken off by their contraries, faith and repentance, that they may be reduced to the ſtate of pure receptives. And this is the ſenſe of thoſe words of our Bleſſed Saviour, *unleſs ye become like one of theſe little ones, ye ſhall not enter into the kingdom of Heaven*; that is, ye cannot be admitted into the goſpel-covenant, unleſs all your contrarieties and impediments be taken from you, and you be as apt as children to receive the new immiſſions from heaven. And this propoſition relies upon a great example, and a certain reaſon. The example is our Bleſſed Saviour, who was *Nullius pœnitentiæ debitor*, he had committed no ſin, and needed no repentance; he needed not to be ſaved by faith, for of faith he was the author and finiſher, and the great object, and its perfection and reward: and yet he was baptized by the baptiſm of John, the baptiſm of repentance. And therefore it is certain that repentance and faith are not neceſſary to the ſuſception of baptiſm, but neceſſary to ſome perſons that are baptized. For it is neceſſary we ſhould much conſider the difference. If the ſacrament by any perſon may be juſtly received in whom ſuch diſpoſitions are not to be found, then the diſpoſitions are not neceſſary or intrinſecal to the ſuſception of the ſacrament: and yet ſome perſons coming to this ſacrament may have ſuch neceſſities of their own as will make the ſacrament ineffectual without ſuch diſpoſitions. Theſe I call neceſſary to the perſon, but not to the ſacrament; that is, neceſſary to all ſuch, but not neceſſary to all abſolutely. And faith is neceſſary ſometimes where repentance is not, ſometimes repentance and faith together, and ſometimes otherwiſe. When Philip baptized the eunuch[d], he only required of him to believe, not to repent. But St. Peter[e], when he preached to the Jews and converted them, only required repentance; which although it in their caſe implied faith, yet there was no explicit ſtipulation for it. They had *crucified the Lord of life*[f], and if they would come to God by baptiſm, they muſt renounce their ſin; that was all was then ſtood upon. It is as the caſe is, or as the perſons have ſuperinduced neceſſities upon themſelves. In children the caſe is evident as to the one part which is equally required, I mean repentance; the not doing of which cannot prejudice them as to the ſuſception of baptiſm, becauſe they having done no evil, are not bound to repent: and to repent is as neceſſary to the ſuſception of baptiſm as faith is. But this ſhews that they are accidentally neceſſary, that is, not abſolutely, not to all, not to infants. And if they may be excuſed from one, duty which is indiſpenſably neceſſary to baptiſm, why they may not from the other, is a ſecret which will not be found out by theſe whom it concerns to believe it.

4. And therefore when our bleſſed Lord made a ſtipulation and expreſs commandment for faith, with the greateſt annexed penalty to them that had it not, *he that believeth not ſhall be damned*, the propoſition is not to be verified or underſtood as relative to every period of time; for then no man could be converted from infidelity to the Chriſtian faith, and from the power of the devil to the kingdom of Chriſt, but his preſent infidelity ſhall be his final ruin. It is not therefore γνώμη, but χρεία, not a ſentence, but a uſe, a prediction and intermination. It is not like that ſaying, God is true, and every man a lyar, and every good and every perfect gift is from above; for theſe are true in every inſtant, without reference to circumſtances: but *he that believeth not ſhall be damned*, is a prediction, or that which in rhetoric is called χρεία, or a uſe, becauſe this is the affirmation of that which uſually or frequently comes to paſs; ſuch as this, *he that ſtrikes with the ſword ſhall periſh by the ſword*; *he that robs a church ſhall be like a wheel*, of a vertiginous and unſtable eſtate; *he that loves wine and oil, ſhall not be rich*: and therefore it is a declaration of that which is univerſally or commonly true; but not ſo, that in what inſtant ſoever a man is not a believer, in that inſtant it is true to ſay he is damned; for ſome are called at the third, ſome the ſixth, ſome the ninth hour, and they that come in, being firſt called, at the eleventh hour, ſhall have their reward. So that this ſentence ſtands true at the day and the judgment of the Lord, not at the judgment or day of man. And in the ſame neceſſity as faith ſtands to ſalvation, in the ſame it ſtands to baptiſm, that is, to be meaſured by the whole latitude of its extent. Our baptiſm ſhall no more do all its intentions, unleſs faith ſupervene, than a man is in poſſibility of being ſaved without faith: it muſt come in its due time, but is not indiſpenſably neceſſary in all inſtances and periods. Baptiſm is the ſeal of our election and adoption; and as election is brought to effect by faith and its conſequents, ſo is baptiſm: but to neither is faith neceſſary as to its beginning and firſt entrance. To which alſo I add this conſideration, that actual faith is neceſſary, not to the ſuſception, but to the conſequent effects of baptiſm, appears, becauſe the church, and particularly the Apoſtles, did baptize ſome perſons who had

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[d] *Acts* viii. 37. *Acts* ii. 38. [f] *Act.* iii. 15.

not faith, but were hypocrites; ſuch as were Simon Magus, Alexander the Copper-ſmith, Demas and Diotrephes; and ſuch was Judas when he was baptized, and ſuch were the Gnoſtick teachers. For the effect depends upon God, who knows the heart, but the outward ſuſception depends upon them who do not know it. Which is a certain argument, that the ſame faith which is neceſſary to the effect of the ſacrament, is not neceſſary to its ſuſception: and if it can be adminiſtred to hypocrites, much more to infants; if to thoſe who really hinder the effect, much rather to them that hinder not. And if it be objected, that the church does not know but the pretenders have faith, but ſhe knows infants have not: I reply, that the church does not know but the pretenders hinder the effect, and are contrary to the grace of the ſacrament, but ſhe knows that infants do not: the firſt poſſibly may receive the grace, the other cannot hinder it.

5. BUT beſides theſe things it is conſiderable, that, when it is required, perſons have faith. It is true, they that require baptiſm ſhould give a reaſon why they do; ſo it was in the caſe of the eunuch baptized by Philip: but this is not to be required of others that do not aſk it, and yet they may be of the church, and of the faith. For by faith is alſo underſtood the Chriſtian religion, and the Chriſtian faith is the Chriſtian religion; and of this a man may be, though he make no confeſſion of his faith; as a man may be of the church, and yet not be of the number of God's ſecret ones; and to this more is required than to that. To the firſt it is ſufficient, that he be admitted by a ſacrament or a ceremony: which is infallibly certain, becauſe hypocrites and wicked people are in the viſible communion of the church, and are reckoned as members of it, and yet to them there was nothing done but the ceremony adminiſtred. And therefore when that is done to infants, they alſo are to be reckoned in the church-communion. And indeed, in the examples of Scripture, we find more inſerted in the number of God's family by outward ceremony than by the inward grace. Of this number were all thoſe who were circumciſed the eighth day, who were admitted thither, as the woman's daughter was cured in the goſpel, by the faith of their mother, their natural parents, or their ſpiritual; to whoſe faith it is as certain God will take heed, as to their faith who brought one to Chriſt who could not come himſelf, the poor Paralytic: for when Chriſt ſaw their faith, he cured their friend. And yet it is to be obſerved, that Chriſt did uſe to exact faith, actual faith, of them that came to him to be cured, [*According to your faith be it unto you*[g].] The caſe is equal in its whole kind. And it is conſiderable what Chriſt ſaith to the poor man that came in behalf of his ſon, *All things are poſſible to him that believeth*[h]: it is poſſible for a ſon to receive the bleſſing and benefit of his father's faith; and it was ſo in his caſe, and is poſſible to any; for *to faith all things are poſſible.* And as to the event of things, it is evident in the ſtory of the Goſpel, that the faith of their relatives was equally effective to children and friends or ſervants, abſent or ſick, as the faith of the intereſted perſon was to himſelf: as appears beyond all exception in the caſe of the friends of the Paralytic, let down with cords through the tiles; of the centurion, in behalf of his ſervant[i]; of the nobleman, for his ſon ſick at Capernaum[k]; of the Syrophœnician, for her daughter. And Chriſt required faith of no ſick man, but of [l] him that preſented himſelf to him, and deſired for himſelf that he might be cured; as it was in the caſe of the blind man. Though they could not believe, yet Chriſt required belief of them that came to him on their behalf. And why then it may not be ſo, or is not ſo, in the caſe of infants baptiſm, I confeſs it is paſt my ſkill to conjecture. The reaſon on which this farther relies is contained in the next propoſition.

6. FOURTHLY, No diſpoſition or act of man can deſerve the firſt grace, or the grace of pardon: for ſo long as a man is unpardoned, he is an enemy to God, and as a dead perſon, and, unleſs he be prevented by the grace of God, cannot do a ſingle act in order to his pardon and reſtitution: ſo that the firſt work which God does upon a man is ſo wholly his own, that the man hath nothing in it, but to entertain it, that is, not to hinder the work of God upon him. And this is done in them that have in them nothing that can hinder the work of grace, or in them who remove the hindrances. Of the latter ſort are all ſinners, who have lived in a ſtate contrary to God: of the firſt are they who are prevented by the grace of God before they can chuſe, that is, little children, and thoſe that become like unto little children. So that faith and repentance are not neceſſary at firſt to the reception of the firſt grace, but by accident. If ſin have drawn curtains, and put bars and coverings to the windows, theſe muſt be taken away; and that is done by faith and repentance: but if the windows be not ſhut, ſo that the light can paſs through them, the eye of heaven will paſs in and dwell there. *No man can come unto me unleſs my father draw him*[m]; that is, the firſt acceſs to Chriſt is nothing of our own, but wholly of God; and it is as in our creation, in which we have an obediential capacity, but co-operate not: only if

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[g] *Mat.* ix. 29. [h] *Mark* ix. 23. [i] *Mat.* viii. 13. [k] *John* iv. 50. [l] *Mat.* ix. 28. [m] *John* vi. 44.

if we be contrary to the work of grace, that contrariety muſt be taken off, elſe there is no neceſſity. And if all men, according to Chriſt's ſaying, muſt *receive the kingdom of God as little children*[n], it is certain little children do receive it; they receive it as all men ought, that is, without any impediment or obſtruction, without any thing within that is contrary to that ſtate.

7. Fifthly, baptiſm is not to be eſtimated as one act, tranſient, and effective to ſingle purpoſes; but it is an entrance to a conjugation and a ſtate of bleſſings. All our life is to be tranſacted by the meaſures of the goſpel-covenant, and that covenant is conſign'd by baptiſm, there we have our title and adoption to it: and the grace that is then given to us is like a piece of leven put into a lump of dough, and faith and repentance do in all the periods of our life put it into fermentation and activity. Then the ſeed of God is put into the ground of our hearts, and repentance waters it, and faith makes it *ſubactum ſolum*, the ground and furrows apt to produce fruits: and therefore faith and repentance are neceſſary to the effect of baptiſm, not to its ſuſception; that is, neceſſary to all thoſe parts of life in which baptiſm does operate, not to the firſt ſanction or entering into the covenant. The ſeed may lie long in the ground, and produce fruits in its due ſeaſon, if it be refreſhed with the former and the latter rain, that is, the repentance that firſt changes the ſtate, and converts the man, and afterwards returns him to his title, and re-calls him from his wanderings, and keeps him in the ſtate of grace, and within the limits of the covenant: and all the way faith gives efficacy and acceptation to this repentance, that is, continues our title to the promiſe of not having righteouſneſs exacted by the meaſures of the law, but by the covenant and promiſe of grace, into which we entered in baptiſm, and walk in the ſame all the days of our life.

8. Sixthly, The holy ſpirit which deſcends upon the waters of baptiſm, does not inſtantly produce its effects in the ſoul of the baptized; and when it does, it is irregularly, and as he pleaſes. *The ſpirit bloweth where it liſteth, and no man knoweth whence it cometh, nor whither it goeth.* And the catechumen is admitted into the kingdom, yet *the kingdom of God cometh not with obſervation*[o]. And this ſaying of our bleſſed Saviour was ſpoken of [p] *the kingdom of God that is within us,* that is, the ſpirit of grace, the power of the goſpel put into our hearts, concerning which he affirmed, that it operates ſo ſecretly that it comes not with outward ſhew; *neither ſhall they ſay, Loe here, or loe there.* Which thing I deſire the rather to be obſerved, becauſe in the ſame diſcourſe, which our bleſſed Saviour continued to that aſſembly, he affirms this *kingdom of God* to belong unto *little children*[q], this *kingdom that cometh not with outward ſignifications* or preſent expreſſes, this *kingdom* that *is within us.* For the preſent the uſe I make of it is this, that no man can conclude that this kingdom of power, that is, the ſpirit of ſanctification, is not come upon infants, becauſe there is no ſign or expreſſion of it. It is within us, therefore it hath no ſignification. It is the ſeed of God; and it is no good argument to ſay, Here is no ſeed in the bowels of the earth, becauſe there is nothing green upon the face of it. For the church gives the ſacrament, God gives the grace of the ſacrament. But becauſe he does not always give it at the inſtant in which the church gives the ſacrament, (as if there be a ſecret impediment in the ſuſcipient,) and yet afterwards does give it when the impediment is removed, (as to them that repent of that impediment;) it follows, that the church may adminiſter rightly even before God gives the real grace of the ſacrament. And if God gives this grace afterwards by parts, and yet all of it is the effect of that covenant which was conſigned in baptiſm; he that defers ſome may defer all, and verify every part as well as any part. For it is certain, that in the inſtance now made all the grace is deferred; in infants it is not certain but that ſome is collated or infuſed: however, be it ſo or no, yet upon this account the adminiſtration of the ſacrament is not hindered.

9. Seventhly, When the Scripture ſpeaks of the effects of, or diſpoſitions to baptiſm, it ſpeaks in general expreſſions, as being moſt apt to ſignify a common duty, or a general effect, or a more univerſal event, or the proper order of things: but thoſe general expreſſions do not *ſupponere univerſaliter*, that is, are not to be underſtood excluſively to all that are not ſo qualified, or univerſally of all ſuſcipients, or of all the ſubjects of the propoſition. When the prophets complain of the Jews, that they are fallen from God, and turned to idols, and walk not in the way of their fathers; and at other times the Scripture ſpeaks the ſame thing of their fathers, that they walked perverſely towards God, *ſtarting aſide like a broken bow*; in theſe and the like expreſſions the Holy Scripture uſes a ſynecdoche, or ſignifies many only, under the notion of a more large and indefinite expreſſion: for neither were all the fathers good, neither did all the ſons prevaricate; but among the fa-

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[n] *Mark* x. 15. [o] *Luke* xvii. 20. [p] *verſe* 21. [q] *Luke* xviii. 16.

thers there were enough to recommend to poſterity by way of example, and among the children there were enough to ſtain the reputation of the age; but neither the one part nor the other was true of every ſingle perſon. St. John the Baptiſt ſpake to the whole audience, ſaying, *O generation of vipers!* and yet he did not mean that all Jeruſalem and Judæa that *went out to be baptized of him* were ſuch; but he, under an undeterminate reproof, intended thoſe that were ſuch, that is eſpecially the prieſts and the Phariſees. And it is more conſiderable yet in the ſtory of the event of Chriſt's ſermon in the ſynagogue, upon his text taken out of Iſaiah, *All wondred at his gracious words, and bare him witneſs* [r]; and a little after, *All they in the ſynagogue were filled with wrath:* that is, it was generally ſo, but hardly to be ſuppoſed true of every ſingle perſon, in both the contrary humours and uſages. Thus Chriſt ſaid to the Apoſtles, *Ye have abidden with me in my temptations:* and yet Judas was all the way a follower of intereſt and the bag, rather than Chriſt; and afterwards none of them all did abide with Chriſt in his greateſt temptations. Thus alſo, to come nearer the preſent queſtion, the ſecret effects of election and of the ſpirit are in Scripture attributed to all that are of the outward communion. So St. Peter calls all the Chriſtian ſtrangers of the eaſtern diſperſion, *Elect according to the fore-knowledge of God the father* [s]; and St Paul ſaith of all the Roman Chriſtians, and the ſame of the Theſſalonians, that their *Faith was ſpoken of in all the world:* and yet among them it is not to be ſuppoſed that all the profeſſors had an unreprovable faith, or that every one of the church of Theſſalonica was an excellent and a charitable perſon; and yet the Apoſtle uſeth this expreſſion, *Your faith groweth exceedingly, and the charity of every one of you all towards each other aboundeth* [t]. Theſe are uſually ſignificant of a general cuſtom, or order of things, or duty of men, or deſign, and natural or proper expectation of events. Such are theſe in this very queſtion, *as many of you as are baptized into Chriſt have put on Chriſt*; that is, ſo it is regularly, and ſo it will be in its due time, and that is the order of things, and the deſigned event. But from hence we cannot conclude of every perſon, and in every period of time, *This man hath been baptized,* therefore *now he is cloathed with Chriſt, he hath put on Chriſt*; nor thus, *This perſon cannot in a ſpiritual ſenſe as yet put on Chriſt,* therefore *he hath not been baptized,* that is, *he hath not put him on in a ſacramental ſenſe.* Such is the ſaying of St. Paul [u], *Whom he hath predeſtinated, them he alſo called; and whom he called, them he alſo juſtified; and whom he juſtified, them he alſo glorified:* this alſo declares the regular event, or at leaſt the order of things, and the deſign of God, but not the actual verification of it to all perſons. Theſe ſayings concerning baptiſm in the like manner are to be ſo underſtood, that they cannot exclude all perſons from the ſacrament that have not all thoſe real effects of the ſacrament at all times which ſome men have at ſome times, and all men muſt have at ſome time or other, *viz.* when the ſacrament obtains its laſt intention. But he that ſhall argue from hence, that children are not rightly baptized, becauſe they cannot in a ſpiritual ſenſe put on Chriſt, concludes nothing, unleſs theſe propoſitions did ſignify univerſally, and at all times, and in every perſon, and in every manner: which can no more pretend to truth, than that all Chriſtians are God's elect, and all that are baptized are Saints, and all that are called are juſtified, and all that are once juſtified ſhall be ſaved finally. Theſe things declare only the event of things, and their order, and the uſual effect, and the proper deſign in their proper ſeaſon, in their limited proportions.

10. Eighthly, A negative argument for matters of fact in Scripture cannot conclude a law, or a neceſſary or a regular event. And therefore ſuppoſing that it be not intimated that the Apoſtles did baptize infants, it follows not that they did not; and if they did not, it does not follow that they might not, or that the church may not. For it is unreaſonable to argue, the Scripture ſpeaks nothing of the baptiſm of the Holy Virgin-Mother, therefore ſhe was not baptized. The words and deeds of Chriſt are infinite which are not recorded, and of the acts of the Apoſtles we may ſuppoſe the ſame in their proportion: and therefore what they did not is no rule to us, unleſs they did it not becauſe they were forbidden. So that it can be no good argument to ſay, the Apoſtles are not read to have baptized infants, therefore infants are not to be baptized: but thus, we do not find that infants are excluded from the common ſacraments and ceremonies of Chriſtian inſtitution, therefore we may not preſume to exclude them. For although the negative of a fact is no good argument, yet the negative of a law is a very good one. We may not ſay, the Apoſtles did not, therefore we may not: but thus, they were not forbidden to do it, there is no law againſt it, therefore it may be done. No man's deeds can prejudicate a divine law expreſſed in general terms, much leſs can it be prejudiced by thoſe things that were

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[r] *Luke* iv. 22, 28. [s] 1 *Pet.* i. 2. [t] 1 *Theſ.* i. 3. [u] *Rom.* viii. 30.

not done. *That which is wanting cannot be numbered*[x], cannot be effectual; therefore, *baptize all nations*, muſt ſignify all that it can ſignify, all that are reckoned in the capitations and accounts of a nation. Now ſince all contradiction to this queſtion depends wholly upon theſe two grounds, the negative argument in matter of fact, and the pretences that faith and repentance are required to baptiſm: ſince the firſt is wholly nothing, and infirm upon an infinite account, and the ſecond may conclude, that infants can no more be ſaved than be baptized, becauſe faith is more neceſſary to ſalvation than to baptiſm; it being ſaid, *He that believeth not ſhall be damned*, and it is not ſaid, *He that believeth not ſhall be excluded from baptiſm*: it follows that the doctrine of thoſe that refuſe to baptize their infants is upon both its legs weak and broken and inſufficient.

11. UPON the ſuppoſition of theſe grounds, the baptiſm of infants, according to the perpetual practice of the church of God, will ſtand firm and unſhaken upon its own baſe. For, as the eunuch ſaid to Philip, "What hinders them to be baptized?" If they can receive benefit by it, it is infallibly certain, that it belongs to them alſo to receive it, and to their parents to procure it: for nothing can deprive us of ſo great a grace but an unworthineſs, or a diſability. They are not diſabled to receive it, if they need it, and if it does them good; and they have neither done good nor evil, and therefore they have not forfeited their right to it. This therefore ſhall be the firſt great argument or combination of inducements, Infants receive many benefits by the ſuſception of baptiſm, and therefore in charity and in duty we are to bring them to baptiſm.

12. FIRST, The firſt effect of baptiſm is, that in it we are admitted to the kingdom of Chriſt, offered and preſented unto him. In which certainly there is the ſame act of worſhip to God, and the ſame bleſſing to the children of Chriſtians, as there was in preſenting the firſt-born among the Jews. For our children can be God's own portion as well as theirs. And as they preſented the firſt-born to God, and ſo acknowledged that God might have taken his life in ſacrifice, as well as the ſacrifice of the lamb or the oblation of a beaſt; yet when the right was confeſſed, God gave him back again, and took a lamb in exchange, or a pair of doves: ſo are our children preſented to God as forfeit, and God might take the forfeiture, and not admit the babe to the promiſes of grace; but when the preſentation of the child and our acknowledgment is made to God, God takes the lamb of the world in exchange, and he hath paid our forfeiture, and the children are holy unto the Lord. And what hinders here? Cannot a cripple receive an alms at the beautiful gate of the temple, unleſs he go thither himſelf? or cannot a gift be preſented to God by the hands of the owners, and the gift become holy and pleaſing to God, without its own conſent? The parents have a portion of the poſſeſſion; children are bleſſings, and God's gifts, and the father's greateſt wealth, and therefore are to be given again to him. In other things we give ſomething to God of all that he gives us; all we do not, becauſe our needs force us to retain the greater part, and the leſs ſanctifies the whole: but our children muſt all be returned to God; for we may love them, and ſo may God too, and they are the better our own by being made holy in their preſentation. Whatſoever is given to God is holy, every thing in its proportion and capacity; a lamb is holy when it becomes a ſacrifice, and a table is holy when it becomes an altar, and an houſe is holy when it becomes a church, and a man is holy when he is conſecrated to be a prieſt, and ſo is every one that is dedicated to religion: theſe are holy perſons, the others are holy things. And infants are between both: they have the ſanctification that belongs to them, the holineſs that can be of a reaſonable nature offered and deſtined to God's ſervice; but not in that degree that is in an underſtanding, chuſing perſon. Certain it is that infants may be given to God; and if they may be, they muſt be. For it is not here as in goods, where we are permitted to uſe all or ſome, and give what portion we pleaſe out of them: but we cannot do our duty towards our children, unleſs we give them wholly to God, and offer them to his ſervice and to his grace. The firſt does honour to God, the ſecond does charity to the children. The effects and real advantages will appear in the ſequel. In the mean time this argument extends thus far, that children may be preſented to God acceptably in order to his ſervice. And it was highly preceptive, when our bleſſed Saviour commanded that we ſhould *ſuffer little children to come to* him: and when they came, they carried away a bleſſing along with them. He was deſirous they ſhould partake of his merits: he is not willing, neither is it his Father's will, that any of theſe little ones ſhould periſh. And therefore he died for them, and loved and bleſſed them: and ſo he will now, if they be brought to him, and preſented as candidates of the religion and of the reſurrection. Chriſt hath a bleſſing for our children; but let them come to him, that is, be preſented at the doors of the church to the ſacrament of adoption and initiation: for I know no other way for them to come.

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[x] *Eccleſ.* i. 15.

13. SECONDLY, Children may be adopted into the covenant of the goſpel, that is, *made partakers of the communion of ſaints*, (which is the ſecond effect of baptiſm,) parts of the church, members of Chriſt's myſtical body, and put into the order of eternal life. Now concerning this, it is certain the church clearly hath power to do her offices in order to it. The faithful can pray for all men, they can do their piety to ſome perſons with more regard and greater earneſtneſs, they can admit whom they pleaſe in their proper diſpoſitions to a participation of all their holy prayers, and communions, and preachings, and exhortations: and if all this be a bleſſing, and all this be the actions of our own charity, who can hinder the church of God from admitting infants to the communion of all their pious offices, which can do them benefit in their preſent capacity? How this does neceſſarily infer baptiſm, I ſhall [y] afterwards diſcourſe. But for the preſent I enumerate, that the bleſſings of baptiſm are communicable to them: they may be admitted into a fellowſhip of all the prayers and privileges of the church, and the communion of ſaints, in bleſſings, and prayers, and holy offices. But that which is of greateſt perſuaſion and convincing efficacy in this particular is, that the children of the church are as capable of the ſame covenant as the children of the Jews: But it was the ſame covenant that circumciſion did conſign, a ſpiritual covenant under a veil, and now it is the ſame ſpiritual covenant without the veil; which is evident to him that conſiders it, thus:

14. THE words of the covenant are theſe[z], [*I am the Almighty God*; *walk before me, and be thou perfect: I will multiply thee exceedingly: Thou ſhalt be the father of many nations: Thy name ſhalt not be* Abram, *but* Abraham: *Nations and kings ſhall be out of thee: I will be a God unto thee, and unto thy ſeed after thee*: and, *I will give all the land of Canaan to thy ſeed*: and, *All the males ſhall be circumciſed*; *and it ſhall be a token of the covenant between me and thee*: and, *He that is not circumciſed ſhall be cut off from his people.*] The covenant which was on Abraham's part was, to *walk before God, and to be perfect*; on God's part, to bleſs him with a numerous iſſue, and them with the land of Canaan: and the ſign was circumciſion, the token of the covenant. Now in all this here was no duty to which the poſterity was obliged, nor any bleſſing which Abraham could not perceive or feel, becauſe neither he nor his poſterity did enjoy the promiſe for many hundred years after the covenant: and therefore as there was a duty for the poſterity which is not here expreſſed; ſo there was a bleſſing for Abraham, which was concealed under the leaves of a temporal promiſe, and which we ſhall better underſtand from them whom the ſpirit of God hath taught the myſteriouſneſs of this tranſaction. The argument indeed and the obſervation is wholly St. Paul's. *Abraham* and the Patriarchs *died in faith, not having received the promiſes*[a], viz. of a poſſeſſion in Canaan. They *ſaw the promiſes afar off*, they *embraced them*, and looked through the cloud, and the temporal veil: this was not it. *They might have returned* to *Canaan*[b], if that had been the object of their deſires, and the deſign of the promiſe: but they *deſired* and *did ſeek a country*, but it was *a better, and that a heavenly*[c]. This was the object of their deſire, and the end of their ſearch, and the reward of their faith, and the ſecret of their promiſe. And therefore *circumciſion* was *a ſeal of the righteouſneſs of faith which he had before his circumciſion*[d], before the making of this covenant; and therefore it muſt principally relate to an effect and a bleſſing greater than was afterwards expreſſed in the temporal promiſe: which effect was *forgiveneſs of ſins*[e], *a not imputing* to us our *infirmities, juſtification by faith, accounting* that for *righteouſneſs*[f]. And theſe effects or graces were promiſed to *Abraham*, not only for his poſterity *after the fleſh*, but his children *after the ſpirit*, even to all that ſhall believe and *walk in the ſteps of that faith of our father* Abraham *which he walked in being yet uncircumciſed*[g].

15. THIS was no other but the covenant of the goſpel, though afterwards otherwiſe conſigned. For ſo the Apoſtle expreſly affirms, that *Abraham* was *the father of circumciſion*, (*viz.* by virtue of this covenant) *not only to them that are circumciſed, but to all that believe*[h]: *for this promiſe was not through the law* of works, or of circumciſion, *but of faith*[i]. And therefore, as St. Paul obſerves, God promiſed that *Abraham* ſhould be *a father* (not of that nation only, but) *of many nations, and the heir of the world*[k]; *that the bleſſing of Abraham might come on the Gentiles through Jeſus Chriſt*[l]; that we might receive the promiſe of the ſpirit through faith. *And if ye be Chriſt's, then ye are Abraham's ſeed, and heirs according to the promiſe*[m]. Since then the covenant of the goſpel is the covenant of faith, and not of works; and the promiſes are ſpiritual, not ſecular; and Abraham the father of the faithful Gentiles as well as of the circumciſed Jews; and the heir of the world, not by himſelf, but by his ſeed, or the ſon of man, our Lord Jeſus: it follows, that the

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[y] *Sect.* 25, *&c.*
[z] *Gen.* xvii. 1, *&c.*
[a] *Heb.* xi. 13.
[b] *Verſe* 15.
[c] *Verſe* 14, 16.
[d] *Rom.* iv. 11.
[e] *Verſe* 7.
[f] *Rom.* viii. 3, 5.
[g] *Verſe* 12.
[h] *Rom.* iv. 11, 12.
[i] *Verſe* 13.
[k] *Verſe* 17, 13.
[l] *Gal.* iii. 14.
[m] *Verſe* 29.

promiſes which circumciſion did ſeal were the ſame promiſes which are conſigned in baptiſm; the covenant is the ſame, only that God's people are not impaled in Paleſtine, and the veil is taken away, and the temporal is paſſed into ſpiritual: and the reſult will be this, "That to as many perſons, and in as many capacities, and in the ſame diſpoſitions as "the promiſes were applied and did relate in circumciſion, to the ſame they do belong and "may be applied in baptiſm [n]." And let it be remembred, that the covenant which circumciſion did ſign, was a covenant of grace and faith; the promiſes were of the ſpirit, or ſpiritual; it was made before the law, and could not be reſcinded by the legal covenant; nothing could be added to it, or taken from it: and we that are partakers of this grace, are therefore partakers of it by being Chriſt's ſervants, united to Chriſt, and ſo are become Abraham's ſeed, (as the Apoſtle at large and profeſſedly proves in divers places, but eſpecially in the fourth to the Romans, and the third to the Galatians.) And therefore if infants were then admitted to it, and conſigned to it by a ſacrament which they underſtood not any more than ours do, there is not any reaſon why ours ſhould not enter in at the ordinary gate and door of grace as well as they. Their children were circumciſed the eighth day, but were inſtructed afterwards, when they could enquire what theſe things meant. Indeed their proſelytes were firſt taught, then circumciſed; ſo are ours baptized: but their infants were conſigned firſt; and ſo muſt ours.

16. THIRDLY, In baptiſm we are born again: and this infants need in the preſent circumſtances, and for the ſame great reaſon that men of age and reaſon do. For our natural birth is either of it ſelf inſufficient, or is made ſo by the fall of Adam and the conſequent evils, that nature alone, or our firſt birth, cannot bring us to heaven, which is a ſupernatural end, that is, an end above all the power of our nature as now it is. So that if nature cannot bring us to heaven, grace muſt, or we can never get thither; if the firſt birth cannot, a ſecond muſt: but the ſecond birth ſpoken of in Scripture is baptiſm, *A man muſt be born of water and the ſpirit* [o]. And therefore baptiſm is λουτρὸν παλιγγενεσίας, the laver of a new birth. Either then infants cannot go to heaven any way that we know of, or they muſt be baptized. To ſay they are to be left to God, is an excuſe, and no anſwer: for when God hath opened the door, and calls that the entrance into heaven, we do not leave them to God, when we will not carry them to him in the way which he hath deſcribed, and at the door which himſelf hath opened. We leave them indeed, but it is but helpleſs and deſtitute: and though God is better than man, yet that is no warrant to us: what it will be to the children, that we cannot warrant or conjecture. And if it be objected, that to the new birth are required diſpoſitions of our own, which are to be wrought by and in them that have the uſe of reaſon: Beſides that this is wholly againſt the analogy of a new birth, in which the perſon to be born is wholly a paſſive, and hath put into him the principle that in time will produce its proper actions; it is certain that they that can receive the new birth are capable of it. The effect of it is a poſſibility of being ſaved, and arriving to a ſupernatural felicity. If infants can receive this effect, then alſo the new birth, without which they cannot receive the effect. And if they can receive ſalvation, the effect of the new birth, what hinders them but they may receive that that is in order to that effect, and ordained only for it, and which is nothing of it ſelf, but in its inſtitution and relation, and which may be received by the ſame capacity in which one may be created, that is, a paſſivity, or a capacity obediential?

17. FOURTHLY, Concerning pardon of ſins, which is one great effect of baptiſm, it is certain that infants have not that benefit which men of ſin and age may receive. He that hath a ſickly ſtomach drinks wine, and it not only refreſhes his ſpirit, but cures his ſtomach: He that drinks wine and hath not that diſeaſe, receives good by his wine, though it does not miniſter to ſo many needs; it refreſhes, though it does not cure him. And when oil is poured upon a man's head, it does not always heal a wound, but ſometimes makes him a chearful countenance, ſometimes it conſigns him to be a king or a prieſt. So it is in baptiſm: it does not heal the wounds of actual ſins, becauſe they have not committed them; but it takes off the evil of original ſin. Whatſoever is imputed to us by Adam's prevarication, is waſhed off by the death of the ſecond Adam, into which we are baptized [p]. But concerning original ſin, becauſe there are ſo many diſputes which may intricate the queſtion, I ſhall make uſe only of that which is confeſſed on both ſides, and material to our purpoſe. Death came upon all men by Adam's ſin, and the neceſſity of it remains upon us as an evil conſequent of the diſobedience. For though death is natural, yet it was kept off from man by God's favour; which when he loſt, the banks were broken,

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[n] Οἱ τύποι ἐν τῷ νόμῳ ἦσαν, ἡ δὲ ἀλήθεια ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ. ἐκεῖ γὰρ ἡ περιτομὴ σαρκικὴ ὑπηρετήσασα χρόνῳ, ἕως τῆς μεγάλης περιτομῆς, τουτέστι τοῦ βαπτίσματος τοῦ περιτέμνοντος ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ ἁμαρτημάτων, καὶ σφραγίσαντος ἡμᾶς εἰς ὄνομα Θεοῦ. *Epiphan.* lib. 1. Hæreſ. 8. ſcil. Epicureor.

[o] *Tit.* iii. 5.

[p] *Rom.* v. 17, 18.

broken, and the water reverted to its natural courſe, and our nature became a curſe, and death a puniſhment. Now that this alſo relates to infants ſo far is certain, becauſe they are ſick, and die. This the Pelagians denied not[q]. But to whomſoever this evil deſcended, for them alſo a remedy is provided by the ſecond Adam; *That as in Adam all died, even ſo in Chriſt ſhall all be made alive*; that is, at the day of judgment; then death ſhall be deſtroyed. In the mean time, death hath a ſting and a bitterneſs, a curſe it is, and an expreſs of the divine anger: and if this ſting be not taken away here, we ſhall have no participation of the final victory over death. Either therefore infants muſt be for ever without remedy in this evil conſequent of their fathers ſin; or they muſt be adopted into the participation of Chriſt's death, which is the remedy. Now how can they partake of Chriſt's death, but by baptiſm into his death? For if there be any ſpiritual way fancied, it will by a ſtronger argument admit them to baptiſm: for if they can receive ſpiritual effects, they can alſo receive the outward ſacrament; this being denied only upon pretence they cannot have the other. If there be no ſpiritual way extraordinary, then the ordinary way is only left for them. If there be an extraordinary, let it be ſhewn, and Chriſtians will be at reſt concerning their children. One thing only I deſire to be obſerved, That Pelagius denied original ſin, but yet denied not the neceſſity of infants baptiſm: and being accuſed of it in an epiſtle to Pope Innocent the firſt, he purged himſelf of the ſuſpicion, and allowed the practice, but denied the inducement of it. Which ſhews, that their arts are weak that think baptiſm to be uſeleſs to infants, if they be not formally guilty of the prevarication of Adam. By which I alſo gather, that it was ſo univerſal, ſo primitive a practice, to baptize infants, that it was greater than all pretences to the contrary: for it would much have conduced to the introducing his opinion againſt grace and original ſin, if he had deſtroyed that practice which ſeemed ſo very much to have its greateſt neceſſity from the doctrine he denied. But againſt Pelagius, and againſt all that follow the parts of his opinion, it is of good uſe which St. Auſtin, Proſper and Fulgentius argue; If infants are puniſhed for Adam's ſin, then they are alſo guilty of it in ſome ſenſe. *Nimis enim impium eſt hoc de Dei ſentire juſtitia, quòd à prævaricatione liberos cum reis voluerit eſſe damnatos:* So *Proſper*[r]. *Diſpendia quæ flentes naſcendo teſtantur, dicito quo merito ſub juſtiſſimo & omnipotentiſſimo Judice eis, ſi nullum peccatum attrahant, arrogentur*, ſaid St. Auſtin. For the guilt of it ſignifies nothing but the obligation to the puniſhment; and he that feels the evil conſequent, to him the ſin is imputed: not as to all the ſame diſhonour, or moral accounts, but to the more material, to the natural account. And in Holy Scripture the taking off the puniſhment is the pardon of the ſin; and in the ſame degree the puniſhment is aboliſhed, in the ſame God is appeaſed; and then the perſon ſtands upright, being reconciled to God by his grace. Since therefore infants have the puniſhment of ſin, it is certain the ſin is imputed to them; and therefore they need being reconciled to God by Chriſt: and if ſo, then when they are baptized into Chriſt's death and into his reſurrection, their ſins are pardoned, becauſe the puniſhment is taken off; the ſting of natural death is taken away, becauſe God's anger is removed, and they ſhall partake of Chriſt's reſurrection: which becauſe baptiſm does ſignify and conſign, they alſo are to be baptized. To which alſo add this appendent conſideration, that whatſoever the ſacraments do conſign, that alſo they do convey and miniſter: they do it, that is, God by them does it; leſt we ſhould think the ſacraments to be mere illuſions, and abuſing us by deceitful ineffective ſigns. And therefore to infants the grace of a title to a reſurrection and reconciliation to God by the death of Chriſt is conveyed, becauſe it ſignifies and conſigns this to them more to the life and analogy of reſemblance, than circumciſion to the infant-ſons of Iſrael. I end this conſideration with the words of Nazianzen[s], Ἡ γέννησις ἐκ βαπτίσματος πᾶν ἀπὸ γενέσεως κάλυμμα περιτέμνει, καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἄνω ζωὴν ἐπανάγει. Our birth by baptiſm does cut off every unclean appendage of our natural birth, and leads us to a celeſtial life. And this in children is therefore more neceſſary, becauſe the evil came upon them without their own act of reaſon and choice; and therefore the grace and remedy ought not to ſtay the leiſure of dull nature, and the formalities of the civil law.

18. FIFTHLY, the baptiſm of infants does to them the greateſt part of that benefit which belongs to the remiſſion of ſins: For baptiſm is a ſtate of repentance and pardon for ever. This I ſuppoſe to be already proved; to which I only add this caution, that the Pelagians, to undervalue the neceſſity of ſupervening grace, affirmed, that baptiſm did miniſter to us Grace ſufficient to live perfectly, and without ſin for ever. Againſt this St. Jerome ſharply declaims[t], and affirms, *baptiſmum præterita donare peccata, non futuram ſervare*

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[q] Vid. *Aug.* l. 4. contra duas Epiſtolas Pelag. c. 4. l. 6. contra Jur. cap. 4.

[r] *Proſper* contra Collatorem, c. 20.

[s] Orat. 40. de Baptiſm.

[t] Lib. iii. adv. Pelag.

ſervare juſtitiam; that is, *non ſtatim juſtum facit, & omni plenum juſtitiâ* [u], as he expounds his meaning in another place. *Vetera peccata conſcindit, novas virtutes non tribuit; dimittit à carcere, & dimiſſo, ſi laboraverit, præmia pollicetur.* Baptiſm does not ſo forgive future ſins that we may do what we pleaſe, or ſo as we need not labour and watch, and fear perpetually, and make uſe of God's grace to actuate our endeavours: but puts us into a ſtate of pardon, that is, in a covenant of grace, in which ſo long as we labour and repent, and ſtrive to do our duty, ſo long our infirmities are pitied, and our ſins certain to be pardoned upon their certain conditions; that is, by virtue of it we are capable of pardon, and muſt work for it, and may hope it. And therefore infants have a moſt certain capacity and proper diſpoſition to baptiſm: for ſin creeps before it can go, and little undecencies are ſoon learned, and malice is before their years, and they can do miſchief and irregularities betimes. And though we know not when, nor how far they are imputed in every month of their lives; yet it is an admirable art of the ſpirit of grace, to put them into a ſtate of pardon, that their remedy may at leaſt be as ſoon as their neceſſity. And therefore Tertullian and Gregory Nazianzen adviſed the baptiſm of children to be at three or four years of age; meaning, that they then begin to have little inadvertencies and haſty follies, and actions ſo evil as did need a lavatory. But if baptiſm hath an influence upon ſins in the ſucceeding portions of our life, then it is certain, that their being preſently innocent does not hinder and ought not to retard the ſacrament: and therefore *Tertullian*'s [x] *Quid feſtinat innocens ætas ad remiſſionem peccatorum? What need innocents haſten to the remiſſion of ſins?* is ſoon anſwered. It is true, they need not in reſpect of any actual ſins, for ſo they are innocent: but in reſpect of the evils of their nature derived from their original, and in reſpect of future ſins in the whole ſtate of their life, it is neceſſary they be put into a ſtate of pardon before they ſin, becauſe ſome ſin early, ſome ſin later; and therefore unleſs they be baptized ſo early as to prevent the firſt ſins, they may chance die in a ſin, to the pardon of which they have yet derived no title from Chriſt.

19. SIXTHLY, the next great effect of baptiſm which children can have is the ſpirit of Sanctification: and if they can be *baptized with water and the ſpirit*, it will be ſacrilege to rob them of ſo holy treaſures. And concerning this, although it be with them as St. Paul ſays of heirs, *the heir ſo long as he is a child differeth nothing from a ſervant, though he be Lord of all*; and children, although they receive the ſpirit of promiſe, and the ſpirit of grace, yet in reſpect of actual exerciſe they differ not from them that have them not at all: yet this hinders not but they may have them. For as the reaſonable ſoul and all its faculties are in children, will, and underſtanding, paſſions, and powers of attraction and propulſion, yet theſe faculties do not operate or come abroad till time and art, obſervation and experience have drawn them forth into action: ſo may the ſpirit of grace, the principle of Chriſtian life, be infuſed, and yet lie without action till in its own day it is drawn forth. For in every Chriſtian there are three parts concurring to his integral conſtitution, body, and ſoul, and ſpirit; and all theſe have their proper activities and times; but every one in his own order, firſt that which is natural, then that which is ſpiritual. And what Ariſtotle ſaid, a man firſt lives the life of a plant, then of a beaſt, and laſtly of a man, is true in this ſenſe. And the more ſpiritual the principle is, the longer it is before it operates, becauſe more things concur to ſpiritual actions than to natural: and theſe are neceſſary, and therefore firſt; the other are perfect, and therefore laſt. And who is he that ſo well underſtands the philoſophy of this third principle of a Chriſtian's life, the ſpirit, as to know how or when it is infuſed, and how it operates in all its periods, and what it is in its being and proper nature; and whether it be like the ſoul, or like the faculty, or like a habit; or how or to what purpoſes God in all varieties does diſpenſe it? Theſe are ſecrets which none but bold people uſe to decree, and build propoſitions upon their own dreams. That which is certain is, * that the ſpirit is the principle of a new life, or a new birth. * That baptiſm is the laver of this new birth. * That it is the ſeed of God, and may lie long in the furrows before it ſprings up. * That from the faculty to the act the paſſage is not always ſudden and quick. * That the ſpirit is the earneſt of our inheritance, that is, of reſurrection to eternal life: which inheritance becauſe children we hope ſhall have, they cannot be denied to have its ſeal and earneſt, that is, if they ſhall have all, they are not to be denied a part. * That children have ſome effects of the ſpirit, and therefore do receive it, and are baptized with the ſpirit, and therefore may with water: which thing is therefore true and evident, becauſe ſome children are ſanctified, as Jeremy and the Baptiſt, and therefore all may. And becauſe all ſanctification of perſons is an effect of the Holy Ghoſt, there is no peradventure but they that can be ſanctified by God, can in that capacity receive the Holy Ghoſt: and all the ground of diſſenting here is only upon a miſtake; becauſe infants do no act of holineſs, they ſuppoſe them incapable of the grace of ſanctification. Now ſanctification of

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[u] Lib. 1. in initio.

[x] *Lib. de Baptiſ. c.* 18.

children is their adoption to the inheritance of ſons, their preſentation to Chriſt, their conſignation to Chriſt's ſervice and to reſurrection, their being put into a poſſibility of being ſaved, their reſtitution to God's favour; which naturally, that is, as our nature is depraved and puniſhed, they could not have. And in ſhort the caſe is this: * original righteouſneſs was in Adam after the manner of nature, but it was an act or effect of grace, and by it men were not made, but born righteous; the inferior faculties obeyed the ſuperior, the mind was whole and right, and conformable to the divine image, the reaſon and the will always concurring, the will followed reaſon, and reaſon followed the laws of God: and ſo long as a man had not loſt this, he was pleaſing to God, and ſhould have paſſed to a more perfect ſtate [y]. Now becauſe this, if Adam had ſtood, ſhould have been born with every child, there was in infants a principle which was the ſeed of holy life here, and a bleſſed hereafter: and yet the children ſhould have gone in the road of nature then as well as now, and the ſpirit ſhould have operated at nature's leiſure; God, being the giver of both, would have made them inſtrumental to and perfective of each other, but not deſtructive. Now what was loſt by Adam is reſtored by Chriſt [z], the ſame righteouſneſs; only it is not born, but ſuperinduced, not integral, but interrupted: but ſuch as it is, there is no difference, but that the ſame or the like principle may be derived to us from Chriſt as there ſhould have been from Adam, that is, a principle of obedience, a regularity of faculties, a beauty in the ſoul, and a ſtate of acceptation with God. And we ſee alſo in men of underſtanding and reaſon, the ſpirit of God dwells in them; (which Tatianus deſcribing uſes theſe words ἡ γὰρ ψυχὴ ὥσπερ ἔναυσμα τῆς δυνάμεως αὐτοῦ [Πνεύματος] κεκτημένη, the ſoul is poſſeſſed with ſparks, or materials, of the power of the ſpirit;) and yet it is ſometimes ineffective and unactive, ſometimes more, ſometimes leſs, and does no more do its work at all times than the Soul does at all times underſtand. Add to this, that if there be in infants naturally an evil principle, a proclivity to ſin, an ignorance and pravity of mind, a diſorder of affections; (as experience teacheth us there is, and the perpetual doctrine of the church, and the univerſal miſchiefs iſſuing from mankind, and the ſin of every man does witneſs too much;) why cannot infants have a good principle in them, though it works not till its own ſeaſon, as well as an evil principle? If there were not by nature ſome evil principle, it is not poſſible that all the world ſhould chuſe ſin. In free agents it was never heard that all individuals loved and choſe the ſame thing, to which they were not naturally inclined. Neither do all men chuſe to marry, neither do all chuſe to abſtain; and in this inſtance there is a natural inclination to one part. But of all the men and women in the world there is no one that hath never ſinned. *If we ſay that we have no ſin, we deceive our ſelves, and the truth is not in us*, ſaid an Apoſtle [a]. If therefore nature hath in infants an evil principle, which operates when the child can chuſe, but is all the while within the ſoul; either infants have by grace a principle put into them, or elſe ſin abounds where grace does not ſuperabound, expreſly againſt the doctrine of the Apoſtle. The event of this diſcourſe is, that if infants be capable of the ſpirit of grace, there is no reaſon but they may and ought to be baptized as well as men and women: unleſs God hath expreſly forbidden them, which cannot be pretended: and that infants are capable of the ſpirit of grace, I think is made very credible. *Chriſtus infantibus infans factus, ſanctificans infantes*, ſaid Irenæus; Chriſt became an infant among the infants, and does ſanctify infants. And St. Cyprian affirms, [b] *Eſſe apud omnes, ſive infantes ſive majores natu, unam divini muneris æquitatem*; there is the ſame diſpenſation of the divine grace to all alike, to infants as well as to men. And in this royal prieſthood, as it is in the ſecular, kings may be anointed in their cradles. *Dat (Deus) ſui ſpiritûs occultiſſimam gratiam, quam etiam latenter infundit in parvulis* [c]; God gives the moſt ſecret grace of his ſpirit, which he alſo ſecretly infuſes into infants. And if a ſecret infuſion be rejected, becauſe it cannot be proved at the place and at the inſtant; many men that hope for heaven will be very much to ſeek for a proof of their earneſt, and need an earneſt of the earneſt. For all that have the ſpirit of God cannot in all inſtants prove it, or certainly know it: neither is it defined by how many indices the ſpirit's preſence can be proved or ſignified. And they limit the ſpirit too much, and underſtand it too little, who take accounts of his ſecret workings, and meaſure them by the material lines and methods of natural and animal effects. And yet becauſe whatſoever is holy is made ſo by the Holy Spirit, we are certain that the children of believing, that is, of Chriſtian, parents are holy. St. Paul affirmed it, and by it hath diſtinguiſhed ours from the children of unbelievers, and our marriages from theirs. And becauſe the children of the heathen, when they

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[y] Τὴν ἀνθρωπείαν φύσιν ἀρχῆθεν ἀπὸ τῶν θείων ἀγαθῶν ἀνοήτως ἐξολισθήσασαν ἡ πολυπαθεστάτη ζωὴ διαδέχεται, καὶ τοῦ φθοροποιοῦ θανάτου πέρας. *Dionyſ. Areop.* Eccleſ. Hier. cap. iii. par. 3.

[z] Ut quod perdideramus in Adam, *i. e.* ſecundùm imaginem & ſimilitudinem eſſe Dei, hoc in Jeſu Chriſto reciperemus. *Irenæus*, l. 3. c. 30.

[a] 1 *John* i. 8.

[b] Ep. ad Fiden. l. 3. ep. 8.

[c] *S. Aug.* lib. de Pecc. mor. & remiſſ. c. 9.

come to choice and reaſon, may enter into baptiſm and the covenant, if they will; our children have no privilege beyond the children of Turks or heathens, unleſs it be in the preſent capacity: that is, either by receiving the Holy Ghoſt immediately, and the promiſes; or at leaſt having a title to the ſacrament, and entering by that door. If they have the ſpirit, nothing can hinder them from a title to the water; and if they have only a title to the water of the ſacrament, then they ſhall receive the promiſe of the Holy Spirit, the benefits of the ſacrament; elſe their privilege is none at all, but a diſh of cold water which every village-nurſe can provide for her new-born babe.

20. But it is in our caſe as it was with the Jews children; our children are a holy ſeed: for if it were not ſo with Chriſtianity, how could St. Peter move the Jews to Chriſtianity by telling them *the promiſe was to them and their children?* for if our children be not capable of the ſpirit of promiſe and holineſs, and yet their children were holy, it had been a better argument to have kept in the ſynagogue, than to have called them to the Chriſtian church. Either therefore, 1. there is ſome holineſs in a reaſonable nature, which is not from the ſpirit of holineſs: or elſe, 2. our children do receive the Holy ſpirit, becauſe they are holy; or if they be not holy, they are in worſe condition under Chriſt than under Moſes: or if none of all this be true, then our children were holy by having received the holy ſpirit of promiſe, and conſequently nothing can hinder them from being baptized.

21. And indeed if the Chriſtian Jews, whoſe children were circumciſed, and made partakers of the ſame promiſes and title, and inheritance and ſacraments, which themſelves had at their converſion to the faith of Chriſt, had ſeen their children now ſhut out from theſe new ſacraments, it is not to be doubted but they would have raiſed a ſtorm greater than could have eaſily been ſuppreſſed, ſince about their circumciſions they had raiſed ſuch tragedies and implacable diſputations. And there had been great reaſon to look for a ſtorm; for their children were circumciſed, and if not baptized, then they were left under a burthen which their fathers were quit of: for St. Paul ſaid, *whoſoever is circumciſed is a debtor to keep the whole law.* Theſe children therefore that were circumciſed ſtood obliged, for want of baptiſm, to perform the law of ceremonies, to be preſented into the temple, to pay their price, to be redeemed with ſilver and gold, to be bound by the law of pollutions and carnal ordinances: and therefore if they had been thus left, it would be no wonder if the Jews had complained and made a tumult: they uſed to do it for leſs matters.

22. To which let this be added, that the firſt book of the New Teſtament was not written till eight years after Chriſt's aſcenſion, and St. Mark's goſpel twelve years. In the mean time, to what Scriptures did they appeal; by the analogy or proportion of what writings did they end their queſtions? Whence did they prove their articles? They only appealed to the Old Teſtament, and only added what their lord ſuperadded. Now either it muſt be ſaid that our bleſſed Lord commanded that infants ſhould not be baptized, which is no-where pretended; and if it were, cannot at all be proved: or if by the proportion of Scriptures they did ſerve God, and preach the religion, it is plain, that by the analogy of the Old Teſtament, that is, of thoſe Scriptures by which they proved Chriſt to be come and to have ſuffered, they alſo approved the baptiſm of infants, or the admitting them to the ſociety of the faithful Jews, of which alſo the church did then principally conſiſt.

23. Seventhly, that baptiſm, which conſigns men and women to a bleſſed reſurrection, doth alſo equally conſign infants to it, hath nothing, that I know of, pretended againſt it; there being the ſame ſignature and the ſame grace, and in this thing all being alike paſſive, and we no way co-operating to the conſignation and promiſe of grace. And infants have an equal neceſſity, as being liable to ſickneſs and groaning with as ſad accents, and dying ſooner than men and women, and leſs able to complain, and more apt to be pitied, and broken with the unhappy conſequents of a ſhort life and a ſpeedy death, *& infelicitate priſcorum hominum*, with the infelicity and folly of their firſt parents; and therefore have as great need as any; and that is capacity enough to receive a remedy for the evil which was brought upon them by the fault of another.

24. Eighthly, and after all this, if baptiſm be that means which God hath appointed to ſave us, it were well if we would do our parts towards infants final intereſt, which whether it depends upon the ſacrament and its proper grace, we have nothing to rely upon but thoſe texts of Scripture which make baptiſm the ordinary way of entering into the ſtate of ſalvation: ſave only we are to add this, that becauſe of this law, ſince infants are not perſonally capable, but the church for them as for all others indefinitely, we have reaſon to believe that their friends neglect ſhall by ſome way be ſupplied; but hope hath in it nothing beyond a probability. This we may be certain of, that naturally we cannot be heirs of ſalvation, for by nature we are children of wrath; and therefore an eternal ſeparation from God is an infallible conſequent to our evil nature. Either therefore children muſt be put

into the ſtate of grace, or they ſhall dwell for ever where God's face does never ſhine. Now there are but two ways of being put into the ſtate of grace and ſalvation; the inward, by the ſpirit, and the outward by water; which regularly are together. If they be renewed by the ſpirit, what hinders them to be baptized; who receive the Holy Ghoſt as well as we? if they are not capable of the ſpirit, they are [not] capable of water: and if of neither, where is their title to heaven, which is neither internal nor external, neither ſpiritual nor ſacramental, neither ſecret nor manifeſt, neither natural nor gracious, neither original nor derivative? And well may we lament the death of poor babes that are ἄβαπτοι, concerning whom if we neglect what is regularly preſcribed to all that enter heaven[d], without any difference expreſſed or caſe reſerved, we have no reaſon to be comforted over our dead children; but may weep as they that have no hope. We may hope when our neglect was not the hindrance, becauſe God hath wholly taken the matter into his own hand, and then it cannot miſcarry; and though we know nothing of the children, yet we know much of God's goodneſs: but when God hath permitted it to us, that is, offered and permitted children to our miniſtry, whatever happens to the innocents, we may well fear leſt God will require the ſouls at our hands, and we cannot be otherwiſe ſecure, but that it will be ſaid concerning our children which St. Ambroſe uſed in a caſe like this, *Anima illa potuit ſalva fieri, ſi habuiſſet purgationem*[e]. This ſoul might have gone to God, if it had been purified and waſhed. We know God is good, infinitely good; but we know it is not at all good to tempt his goodneſs: and he tempts him that leaves the uſual way, and pretends it is not made for him, and yet hopes to be at his journey's end, or expects to meet his child in heaven, when himſelf ſhuts that door againſt him, which, for ought he knows, is the only one that ſtands open. St. Auſtin was ſevere in this queſtion againſt unbaptized infants, therefore he is called *durus pater infantum:* though I know not why the original of that opinion ſhould be attributed to him, ſince St. Ambroſe ſaid the ſame before him, as appears in his words before quoted in the margin.

25. AND now that I have enumerated the bleſſings which are conſequent to baptiſm, and have alſo made apparent that infants can receive theſe bleſſings, I ſuppoſe I need not uſe any other perſuaſions to bring children to baptiſm. If it be certain they may receive theſe good things by it, it is certain they are not to be hindered of them without the greateſt impiety and ſacrilege and uncharitableneſs in the world. Nay, if it be only probable that they receive theſe bleſſings, or if it be but poſſible they may, nay unleſs it be impoſſible they ſhould, and ſo declared by revelation or demonſtratively certain, it were intolerable unkindneſs and injuſtice to our pretty innocents, to let their crying be unpitied, and their natural miſery eternally irremediable, and their ſorrows without remedy, and their ſouls no more capable of relief than their bodies of phyſick, and their death left with the ſting in, and their ſouls without ſpirits to go to God, and no angel-guardian to be aſſigned them in the aſſemblies of the faithful, and they not to be reckoned in the accounts of God and God's church. All theſe are ſad ſtories.

26. THERE are in Scripture very many other probabilities to perſuade the baptiſm of infants: but becauſe the places admit of divers interpretations, the arguments have ſo many diminutions, and the certainty that is in them is too fine for eaſy underſtandings, I have choſen to build the ancient doctrines upon ſuch principles which are more eaſy and certain, and have not been yet ſullied and rifled with the contentions of an adverſary. This only I ſhall obſerve, that the words of our bleſſed Lord, [*unleſs a man be born of water and the ſpirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of heaven,*] cannot be expounded to the excluſion of children, but the ſame expoſitions will alſo make baptiſm not neceſſary for men. For if they be both neceſſary ingredients, water and the ſpirit, then let us provide water, and God will provide the ſpirit; if we bring wood to the ſacrifice, he will provide a lamb. And if they ſignify diſtinctly, one is ordinarily as neceſſary as the other; and then infants muſt be baptized, or not be ſaved. But if one be exegetical and explicative of the other, and by water and the ſpirit is meant only the purification of the ſpirit, then where is the neceſſity of baptiſm for men? It will be as the other ſacrament, at moſt but highly convenient, not ſimply neceſſary; and all the other places will eaſily be anſwered, if this be avoided. But however theſe words being ſpoken in ſo decretory a manner, are to be uſed with fear and reverence; and we muſt be infallibly ſure by ſome certain infallible arguments, that infants ought not to be baptized, or we ought to fear concerning the effect of theſe decretory words. I ſhall only add two things by way of corollary to this diſcourſe.

27. THAT the church of God, ever ſince her numbers were full, hath for very many ages conſiſted almoſt wholly of aſſemblies of them who have been baptized in their infancy. And although in the firſt callings of the Gentiles the chiefeſt and moſt frequent baptiſms were of converted and repenting perſons and believers, yet from the beginning alſo the

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[d] Niſi quis renatus fuerit, &c. Utique nullum excipit, non infantem, non aliquâ præventum neceſſitate. *Ambr.* de Abrah. Patr. lib. ii. cap. 11

[e] Lib. ii. c. 11. de Abrah. Patriarch.

church hath baptized the infants of Chriſtian parents; according to the prophecy of Iſaiah[f], *Behold, I will liſt up my hands to the Gentiles, and ſet up a ſtandard to the people, and they ſhall bring thy ſons in their arms, and thy daughters ſhall be carried upon their ſhoulders.* Concerning which I ſhall not only bring the teſtimonies of the matter of fact, but either a report of an apoſtolical tradition, or ſome argument from the fathers, which will make their teſtimony more effectual in all that ſhall relate to the queſtion.

28. THE author of the book of Eccleſiaſtical Hierarchy, attributed to St. Denys the Areopagite, takes notice, that certain unholy perſons, and enemies to the Chriſtian religion, think it a ridiculous thing that infants, who as yet cannot underſtand the divine myſteries, ſhould be partakers of the ſacraments; and that profeſſions and abrenunciations ſhould be made by others for them and in their names. He anſwers, that "Holy men, governors of "churches, have ſo taught, having received a tradition from their fathers and elders in "Chriſt." By which anſwer of his, as it appears that he himſelf was later than the Areopagite; ſo it is ſo early by him affirmed, that even then there was an ancient tradition for the baptiſm of infants, and the uſe of godfathers in the miniſtry of the ſacrament. Concerning which, it having been ſo ancient a conſtitution of the church, it were well if men would rather humbly and modeſtly obſerve, than like ſcorners deride it; in which they ſhew their own folly as well as immodeſty. For what undecency or incongruity is it, that our parents, natural or ſpiritual, ſhould ſtipulate for us, when it is agreeable to the practice of all the laws and tranſactions of the world, an effect of the communion of ſaints and of Chriſtian oeconomy? For why may not infants be ſtipulated for as well as we? All were included in the ſtipulation made with Adam; he made a loſing bargain for himſelf, and we ſmarted for his folly. And if the faults of parents, and kings, and relatives do bring evil upon their children, and ſubjects and correlatives; it is but equal that our children may have benefit alſo by our charity and piety. But concerning making an agreement for them, we find that God was confident concerning Abraham, that he would teach his children: and there is no doubt but parents have great power, by ſtrict education and prudent diſcipline, to efform the minds of their children to virtue. Joſhua did expreſly undertake for his houſhold, *I and my houſe will ſerve the Lord.* And for children we may better do it, becauſe till they are of perfect choice, no government in the world is ſo great as that of parents over their children, in that which can concern the parts of this queſtion: for they rule over their underſtandings, and children know nothing but what they are told, and they believe it infinitely. And it is a rare art of the ſpirit, to engage parents to bring them up well *in the nurture and admonition of the Lord*; and they are perſons obliged by a ſuperinduced band, they are to give them inſtructions and holy principles as they give them meat. And it is certain that parents may better ſtipulate for their children than the church can for men and women. For they may be preſent impoſtors and hypocrites, as the church ſtory tells of ſome, and conſequently *ϖαρεβαπτίςαι*, not really converted, and ineffectually baptized; and the next day they may change their reſolution, and grow weary of their vow. And that is the moſt that children can do when they come to age: and it is very much in the parents whether the children ſhall do any ſuch thing or no.

——— purus & inſons[g],
(Ut me collaudem) ſi & vivo charus amicis,
Cauſa fuit pater his———
Ipſe mihi cuſtos incorruptiſſimus omnes
Circum doctores aderat: quid multa? pudicum
(Qui primus virtutis honos) ſervavit ab omni
Non ſolum facto, verùm opprobrio quoque turpi.
———ob hoc nunc
Laus illi debetur, & à me gratia major.

For education can introduce a habit and a ſecond nature, againſt which children cannot kick, unleſs they do ſome violence to themſelves and their inclinations. And although it fails too often whenever it fails, yet we pronounce prudently concerning future things, when we have a leſs influence into the event than in the preſent caſe, (and therefore are more unapt perſons to ſtipulate,) and leſs reaſon in the thing it ſelf, (and therefore have not ſo much reaſon to be confident.) Is not the greateſt prudence of generals inſtanced in their foreſeeing future events, and gueſſing at the deſigns of their enemies? concerning which they have leſs reaſon to be confident, than parents of their childrens belief of the Chriſtian Creed. To

which

[f] *Iſa.* xlix. 22.

[g] *Horat.* lib. i. Sat. 6.

which I add this conſideration, that parents or godfathers may therefore ſafely and prudently promiſe that their children ſhall be of the Chriſtian faith, becauſe we not only ſee millions of men and women who believe the whole creed only upon the ſtock of their education, but there are none that ever do renounce the faith of their country and breeding, unleſs they be violently tempted by intereſt or weakneſs, antecedent or conſequent. He that ſees all men almoſt to be Chriſtians becauſe they are bid to be ſo, needs not queſtion the fittingneſs of godfathers promiſing in behalf of the children for whom they anſwer.

29. AND however the matter be for godfathers, yet the tradition of baptizing infants paſſed through the hands of Irenæus [h]. *Omnem ætatem ſanctificans per illam quæ ad ipſam erat ſimilitudinem. Omnes enim venit per ſemetipſum ſalvare, omnes, inquam, qui per eum renaſcuntur in Deum, infantes, & parvulos, & pueros, & juvenes, & ſeniores. Ideo per omnem venit ætatem, & infantibus infans factus, ſanctificans infantes; in parvulis parvulus,* &c. Chriſt did ſanctify every age by his own ſuſception of it, and ſimilitude to it [i]. For he came to ſave all men by himſelf; I ſay, all who by him are born again unto God, infants, and children, and boys, and young men, and old men. He was made an infant to infants, ſanctifying infants; a little one to the little ones, *&c.* And [k] Origen is expreſs, *Eccleſia traditionem ab Apoſtolis ſuſcepit etiam parvulis dare Baptiſmum,* The church hath received tradition from the Apoſtles to give baptiſm to children. And St. Cyprian in his epiſtle to Fidus gives account of this article: for being queſtioned by ſome leſs ſkilful perſons, whether it were lawful to baptize children before the eighth day, he gives account of the whole queſtion. And a whole council of ſixty-ſix biſhops upon very good reaſon decreed, that their baptiſm ſhould at no hand be deferred; though whether ſix or eight or ten days, was no matter, ſo there be no danger or preſent neceſſity. The whole epiſtle is worth the reading.

30. BUT beſides theſe authorities of ſuch who writ before the ſtarting of the Pelagian queſtions, it will not be uſeleſs to bring the diſcourſes of them and others, I mean, the reaſon upon which the church did it both before and after.

31. Irenæus his argument was this [l]: Chriſt took upon him our nature to ſanctify and to ſave it, and paſſed through the ſeveral periods of it, even unto death, which is the ſymbol and effect of old age; and therefore it is certain he did ſanctify all the periods of it: and why ſhould he be an infant, but that infants ſhould receive the crown of their age, the purification of their ſtained nature, the ſanctification of their perſons, and the ſaving of their ſouls by their Infant Lord and elder brother?

32. *Omnis enim anima euſque in Adam cenſetur, donec in Chriſto recenſeatur; tamdiu immunda, quamdiu recenſeatur* [m]: Every ſoul is accounted in Adam, till it be new accounted in Chriſt; and ſo long as it is accounted in Adam, ſo long it is unclean; and we know *no unclean thing can enter into heaven*; and therefore our Lord hath defined it, *Unleſs ye be born of water and the ſpirit, ye cannot enter into the kingdom of heaven*; that is, ye cannot be holy. It was the argument of Tertullian [n]; which the rather is to be received, becauſe he was one leſs favourable to the cuſtom of the church in his time of baptizing infants, which cuſtom he noted and acknowledged, and hath alſo in the preceding diſcourſe fairly proved. And indeed, (that St. Cyprian [o] may ſuperadd his ſymbol) "God, who is no accepter of perſons, will alſo be no accepter of ages. "For if to the greateſt delinquents ſinning long before againſt God, remiſſion of ſins be "given when afterwards they believe, and from baptiſm and from grace no man is forbidden; how much more ought not an infant be forbidden, who being new born hath ſinned nothing, ſave only that being in the fleſh, born of Adam, in his firſt birth he hath "contracted the contagion of an old death? who therefore comes the eaſier to obtain re-"miſſion of ſins, becauſe to him are forgiven, not his own, but the ſins of another man. "None ought to be driven from baptiſm and the grace of God, who is merciful, and "gentle, and pious unto all: and therefore much leſs infants, who more deſerve our aid, "and more need the divine mercy, becauſe in the firſt beginning of their birth, crying "and weeping, they can do nothing but call for mercy and relief. For this reaſon it was, "(ſaith Origen [p]) that they to whom the ſecrets of the divine myſteries were committed, did "baptize their infants, becauſe there were born with them the impurities of ſin;" which did need material ablution, as a ſacrament of ſpiritual purification. For that it may appear that our ſins have a proper analogy to this ſacrament, the body it ſelf is called the body of ſin: and therefore the waſhing of the body is not ineffectual towards the great work of pardon and abolition. Indeed after this ablution there remains concupiſcence,

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[h] L. ii. c. 39.

[i] Vide etiam Conſtitut. *Clementis,* βαπτίζετε δὲ παιδία ὑμῶν, ϗ ἐκτρέφετε αὐτὰ ἐν παιδείᾳ ϗ νουθεσίᾳ Θεοῦ.

[k] Lib. v. ad Rom. c. 6. Idem Hom. 14. in Lucam, & lib. 8. Hom. 8. in Levitic.

[l] *Irenæus.*

[m] *Tertullian.*

[n] Lib. de Anima, c. 39 & 42.

[o] S. *Cyprian* ep. ad Fidum.

[p] *Origen* lib. 5. ad Rom. c. 6.

or the material part of our miſery and ſin. For Chriſt by his death only took away that which, when he did die for us, he bare in his own body upon the tree. Now Chriſt only bare the puniſhment of our ſin, and therefore we ſhall not die for it; but the material part of the ſin Chriſt bare not: ſin could not come ſo near him; it might make him ſick and die, but not diſordered and ſtained. He was pure from original and actual ſins: and therefore that remains in the body, though the guilt and puniſhment be taken off, and changed into advantages and grace; and the actual are relieved by the ſpirit of grace deſcending afterwards upon the church, and ſent by our Lord to the ſame purpoſe.

33. BUT it is not rationally to be anſwered what St. Ambroſe ſays[q], *Quia omnis peccato obnoxia, ideo omnis ætas Sacramento idonea.* For it were ſtrange that ſin and miſery ſhould ſeize upon the innocent and moſt unconſenting perſons; and that they only ſhould be left without a ſacrament, and an inſtrument of expiation. And although they cannot conſent to the preſent ſuſception, yet neither do they refuſe: and yet they conſent as much to the grace of the ſacrament as to the prevarication of Adam; and becauſe they ſuffer under this, it were but reaſon they ſhould be relieved by that. And[r] "It were better (as Gregory Nazianzen affirms) that they ſhould be conſigned and ſanctified without their own knowledge, than to die without their being ſanctified:" for ſo it happened to the circumciſed babes of Iſrael. And if the conſperſion and waſhing the door-poſts with the blood of a lamb did ſacramentally preſerve all the firſt-born of Goſhen; it cannot be thought impoſſible or unreaſonable, that the want of underſtanding in children ſhould hinder them from the bleſſing of a ſacrament, and from being redeemed and waſhed with the blood of the Holy Lamb, who was ſlain for all from the beginning of the world.

34. AFTER all this, it is not inconſiderable, that we ſay the church hath great power and authority about the ſacraments; which is obſervable in many inſtances. She appointed what perſons ſhe pleaſed, and in equal power made an unequal diſpenſation and miniſtery. The Apoſtles firſt diſpenſed all things, and then they left off exterior miniſteries to attend to the word of God and prayer: and St. Paul accounted it no part of his office to baptize, when he had been ſeparated by impoſition of hands at Antioch to the work of preaching and greater miniſteries; and accounted that act of the church the act of Chriſt, ſaying, *Chriſt ſent me not to baptize, but to preach the goſpel.* They uſed various forms in the miniſtration of baptiſm: ſometimes baptizing in the name of Chriſt, ſometimes expreſſly invocating the holy and ever-bleſſed Trinity: one while [I baptize thee,] as in the Latin church; but in the Greek, [Let the ſervant of Chriſt be baptized.] And in all eccleſiaſtical miniſteries the church invented the forms, and in moſt things hath often changed them, as in abſolution, excommunication. And ſometimes they baptized people under their profeſſion of repentance, and then taught them: as it happened to the jailor and his family; in whoſe caſe there was no explicit faith aforehand in the myſteries of religion, ſo far as appears; and yet he, and not only he, but all his houſe were baptized at that hour of the night when the earthquake was terrible, and the fear was pregnant upon them; and this upon their maſter's account, as it is likely. But others were baptized in the conditions of a previous faith, and a new-begun[s] repentance. They baptized in rivers, or in lavatories, by dipping, or by ſprinkling: for ſo we find that St. Laurence did as he went to martyrdom, and ſo the church did ſometimes to Clinics, and ſo it is highly convenient to be done in Northern countries; according to the prophecy of Iſaiah[t], *So ſhall he ſprinkle many nations*, according as the typical expiations among the Jews were uſually by ſprinkling. And it is fairly relative to the myſtery, to the *ſprinkling with the blood of Chriſt*[u], and the watering of the furrows of our ſouls with the dew of heaven, to make them bring forth fruit unto the ſpirit and unto holineſs[x]. The church ſometimes dipt the catechumen three times, ſometimes but once[y]. Some churches uſe fire in their baptiſms: ſo do the Ethiopians; and the cuſtom was ancient in ſome places. And ſo in the other ſacrament: ſometimes they ſtood, and ſometimes kneeled: and ſometimes received it in the mouth, and ſometimes in the hand; one while in leavened, another while in unleavened bread: ſometimes the wine and water were mingled, ſometimes they were pure; and they admitted ſome perſons to it ſometimes, which at other times they rejected: ſometimes the conſecration was made by one form, ſometimes by another: and, to conclude, ſometimes it was given to infants, ſometimes not. And ſhe had power ſo to do: for in all things, where there was not a commandment of Chriſt expreſſed or implied in the nature and in the end of the inſtitution, the church had power to alter the particulars as was moſt expedient, or conducing to edification. And although the after-ages of the

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[q] S. *Ambr.* de Abrah. Patr. lib. 2. cap. 11.

[r] *Greg. Naz.* κρεῖσσον γὰρ ἀναισθήτως ἁγιασθῆναι, ἢ ἀπελθεῖν ἀσφράγιστα καὶ ἀτέλεστα. Orat. 40. in S. Bapt.

[s] Non ut delinquere deſinant, ſed quia deſierunt, *as* Tertull. *phraſeth it.* [t] *Iſa.* lii. 15. [u] 1 *Pet.* i. 2.

[x] Aqua refectionis, & Baptiſmi lavacrum, quo anima ſterilis ariditate peccati ad bonos fructus inferendos divinis muneribus irrigatur. *Caſſiodor.* m. 23. pſ. 2.

[y] ἔνιοι τὰ ὦτα τῶν σφραγιζομένων κατεσημήναντο, dixit Heracleon apud *Clem. Alex.*

church, which refuſed to communicate infants, have found ſome little things againſt the lawfulneſs, and thoſe ages that uſed it found out ſome pretences for its neceſſity; yet both the one and the other had liberty to follow their own neceſſities, ſo in all things they followed Chriſt. Certainly there is infinitely more reaſon why infants may be communicated, than why they may not be baptized. And that this diſcourſe may revert to its firſt intention; although there is no record extant of any church in the world which, from the Apoſtles days incluſively to this very day, ever refuſed to baptize their children; yet if they had upon any preſent reaſon, they might alſo change their practice when the reaſon ſhould be changed: and therefore if there were nothing elſe in it, yet the univerſal practice of all churches in all ages is abundantly ſufficient to determine us, and to legitimate the practice, ſince Chriſt hath not forbidden it. It is ſufficient confutation to diſagreeing people, to uſe the words of St. Paul, *We have no ſuch cuſtom, nor the churches of God,* to ſuffer children to be ſtrangers from the covenant of promiſe, till they ſhall enter into it as Jews or Turks may enter, that is, by choice and diſputation. But although this alone to modeſt and obedient, that is, to Chriſtian ſpirits be ſufficient, yet this is more than the queſtion did need: It can ſtand upon its proper foundation.

Quicunque parvulos recentes ab uteris matrum baptizandos negat, anathema eſto. He that refuſeth to baptize his infants, *ſhall be in danger of the council*[*].

The PRAYER.

O *Holy and eternal* Jeſus, *who in thine own perſon wert pleaſed to ſanctify the waters of baptiſm, and by thy inſtitution and commandment didſt make them effectual to excellent purpoſes of grace and remedy, be pleaſed to verify the holy effects of baptiſm to me and all thy ſervants whoſe names are dedicated to thee in an early and timely preſentation; and enable us with thy grace to verify all our promiſes, by which we were bound then when thou didſt firſt make us thy own portion and relatives in the conſummation of a holy covenant. O be pleaſed to pardon all thoſe indecencies and unhandſome interruptions of that ſtate of favour in which thou didſt plant us by thy grace, and admit us by the gates of baptiſm: and let that ſpirit which moved upon thoſe holy waters never be abſent from us, but call upon us and invite us by a perpetual argument and daily ſolicitations and inducements to holineſs; that we may never return to the filthineſs of ſin, but by the anſwer of a good conſcience may pleaſe thee, and glorify thy name, and do honour to thy religion and inſtitution in this world, and may receive the bleſſings and rewards of it in the world to come, being preſented to thee pure and ſpotleſs in the day of thy power, when thou ſhalt lead thy church to a kingdom and endleſs glories.* Amen.

Appendix ad Sect. 9. Numb. 3. of *JESUS* being Baptized, *&c.*

Chriſt's *Prayer at his Baptiſm.*

O *Father, according to the good pleaſure of thy will I am made a man, and from the time in which I was born of a virgin unto this day I have finiſhed thoſe things which are agreeing to the nature of man, and with due obſervance have perform'd all thy commandments, the myſteries and types of the law: and now truly I am baptized, and ſo have I ordained baptiſm, that from thence, as from the place of ſpiritual birth, the regeneration of men may be accompliſhed: and as John was the laſt of the legal prieſts, ſo am I the firſt of the evangelical. Thou therefore, O Father, by the mediation of my prayer open the heavens, and from thence ſend thy Holy Spirit upon this womb of baptiſm; that as he did untie the womb of the Virgin, and thence form me, ſo alſo he would looſe this baptiſmal womb, and ſo ſanctify it unto men, that from thence new men may be begotten, who may become thy ſons, and my brethren, and heirs of thy kingdom. And what the prieſts under the law until John could not do, grant unto the prieſts of the New Teſtament, (whoſe chief I am in the oblation of this prayer,) that whenſoever they ſhall celebrate baptiſm, or pour forth prayers unto thee, as the Holy Spirit is ſeen with me in open viſion, ſo alſo it may be made manifeſt that the ſame ſpirit will adjoin himſelf in their ſociety a more ſecret way, and will by them perform the miniſteries of the New Teſtament, for which I am made a man; and as the high prieſt I do offer theſe prayers in thy ſight.*

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[*] *Concil. Milevit.* Can. 2.

THIS prayer was tranſcribed out of the Syriack Catena upon the third chapter of St. Luke's Goſpel, and is by the author of that Catena reported to have been made by our Bleſſed Saviour immediately before the opening of the heavens at his baptiſm; and that the Holy Spirit did deſcend upon him while he was thus praying: and for it he cites the authority of S. Philoxenus. I cannot but foreſee that there is one clauſe in it which will be uſed as an objection againſt the authority of this Prayer; viz. [as John was the laſt of the legal Prieſts:] for he was no Prieſt at all, nor ever officiated in the Temple, or at the Moſaick rites. But this is nothing: becauſe, that the Baptiſt was of the family of the Prieſts, his father Zachary is a demonſtration; that he did not officiate, his being imployed in another miniſtery, is a ſufficient anſwer; that he was the laſt of the Prieſts is to be underſtood in this ſenſe, that he was the period of the law, the common term between the law and goſpel: by him the goſpel was firſt preached ſolemnly, and therefore in him the law firſt ended. And as he was the laſt of the Prophets, ſo was he the laſt of the Prieſts: not but that after him many had the gift of prophecy, and ſome did officiate in the Moſaical Prieſthood; but that his office put the firſt period to the ſolemnity of Moſes's law, that is, at him the diſpenſation evangelical did firſt enter.

THAT the miniſters of the goſpel are here called prieſts, ought not to be a prejudice againſt this prayer in the perſuaſions of any men; becauſe it was uſual with our Bleſſed Saviour to retain the words of the Jews his country-men before whom he ſpake, that they might by words to which they were uſed, be inſtructed in the notice of perſons and things, offices and miniſteries evangelical, which afterwards were to be repreſented under other, that is, under their proper names.

AND now all that I ſhall ſay of it is this. 1. That it is not unlikely but our Bleſſed Saviour prayed when he was baptized, and when the Holy Ghoſt deſcended upon him; not only becauſe it was an imployment ſymbolical to the grace he was to receive, but alſo to become to us a precedent by what means we are to receive the Holy Spirit of God. 2. That it is very likely our bleſſed Lord would conſecrate the waters of baptiſm to thoſe myſterious ends whither he deſigned them, as well as the bread and chalice of the holy ſupper. 3. That it is moſt likely the Eaſterlings did preſerve a record of many words and actions of the holy Jeſus, which are not tranſmitted to us. 4. It is certain that our bleſſed Lord did do and ſay many more things than are in the holy Scriptures; and that this was one of them, we have the credit of this ancient author, and the authority of S. Philoxenus. However, it is much better to make ſuch good uſe of it as the matter and piety of the prayer will miniſter, than to quarrel at it by the imperfection of uncertain conjectures.

BRITISH 5 AU 70 MUSEUM

The End of the Firſt Part.

THE HISTORY OF THE LIFE and DEATH OF THE HOLY JESUS:

BEGINNING

At the Time of his firſt *Miracle*, until the Second Year of his
PREACHING:

WITH

Conſiderations and *Diſcourſes* upon the ſeveral
Parts of the Story;

And PRAYERS fitted to the ſeveral MYSTERIES.

THE SECOND PART.

Chryſoſt. ad Demet.

Τὸ ἀπιστεῖν παῖς ἐκ τοῦ πρὸς τὴν ἐκπλήρωσιν ἐκλελύσθαι τῶν ἐντολῶν γίνεται.

THIS prayer was transcribed out of the Syriack Catena upon the third chapter of St. Luke's Gospel, and is by the author of that Catena reported to have been made by our blessed [illegible] before the opening of the heavens [illegible] did [illegible] while he was [illegible]

S. Philoxenus [illegible]

[illegible] Priesthood] for he was no Priest at all, nor ever ministred in the Temple [illegible] rites. But this is nothing: besides, that the Baptist was of the family of the Priests, his father Zachary is a demonstration [illegible] ministery, is a sufficient answer [illegible] that he was the period of the law, the [illegible] and therefore in him the law [illegible] by him the gospel was first preached publickly [illegible] but that his office put the first period to the [illegible] ministration evangelical did first enter.

[illegible] the ministers of the gospel [illegible] this prayer in the [illegible] retain the words of the [illegible] words to which they were used [illegible]

[illegible]

That it is most surely [illegible] do and say many [illegible] we have the [illegible] it is much better to [illegible] than to [illegible]

BRITISH MUSEUM

The End of the First Part.

TO THE
Right honourable and excellent LADY,
THE

LADY MARY,

Counteſs Dowager of NORTHAMPTON.

I AM now to preſent to your Honour part of that production of which your great love to ſanctity was parent, and which was partly deſigned to ſatisfy thoſe great appetites to virtue which have made you hugely apprehenſive and forward to entertain any inſtrument whereby you may grow and increaſe in the ſervice of God, and the communion and charities of holy people. Your Honour beſt knows in what ſoil the firſt deſign of theſe papers grew; and but that the excellent perſonage who was their firſt root is tranſplanted for a time, that he may not have his righteous ſoul vexed with the impurer converſation of ill-minded men, I am confident you would have received the fruits of his abode to more excellent purpoſes. But becauſe he was pleaſed to leave the managing of this to me, I hope your Honour will for his ſake entertain what that rare perſon conceived, though I was left to the pains and danger of bringing forth; and that it may dwell with you for its firſt relation, rather than be rejected for its appendent imperfections, which it contracted not in the fountain, but in the chanels of its progreſs and emanation. Madam, I ſhall beg of God, that your Honour may receive as great increment of piety and ghoſtly ſtrength in the reading this book, as I receive honour if you ſhall be pleaſed to accept and own this as a confeſſion of your great worthineſs, and a teſtimony of the ſervice which ought to be payed to your Honour by,

MADAM,

Your Honour's moſt humble
and moſt obliged ſervant,

JER. TAYLOR.

TO THE
Right honourable and excellent LADY,
THE

LADY MARY,

Counteſs Dowager of NORTHAMPTON.

I AM now to preſent to your Honour part of that production of which your great love to ſanctity was parent, and which was partly deſigned to ſatisfy thoſe great appetites to virtue which have made you hugely apprehenſive and forward to entertain any inſtrument whereby you may grow and increaſe in the ſervice of God, and the communion and charities of holy people. Your Honour beſt knows in what ſoil the firſt deſign of theſe papers grew; and but that the excellent perſonage who was their firſt root is tranſplanted for a time, that he may not have his righteous ſoul vexed with the impurer converſation of ill-minded men, I am confident you would have received the fruits of his abode to more excellent purpoſes. But becauſe he was pleaſed to leave the managing of this to me, I hope your Honour will for his ſake entertain what that rare perſon conceived, though I was left to the pains and danger of bringing forth; and that it may dwell with you for its firſt relation, rather than be rejected for its appendent imperfections, which it contracted not in the fountain, but in the chanels of its progreſs and emanation. Madam, I ſhall beg of God, that your Honour may receive as great increment of piety and ghoſtly ſtrength in the reading this book, as I receive honour if you ſhall be pleaſed to accept and own this as a confeſſion of your great worthineſs, and a teſtimony of the ſervice which ought to be payed to your Honour by,

MADAM,

Your Honour's moſt humble
and moſt obliged ſervant,

JER. TAYLOR.

SECT. X.

Of the firſt manifeſtation of Jeſus, by the teſtimony of St. John, and a miracle.

1. AFTER that the Baptiſt by a ſign from heaven was confirmed in ſpirit and underſtanding that Jeſus was the Meſſias, he immediately publiſhed to the Jews what God had manifeſted to him: and firſt to the prieſts and levites ſent in legation from the Sanhedrim, he profeſſed indefinitely, in anſwer to their queſtion, that himſelf was [a] *not the Chriſt*, nor *Elias*, nor *that prophet*, whom they by a ſpecial tradition did expect to be revealed they knew not when. And concerning himſelf definitely he ſaid nothing, but that he was [b] *the voice of one crying in the wilderneſs, make ſtraight the way of the Lord.* "He it was who was then [c] *amongſt* "*them*, but *not known*, a perſon of great dignity, to whom the baptiſt was [d] *not* "*worthy* to do the office of the loweſt miniſtry; [e] *who coming after John was pre-* "*ferred far before him*; who [f] was to *increaſe*, and the baptiſt was to *decreaſe*; "who did [g] *baptize with the Holy Ghoſt and with fire.*"

2. THIS was the character of his perſonal prerogatives: but as yet no demonſtration was made of his perſon, till after the deſcent of the Holy Ghoſt upon Jeſus: and then whenever the baptiſt ſaw Jeſus, he points him out with his finger, [h] *behold the lamb of God, which taketh away the ſins of the world: this is he.* Then he ſhews him to Andrew, Simon Peter's brother, with the ſame deſignation, and to another diſciple with him; who both [i] *followed Jeſus, and abode with him all night.* Andrew brings his brother Simon with him, and then Chriſt changes his name from Simon to Peter, or Cephas, which ſignifies a ſtone. Then Jeſus himſelf finds out Philip of Bethſaida, and bade him follow him; and Philip finds out Nathanael, and calls him to ſee. Thus perſons bred in a dark cell, upon their firſt aſcent up to the chambers of light, all run ſtaring upon the beauties of the ſun, and call the partners of their darkneſs to communicate in their new and ſtranger revelation.

3. WHEN Nathanael was come to Jeſus, Chriſt ſaw his heart, and gave him a teſtimony to be truly honeſt, and full of holy ſimplicity, *a true Iſraelite without guile.* And Nathanael, being overjoyed that he had found the Meſſias, believing out of love, and loving by reaſon of his joy, and no ſuſpicion, took that for a proof and verification of his perſon, which was very inſufficient to confirm a doubt, or ratify a probability. But ſo we believe a ſtory which we love, taking probabilities for demonſtrations, and caſual accidents for probabilities, and any thing that creates vehement preſumptions, in which caſes our guides are not our knowing faculties, but our affections, and if they be holy, God guides them into the right perſuaſions; as he does little birds to make rare neſts, though they underſtand not the myſtery of operation, nor the deſign and purpoſe of the action.

4. BUT Jeſus took his will and forwardneſs of affections in ſo good part, that he promiſed him greater things: and this gave occaſion to the firſt prophecy which was made by Jeſus. For *Jeſus ſaid unto him, becauſe I ſaid I ſaw thee under the fig-tree, believeſt thou? Thou ſhalt ſee greater things than theſe.* And then he propheſied that he ſhould ſee *heaven open, and the angel of God aſcending and deſcending upon the ſon of man.* [k] But, being a doctor of the law, Chriſt choſe him not at all to the college of apoſtles.

5. MUCH about the ſame time, there happened to be a marriage in Cana of Galilee, in the vicinage of his dwelling, where John the evangeliſt is by ſome ſuppoſed to have been the bridegroom: (but of this there is no certainty:) and thither Jeſus being with his mother invited, he went to do civility to the perſons eſpouſed, and to do honour to the holy rite of marriage. The perſons then married, were but of indifferent fortunes, richer in love of neighbours than in the fullneſs of rich poſſeſſions; they had more company than wine. For the maſter of the feaſt (whom, according to the order and piety of the nation, they choſe from the the order of [l] prieſts to be the pre-

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[a] John i. 20, 21. [b] V. 23. [c] V. 26. [d] V. 27. [e] V. 15, 27, 30. [f] Chap. iii. 30. [g] Mat. iii. 11. [h] John i. 29, 36. [i] V. 37, 39.

[k] S. Aug. tra. xvii. c. i. in Joan.

[l] Gaudent. Brixian. tra. ix. Hujuſmodi fuerunt modeſta illa Sertorii convivia quæ deſcripſit Plutarchus. Δεῖπνα πολλὴν ἔχοντα αἰδῶ ϗ κόσμον· ὐδὲ ὁρᾷν τι τῶν αἰσχρῶν ὄτε ἀκύειν ὑπομένοντος· ἀλλὰ ϗ τὺς συνόντας εὐτάκτοις ϗ ἀνυβρίστοις παιδίαις χρῆσθαι ϗ φιλοφροσύναις ἐθίζοντος. Plut. in Sertor.

ſident of the feaſt, by the reverence of his perſon to reſtrain all inordination, by his diſcretion to govern and order the circumſtances, by his religious knowledge to direct the ſolemnities of marriage, and to retain all the perſons and actions in the bounds of prudence and modeſty) complained to the bridegroom, that the gueſts wanted wine.

6. As ſoon as the holy virgin-mother had notice of the want, out of charity, that uſes to be imployed in ſupplying even the minutes and ſmalleſt articles of neceſſity, as well as the clamorous importunity of extremities and great indigencies, ſhe complained to her ſon by an indefinite addreſs; not deſiring him to make ſupply, for ſhe knew not how he ſhould: but either out of an habitual commiſeration ſhe complained without hoping for remedy; or elſe ſhe looked on him who was the fountain of holineſs and of plenty, as expecting a derivation from him either of diſcourſes or miracles. But *Jeſus anſwered her, woman, what have I to do with thee? mine hour is not yet come.* By this anſwer, intending no denial to the purpoſe of his mother's intimation, to whom he always bare a religious and pious reverence; but to ſignify, that he was not yet entred into his period and years of miracles: and when he did, it muſt be not for reſpect of kindred or civil relations, but as it is a derivation of power from above, ſo it muſt be in purſuit of that ſervice and deſign, which he had received in charge together with his power.

7. And ſo his mother underſtood him, giving expreſs charge to the miniſters to do whatſoever he commanded. Jeſus therefore bade them *fill the water-pots*, which ſtood there for the uſe of frequent waſhings, which the Jews did uſe in all publick meetings, for fear of touching pollutions, or contracting legal impurities: which they did with a curiouſneſs next to ſuperſtition, waſhing the very beds and tables uſed at their feaſts. The miniſters *filled them to the brim*, and, as they were commanded, *drew out, and bare unto the governor of the feaſt*; who *knew not of it*, till the miracle grew publick, and like light ſhewed it ſelf. For while they wonder'd at the œconomy of that feaſt, in *keeping the beſt wine till the laſt*, it grew apparent that he who was the Lord of the creatures, who in their firſt ſeeds have an obediential capacity to receive the impreſſes of what forms he pleaſes to imprint, could give new natures, and produce new qualities in that ſubject in which he chuſes to glorify his Son.

8. *This beginning of miracles did Jeſus in Cana of Galilee.* For all thoſe miracles which are reported to be done by Chriſt in his infancy, and interval of his younger years, are apocryphal and ſpurious, feigned by trifling underſtandings, (who think to ſerve God with a well-meant lie,) and promoted by the credulity of ſuch perſons *in whoſe hearts* eaſineſs, *folly* and credulity are *bound up* and tied faſt with ſilken thread, and eaſy ſoftneſſes of religious affections, not made ſevere by the rigours of wiſdom and experience. This firſt miracle manifeſted his glory, and *his diſciples believed in him.*

Ad

Ad SECT. X.

Conſiderations touching the vocation of five diſciples, and of the firſt miracle of Jeſus, done at Cana in Galilee.

1. AS ſoon as ever John the Baptiſt was taught by the deſcent of the holy ſpirit that this was Jeſus, he inſtantly preaches him to all that came near him. For the Holy Ghoſt was his commiſſion and inſtruction: and now he was a miniſter evangelical, and taught all thoſe that have the honour to be ſervants in ſo ſacred employment, that they muſt not go till they be ſent, nor ſpeak till they be inſtructed, nor yet hold their peace when their commiſſion is ſigned by the conſignation of the ſpirit in ordinary miniſtry. For *all power and all wiſdom is from above*, and in ſpiritual miniſtrations is a direct emanation from the holy ſpirit: that as no man is fit to ſpeak the myſteries of godlineſs, be his perſon never ſo holy, unleſs he derive wiſdom in order to ſuch myſteries; ſo be he never ſo inſtructed by the aſſiſtance of art or infuſed knowledge, yet unleſs he alſo have derived power as well as skill, authority as well as knowledge from the ſame ſpirit, he is not enabled to miniſter in publick in ordinary miniſtrations. The Baptiſt was ſent by a prime deſignation *to prepare the way* to Jeſus, and was inſtructed by the ſame ſpirit, which had ſanctified or conſecrated him in his mother's womb to this holy purpoſe.

2. WHEN the Baptiſt had ſhewed Jeſus to Andrew and another diſciple, they immediately followed him with the diſtances and fears of the firſt approach, and the infirmities of new converts: but Jeſus ſeeing them follow their firſt light, invited them to ſee the ſun. For God loves to cheriſh infants in grace; and having ſown the immortal ſeed in their hearts, if it takes root downwards, and ſprings out into the verdure of a leaf, he ſtill waters it with the gentle rain of the holy ſpirit, in graces and new aſſiſtances, till it brings forth the fruits of a holy converſation. And God, who knows that infants have need of pleaſant, and gentle, and frequent nutriment, hath given to them this comfort, that himſelf will take care of their firſt beginnings, and improve them to the ſtrength of men, and give them the ſtrengths of nature, and the wiſdom of the ſpirit, which ennoble men to excellencies and perfections. By the preaching of the Baptiſt they were brought to ſeek for Chriſt; and when they did, Chriſt found them, and brought them home, and made them *ſtay all night with him*: which was more favour than they looked for. For ſo God uſually diſpenſes his mercies, that they may out-run our thoughts and expectations; and they are given in no proportion to us, but according to God's meaſures: he conſidering not what we are worthy of, but what is fit for him to give; he only requiring of us capacities to receive his favour, and fair reception and entertainment of his graces.

3. WHEN Andrew had found Jeſus, he calls his brother Simon to be partaker of his joys, which, as it happens in accidents of greateſt pleaſure, cannot be contained within the limits of the poſſeſſor's thoughts. But this calling of Peter was not to a beholding, but to a participation of his felicities. For he is ſtrangely covetous who would enjoy the ſun, or the air, or the ſea, alone: here was treaſure for him and all the world: and by lighting his brother Simon's taper, he made his own light the greater and more glorious. And this is the nature of grace, to be diffuſive of its own excellencies; for here no envy can inhabit: the proper and perſonal ends of holy perſons in the contract and tranſmiſſions of grace, are increaſed by the participation and communion of others. For our prayers are more effectual, our aids increaſed, our encouragement and examples more prevalent, God more honoured, and the rewards of glory have accidental advantages, by the ſuperaddition of every new ſaint and beatified perſon; the members of the myſtical body, when they have received nutriment from God and his holy Son, ſupplying to each other the ſame which themſelves received, and live on, in the communion of ſaints. Every new ſtar gilds the firmament, and increaſes its firſt glories: and thoſe who are inſtruments of the converſion of others, ſhall not only introduce new beauties, but when themſelves *ſhine like the ſtars in glory*, they ſhall have ſome reflexions from the light of others, to whoſe fixing in the orb of heaven themſelves have been inſtrumental. And this conſideration is not only of uſe in the exaltations of the dignity apoſtolical and clerical, but for the enkindling

even of private charities; who may do well to promote others intereſts of piety, in which themſelves alſo have ſome concernment.

4. THESE diſciples asked of Chriſt *where he dwelt*. *Jeſus anſwered, come and ſee.* It was an anſwer very expreſſive of our duty in this inſtance. It is not enough for us to underſtand where Chriſt inhabits, or where he is to be found; for our underſtandings may follow him afar off, and we receive no ſatisfaction unleſs it be to curioſity: but we muſt go where he is, eat of his meat, waſh in his lavatory, reſt on his beds, and dwell with him. For the holy Jeſus hath no kind influence upon thoſe who ſtand at diſtance, ſave only the affections of a loadſtone, apt to draw them nigher, that he may tranſmit his virtues by union and confederations: but if they perſiſt in a ſullen diſtance, they ſhall learn his glories as Dives underſtood the peace of Lazarus, of which he was never to participate. Although *the Son of man hath not where to lay his head*, yet he hath many houſes where to convey his graces; he hath nothing to cover his own, but he hath enough to ſanctify ours: and as he dwelt in ſuch houſes which the charity of good people then afforded for his entertainment, ſo now he loves to abide in places which the religion of his ſervants hath vowed to his honour, and the advantages of evangelical miniſtrations. Thither we muſt come to him, or any-where elſe where we may enjoy him. He is to be found in a church, in his ordinances, in the communion of ſaints, in every religious duty, in the heart of every holy perſon: and if we go to him by the addreſſes of religion in holy places, by the miniſtry of holy rites, by charity, by the adherences of faith, and hope, and other combining graces, the graces of union and ſociety, or prepare a lodging for him within us, that he may come to us; then ſhall we ſee ſuch glories and interior beauties, which none know but they that dwell with him. [m] The ſecrets of ſpiritual benediction are underſtood only by them to whom they are convey'd, even by the children of his houſe. *Come and ſee.*

5. ST. Andrew was firſt called, and that by Chriſt immediately; his brother Simon next, and that by Andrew: but yet Jeſus changed Simon's name, and not the other's; and by this change deſign'd him to an eminency of office, at leaſt in ſignification, principally above his brother, or elſe ſeparately and diſtinctly from him. To ſhew, that theſe graces and favours which do not immediately co-operate to eternity, but are gifts and offices, or impreſſes of authority, are given to men irregularly, and without any order of prediſponent cauſes, or probabilities on our part, but are iſſues of abſolute predeſtination; and as they have efficacy from thoſe reaſons which God conceals, ſo they have ſome purpoſes as conceal'd as their cauſes: only if God pleaſes to make us veſſels of fair imployment and of great capacity, we ſhall bear a greater burthen, and are bound to glorify God with ſpecial offices. But as theſe exterior and ineffective graces are given upon the ſame good will of God which made this matter to be a human body, when, if God had ſo pleaſed, it was capable of being made a fungus or a ſponge: ſo they are given to us with the ſame intentions as are our ſouls, that we might glorify God in the diſtinct capacity of grace, as before of a reaſonable nature. And beſides that it teaches us to magnify God's free mercy, ſo it removes every ſuch exalted perſon from being an object of envy to others, or from pleaſing himſelf in vainer opinions. For God hath made him of ſuch an imployment as freely and voluntarily as he hath made him a man, and he no more co-operated to this grace than to his own creation; and may as well admire himſelf for being born in Italy, or from rich parents, or for having two hands or two feet, as for having received ſuch a deſignation extraordinary. But theſe things are never inſtruments of reputation among ſevere underſtandings, and never but in the ſottiſh and unmanly apprehenſions of the vulgar. Only this, when God hath imprinted an authority upon a perſon, although the man hath nothing to pleaſe himſelf withal but God's grace, yet others are to pay the duty which that impreſſion demands: which duty becauſe it rapports to God, and touches not the man, but as it paſſes through him to the fountain of authority and grace, it extinguiſhes all pretences of opinion and pride.

6. WHEN Jeſus eſpied Nathanael (who alſo had been called by the firſt diſciples) coming towards him, he gave him an excellent character, calling him *a true Iſraelite in whom was no guile*, and admitted him amongſt the firſt diſciples of the inſtitution: by this character in one of the firſt of his ſcholars hallowing ſimplicity of ſpirit, and receiving it into his diſcipline, that it might now become a virtue and duty evangelical. For although it concerns us as a chriſtian duty to be prudent, yet the prudence of chriſtianity is a duty of ſpiritual effect, and in inſtances of religion with no other

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[m] Secreta mea mihi & filiis domûs meæ. Clem. Alex. Strom.

purpoſes than to avoid giving offence to thoſe that are without and within; that we cauſe no diſreputation to chriſtianity; that we do nothing that may encourage enemies to religion; and that thoſe that are within the communion and obedience of the church, may not ſuffer as great inconveniences by the indiſcreet conduct of religious actions, as by direct temptations to a ſin. Theſe are the purpoſes of private prudence, to which in a greater meaſure, and upon more variety of rules the governours of churches are obliged. But that which chriſtian ſimplicity prohibits is, the mixing arts and unhandſome means for the purchaſe of our ends; witty counſels that are underminings of our neighbour, deſtroying his juſt intereſt to ſerve our own, ſtratagems to deceive, infinite and inſignificant anſwers with fraudulent deſign, unjuſt and unlawful concealment of our purpoſes, fallacious promiſes and falſe pretences, flattery and unjuſt and unreaſonable praiſe, ſaying one thing and meaning the contrary, pretending religion to ſecular deſigns, breaking faith, taking falſe oaths and ſuch other inſtruments of human purpoſes framed by the Devil, and ſent into the world to be perfected by man. Chriſtian ſimplicity ſpeaks nothing but its thoughts; and when it concerns prudence that a thought or purpoſe ſhould be concealed, it concerns ſimplicity that ſilence be its cover, and not a falſe vizor; it rather ſuffers inconvenience than a lye: it deſtroys no man's right, though it be inconſiſtent with my advantages; it reproves freely, palliates no man's wickedneſs; it intends what it ought, and does what is bidden, and uſes courſes regular and juſt, ſneaks not in corners, and walks always in the eye of God and the face of the world.

7. JESUS told Nathanael that he *knew* him, when he *ſaw him under the fig-tree:* and Nathanael took that to be probation ſufficient that he was the Meſſias, and believed rightly upon an inſufficient motive. Which becauſe Jeſus did accept, it gives teſtimony to us, that however faith be produced, by means regular or by arguments incompetent, whether it be proved or not proved, whether by chance or deliberation, whether wiſely or by occaſion, ſo that faith be produced by the inſtrument, and love by faith, God's work is done, and ſo is ours. For if St. Paul rejoyced that *Chriſt was preached*, though *by the envy* of peeviſh perſons, certainly God will not reject an excellent product becauſe it came from a weak and ſickly parent. And he that brings good out of evil, and rejoyces in that good, having firſt triumphed upon the evil, will certainly take delight in the faith of the moſt ignorant perſons, which his own grace hath produced out of innocent, though inſufficient, beginnings. It was folly in Naaman to refuſe to be cured, becauſe he was to recover only by waſhing in Jordan. The more incompetent the means is, the greater is the glory of God, who hath produced waters from a rock, and fire from the colliſion of a ſponge and wool: and it is certain, the end, unleſs it be in products merely natural, does not take its eſtimate and degrees from the external means. Grace does miracles, and the productions of the ſpirit in reſpect of its inſtruments are equivocal, extraordinary, and ſupernatural; and ignorant perſons believe as ſtrongly, though they know not why, and love God as heartily, as greater ſpirits and more excellent underſtandings: and when God pleaſes, or if he ſees it expedient, he will do to others as to Nathanael, give them greater arguments and better inſtruments for the confirmation and heightning of their faith, than they had for the firſt production.

8. WHEN Jeſus had choſen theſe few diſciples to be witneſſes of ſucceeding accidents, every one of which was to be a probation of his miſſion and divinity, he entred into the theatre of the world at a marriage-feaſt, which he now firſt hallowed to a ſacramental ſignification, and made to become myſterious. He now began to chuſe his ſpouſe out from the communities of the world, and did mean to endear her by unions ineffable and glorious, and conſign the ſacrament by his blood, which he firſt gave in a ſecret repreſentment, and afterwards in letter and apparent effuſion. And although the holy Jeſus did in his own perſon conſecrate cœlibacy, and abſtinence and chaſtity in his mother's: yet by his preſence he alſo hallowed *marriage*, and made it *honourable*, not only in civil accounts and rites of heraldry, but in a ſpiritual ſenſe, he having new ſublimed it, by making it a ſacramental repreſentment of the union of Chriſt and his ſpouſe the church. And all married perſons ſhould do well to remember what the conjugal ſociety does repreſent, and not break the matrimonial bond, which is a myſterious ligament of Chriſt and his church: for whoever diſſolves the ſacredneſs of the myſtery, and unhallows the vow by violence and impurity, he diſſolves his relation to Chriſt. To break faith with a wife or huſband is a divorce from Jeſus, and that is a ſeparation from all poſſibilities of felicity. In the time of the

Moſaical ſtatutes, to violate marriage was to do injuſtice and diſhonour, and a breach to the ſanctions of nature, or the firſt conſtitutions: but two bands more are added in the goſpel, to make marriage more ſacred. For now our *bodies* are made *temples of the Holy Ghoſt*, and the rite of marriage is made ſignificant and ſacramental, and every act of adultery is profanation and irreligion, it deſecrates a temple, and deflours a myſtery.

9. The married pair were holy, but poor, and they wanted wine; and the bleſſed Virgin-mother, pitying the affront of the young man, complained to Jeſus of the want: and Jeſus gave her an anſwer which promiſed no ſatisfaction to her purpoſes. For now that Jeſus had lived thirty years, and done in perſon nothing anſwerable to his glorious birth, and the miraculous accidents of his perſon, ſhe longed till the time came in which he was to manifeſt himſelf by actions as miraculous as the ſtar of his birth. She knew by the rejecting of his trade, and his going abroad, and probably by his own diſcourſe to her, that the time was near; and the forwardneſs of her love and holy deſires poſſibly might go ſome minutes before his own preciſe limit. However Jeſus anſwered to this purpoſe, to ſhew, that the work he was to do was done not to ſatisfy her importunity, which is not occaſion enough for a miracle, but to proſecute the great work of divine deſignation. For in works ſpiritual and religious all exterior relation ceaſes. The world's order, and the manner of our nature, and the infirmities of our perſon, have produced ſocieties, and they have been the parents of relation; and God hath tied them faſt by the knots of duty, and made the duty the occaſion and opportunities of reward: but in actions ſpiritual, in which we relate to God, our relations are founded upon the ſpirit; and therefore we muſt do our duties upon conſiderations ſeparate and ſpiritual, but never ſuffer temporal relations to impede our religious duties. Chriſtian charity is a higher thing than to be confined within the terms of dependence and correlation; and [n] thoſe endearments which leagues, or nature, or ſociety have made, paſs into ſpiritual, and like ſtars in the preſence of the ſun, appear not when the heights of the ſpirit are in place. Where duty hath prepared ſpecial inſtances, there we muſt for religion's ſake promote them; but even to our parents or our children the charities of religion ought to be greater than the affections of ſociety: And though we are bound in all offices exterior to prefer our relatives before others, becauſe that is made a duty; yet to purpoſes ſpiritual, all perſons eminently holy put on the efficacy of the ſame relations, and paſs a duty upon us of religious affections.

10. At the command of Jeſus the water-pots were filled with water, and the water was by his divine power turned into wine. Where the different œconomy of God and the world is highly obſervable. *Every man ſets forth good wine at firſt, and then the worſe:* but God not only turns the water into wine, but into ſuch wine, that the laſt draught is moſt pleaſant. The world preſents us with fair language, promiſing hopes, convenient fortunes, pompous honours; and theſe are the outſides of the bole: but when it is ſwallowed, theſe diſſolve in the inſtant, and there remains bitterneſs, and the malignity of coloquintida. Every ſin ſmiles in the firſt addreſs, and carries light in the face, and honey in the lip: but *when we have well drunk, then comes that which is worſe*, a whip with ſix ſtrings, fears and terrors of conſcience, and ſhame and diſpleaſure, and a caitive diſpoſition, and diffidence in the day of death. But when after the manner of the purifying of the Chriſtians we fill our water-pots with water, watering our couch with our tears, and moiſtening our cheeks with the perpetual diſtillations of repentance; then Chriſt turns our water into wine: firſt penitents, and then communicants; firſt waters of ſorrow, and then the wine of the chalice; firſt the juſtifications of correction, and then the ſanctifications of the ſacrament, and the effects of the divine power, joy, and peace, and ſerenity, hopes full of confidence, and confidence without ſhame, and boldneſs without preſumption. For Jeſus *keeps the beſt wine till the laſt*: not only becauſe of the direct reſervations of the higheſt joys till the nearer approaches of glory; but alſo becauſe our reliſhes are higher after a long fruition than at the firſt eſſays: ſuch being the nature of grace, that it increaſes in reliſh as it does in fruition, every part of grace being new duty and new reward.

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[n] Συγγένεια γὰρ οἰκειοτέρα ἡ πρὸς δικαιοσύνην ϗ πᾶσαν ἄλλην ἀρετὴν ὁμιλία. Philo. in expoſit. general.

The PRAYER.

O Eternal and ever-bleſſed Jeſu, who didſt chuſe diſciples to be witneſſes of thy life and miracles, ſo adopting man into a participation of thy great employment of bringing us to Heaven by the means of a holy doctrine, be pleaſed to give me thy grace, that I may love and revere their perſons whom thou haſt ſet over me, and follow their faith, and imitate their lives, while they imitate thee; and that I alſo in my capacity and proportion may do ſome of the meaner offices of ſpiritual building, by prayers, and by holy diſcourſes, and fraternal correption, and friendly exhortations, doing advantages to ſuch ſouls with whom I ſhall converſe. And ſince thou wert pleaſed to enter upon the ſtage of the world with the commencement of mercy and a miracle, be pleaſed to viſit my ſoul with thy miraculous grace, turn my water into wine, my natural deſires into ſupernatural perfections, and let my ſorrows be turned into joys, my ſins into virtuous habits, the weakneſſes of humanity into communications of the divine nature; that ſince thou keepeſt the beſt unto the laſt, *I may by thy aſſiſtance grow from grace to grace, till thy gifts be turned to reward, and thy graces to participation of thy glory, O eternal and ever-bleſſed Jeſu.* Amen.

DISCOURSE VII.

Of Faith.

1. NATHANAEL's faith was produced by an argument not demonſtrative, not certainly concluding: Chriſt knew him when he ſaw him firſt, and he believed him to be the Meſſias. His faith was excellent, whatever the argument was. And I believe a God, becauſe the ſun is a glorious body; or becauſe of the variety of plants, or the fabrick and rare contexture of a man's eye: I may as fully aſſent to the concluſion, as if my belief dwelt upon the demonſtrations made by the prince of philoſophers in the 8. of his phyſicks and 12. of his metaphyſicks. This I premiſe as an inlet into the conſideration concerning the faith of ignorant perſons. For if we conſider upon what eaſy terms moſt of us now are Chriſtians, we may poſſibly ſuſpect that either faith hath but little excellence in it, or we but little faith, or that we are miſtaken generally in its definition. For we are born of Chriſtian parents, made Chriſtians at ten days old, interrogated concerning the articles of our faith by way of anticipation, even then when we underſtand not the difference between the ſun and a tallow-candle; from thence we are taught to ſay our catechiſm, as we are taught to ſpeak, when we have no reaſon to judge, no diſcourſe to diſcern, no arguments to conteſt againſt a propoſition, in caſe we be catechiz'd into falſe doctrine; and all that is put to us we believe infinitely, and without choice, as children uſe not to chuſe their language. And as our children are made Chriſtians, juſt ſo are thouſand others made Mahometans, with the ſame neceſſity, the ſame facility. So that thus far there is little thanks due to us for believing the Chriſtian creed: it was indifferent to us at firſt, and at laſt our education had ſo poſſeſt us, and our intereſt, and our no-temptation to the contrary, that as we were diſpoſed into this condition by providence, ſo we remain in it without praiſe or excellency. For as our beginnings are inevitable, ſo our progreſs is imperfect and inſufficient; and what we begun by education, we retain only by cuſtom. And if we be inſtructed in ſome ſlighter arguments to maintain the ſect or faction of our country religion as it diſturbs the unity of Chriſtendom; yet if we examine and conſider the account upon what ſlight arguments we have taken up Chriſtianity it ſelf, (as that it is the religion of our country, or that our fathers before us were of the ſame faith, or becauſe the prieſt bids us, and he is a good man, or for ſomething elſe, but we know not what,) we muſt needs conclude it the good providence of God, not our choice, that made us Chriſtians.

2. BUT if the queſtion be, whether ſuch a faith be in itſelf good and acceptable, that relies upon inſufficient and unconvincing grounds; I ſuppoſe this caſe of Nathanael will determine us: and when we conſider that faith is an infuſed grace, if God pleaſes to behold his own glory in our weakneſs of underſtanding, it is but the ſame thing he does in the inſtances of his other graces. For as God enkindles charity upon variety

of means and inſtruments, by a thought, by a chance, by a text of ſcripture, by a natural tenderneſs, by the ſight of a dying or a tormented beaſt: ſo alſo he may produce faith by arguments of a different quality, and by iſſues of his providence he may engage us in ſuch conditions, in which as our underſtanding is not great enough to chuſe the beſt, ſo neither is it furniſhed with powers to reject any propoſition; and to believe well is an effect of a ſingular predeſtination, and is a gift in order to a grace, as that grace is in order to ſalvation. But the inſufficiency of an argument or diſability to prove our religion is ſo far from diſabling the goodneſs of an ignorant man's faith, that as it may be as ſtrong as the faith of the greateſt ſcholar, ſo it hath full as much excellency, not of nature, but in order to divine acceptance. For as he who believes only upon the ſtock of education made no election of his faith; ſo he who believes what is demonſtrably proved, is forced, by the demonſtration to his choice. Neither of them did chuſe, and both of them may equally love the article.

3. So that ſince a ſmall argument in a weak underſtanding does the ſame work that a ſtrong argument in a more ſober and learned, that is, it convinces and makes faith, and yet neither of them is matter of choice; if the thing believed be good, and matter of duty or neceſſity, the faith is not rejected by God upon the weakneſs of the firſt, nor accepted upon the ſtrength of the latter principles. When we are once in, it will not be enquired by what entrance we paſſed thither: whether God leads us or drives us in, whether we come by diſcourſe or by inſpiration, by the guide of an angel or the conduct of Moſes, whether we be born or made Chriſtians, it is indifferent, ſo we be there where we ſhould be; for this is but the gate of duty, and the entrance to felicity. For thus far faith is but an act of the underſtanding, which is a natural faculty, ſerving indeed as an inſtrument to godlineſs, but of it ſelf no part of it; and it is juſt like fire producing its act inevitably, and burning as long as it can, without power to interrupt or ſuſpend its action: and therefore we cannot be more pleaſing to God for underſtanding rightly, than the fire is for burning clearly. Which puts us evidently upon this conſideration, that Chriſtian faith, that glorious duty which gives to Chriſtians a great degree of approximation to God by Jeſus Chriſt, muſt have a great proportion of that ingredient which makes actions good or bad, that is, of choice and effect.

4. For the faith of a Chriſtian hath more in it of the will than of the underſtanding. Faith is that great mark of diſtinction which ſeparates and gives formality to the covenant of the goſpel, which is a *law of faith*. The faith of a Chriſtian is his religion, that is, it is that whole conformity to the inſtitution or diſcipline of Jeſus Chriſt which diſtinguiſhes him from the believers of falſe religions. And to be one of *the faithful* ſignifies the ſame with being a *diſciple*; and that contains obedience as well as believing. For to the ſame ſenſe are all thoſe appellatives in ſcripture, [*the faithful, brethren, believers, the ſaints, diſciples*;] all repreſenting the duty of a Chriſtian, A *believer* and a *ſaint*, or a holy perſon, is the ſame thing: *brethren* ſignifies charity, and *believers* faith in the intellectual ſenſe: *the faithful* and *diſciples* ſignify both; for beſides the conſent to the propoſition, the firſt of them is alſo uſed for perſeverance and ſanctity, and the greateſt of charity mixt with a confident faith up to the height of martyrdom. [o] *Be faithful unto the death*, (ſaid the holy ſpirit) *and I will give thee the crown of life.* And when the apoſtles by way of abbreviation expreſs all the body of Chriſtian religion, they call it [p] *faith working by love*; which alſo St. Paul in a parallel place calls a [q] *new creature*: it is [r] *a keeping the commandments of God.* That is the faith of a Chriſtian, into whoſe definition charity is ingredient, whoſe ſenſe is the ſame with keeping of God's commandments: ſo that if we define faith, we muſt firſt diſtinguiſh it. The faith of a natural perſon, or the faith of Devils, is a mere believing a certain number of propoſitions upon a conviction of the underſtanding: but the faith of a Chriſtian, the faith that juſtifies and ſaves him, is [s] *faith working by charity*, or *faith keeping the commandments of God.* They are diſtinct faiths in order to different ends, and therefore of different conſtitution; and the inſtrument of diſtinction is charity or obedience.

5. And this great truth is clear in the perpetual teſtimony of holy ſcripture. For Abraham is called the *father of the faithful*; and yet our bleſſed ſaviour told the Jews, that *if* they had been [t] *the ſons of Abraham*, they *would have done the work of Abraham*; and therefore good works are by the apoſtle called the [u] *footſteps of the faith of our father Abraham.* For faith in every of its ſtages, at its firſt beginning, at its increment, at its greateſt perfections, is a duty made up of the concurrence of the will and the underſtanding, when it pretends to the divine acceptance; faith and repentance

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[o] Rev. ii. 10. [p] Gal. v. 6. [q] Ch. vi. 15. [r] 1 Cor. vii. 19. [s] Gal. v. 6. [t] John viii. 39. [u] Rom. iv. 12.

begin the Chriſtian courſe. *Repent and believe the goſpel* was the ſumm of the apoſtles ſermons; and all the way after it is, *faith working by love.* Repentance puts the firſt ſpirit and life into faith, and charity preſerves it, and gives it nouriſhment and increaſe; it ſelf alſo growing by a mutual ſupply of ſpirits and nutriment from faith. Whoever does heartily believe a reſurrection and life eternal upon certain conditions, will certainly endeavour to acquire the promiſes by the purchaſe of obedience and obſervation of the conditions. For it is not in the nature or power of man directly to deſpiſe and reject ſo infinite a good. So that faith ſupplies charity with argument and maintenance, and charity ſupplies faith with life and motion: faith makes charity reaſonable, and charity makes faith living and effectual. And therefore the old Greeks called faith and charity [x] *a miraculous chariot* or yoke, they bear the burthen of the Lord with an equal confederation: theſe are like Hippocrates's twins, they live and die together. Indeed faith is the firſt-born of the twins; but they muſt come both at a birth, or elſe they die, being ſtrangled at the gates of the womb. But if charity, like Jacob, lays hold upon his elder brother's heel, it makes a timely and a proſperous birth, and gives certain title to the eternal promiſes. For let us give the right of primogeniture to faith, yet the bleſſing, yea and the inheritance too, will at laſt fall to charity. Not that faith is diſinherited, but that charity only enters into the poſſeſſion. The nature of faith paſſes into the excellency of charity before they can be rewarded: and that both may have their eſtimate, that which juſtifies and ſaves us keeps the name of faith, but doth not do the deed till it hath the nature of charity. [y] For to think well, or to have a good opinion, or an excellent or a fortunate underſtanding, entitles us not to the love of God, and the conſequent inheritance: but to chuſe the ways of the ſpirit, and to relinquiſh the paths of darkneſs, this is the way of the kingdom, and the purpoſe of the goſpel, and the proper work of faith.

6. AND if we conſider upon what ſtock faith it ſelf is inſtrumental and operative of ſalvation, we ſhall find it is in itſelf acceptable, becauſe it is a duty and commanded: and therefore it is an act of obedience, a work of the goſpel, a ſubmitting the underſtanding, a denying the affections, a laying aſide all intereſts, and a bringing our thoughts under the obedience of Chriſt. This the apoſtle calls [z] *the obedience of faith.* And it is of the ſame condition and conſtitution with other graces, all which equally relate to Chriſt, and are as firm inſtruments of union, and are waſhed by the blood of Chriſt, and are ſanctified by his death, and apprehend him in their capacity and degrees, ſome higher and ſome not ſo high. But hope and charity apprehend Chriſt in a meaſure and proportion greater than faith, when it diſtinguiſhes from them. So that if faith does the work of juſtification, as it is a mere relation to Chriſt, then ſo alſo does hope and charity: or if theſe are duties and good works, ſo alſo is faith. And they all being alike commanded in order to the ſame end, and encouraged by the ſame reward, are alſo accepted upon the ſame ſtock, which is, that they are acts of obedience and relation too: they obey Chriſt, and lay hold upon Chriſt's merits, and are but ſeveral inſtances of the great duty of a Chriſtian, but the actions of ſeveral faculties of the *new creature.* But becauſe faith is the beginning grace, and hath influence and cauſality in the production of the other, therefore all the other, as they are united in duty, are alſo united in their title and appellative: they are all called by the name of faith, becauſe they are parts of faith, as faith is taken in the larger ſenſe: and when it is taken in the ſtricteſt and diſtinguiſhing ſenſe, they are effects and proper products by way of natural emanation.

7. THAT a good life is the genuine and true-born iſſue of faith, no man queſtions that knows himſelf the diſciple of the holy Jeſus: but that obedience is the ſame thing with [a] faith, and that all Chriſtian graces are parts of its bulk and conſtitution, is alſo the doctrine of the Holy Ghoſt, and the grammar of ſcripture, making faith and obedience to be terms coincident and expreſſive of each other. For faith is not a ſingle ſtar, but a conſtellation, a chain of graces called by St. Paul [b] *the power of God unto ſalvation to every believer*; that is, faith is all that great inſtrument by which God intends to bring us to heaven: and he gives this reaſon, *In the goſpel the righteouſneſs of God is revealed from faith to faith,* for *it is written, the juſt ſhall live by faith.* Which diſcourſe makes faith to be a courſe of ſanctity and holy habits, a continuation

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[x] Θαυμαςὴν ξυνωρίδα.

[y] Τὸ ἀγαθοὺς μὲν εἶναι ἡμᾶς ἢ κακοὺς, ὁ Θεὸς οὐκ ἐν τῇ γνώσει ἔθηκε γινωσκομένων, ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ αἱρέσει τῶν αἱρουμένων. Juſt. M. Reſp. ad orthod. οὐδὲν κέρδος ὑγιοῦς πίςεως, τῆς πολιτείας διεφθαρμένης. Chry. l. 4. de Sacerd.

[z] Rom. xvi. 26.

[a] Fides (authore Cicerone) eſt firma opinio, & eſt fida mandatorum executio. Dicta eſt autem fides (ut ait idem Cicero de officiis) à fio, quòd id fieri debeat quod dictum & promiſſum eſt.

[b] Rom i. 16, 17.

of a chriſtian's duty, ſuch a duty as not only gives the firſt breach, but by which a man lives the life of grace. *The juſt ſhall live by faith*; that is, ſuch a faith as grows from ſtep to ſtep, till the whole righteouſneſs of God be fulfilled in it. [c] *From faith to faith,* (ſaith the apoſtle:) which St. Auſtin expounds, from faith believing, to faith obeying; from imperfect faith, to faith made perfect by the animation of charity; *that he who is juſtified may be juſtified ſtill.* For as there are ſeveral degrees and parts of juſtification, ſo there are ſeveral degrees of faith anſwerable to it; that in all ſenſes it may be true, that *by faith we are juſtified,* and *by faith we live,* and *by faith we are ſaved.* For if we proceed *from faith to faith,* from believing to obeying, from faith in the underſtanding to faith in the will, from faith barely aſſenting to the revelations of God to faith obeying the commandments of God, from the body of faith to the ſoul of faith, that is, to faith formed and made alive by charity; then we ſhall proceed from juſtification to juſtification, that is, from remiſſion of ſins to become the ſons of God, and at laſt to an actual poſſeſſion of thoſe glories to which we were here conſigned by the fruits of the Holy Ghoſt.

8. AND in this ſenſe the holy Jeſus is called by the apoſtle [d] *the author and finiſher of our faith.* He is the principle, and he is the promoter; he begins our faith in revelations, and perfects it in commandments; he leads us by the aſſent of our underſtanding, and finiſhes the work of his grace by a holy life: which St. Paul there expreſſes by its ſeveral conſtituent parts; as, [e] *laying aſide every weight and the ſin that ſo eaſily beſets us,* and [f] *running with patience the race that is ſet before us, reſiſting unto blood, ſtriving againſt ſin:* for in theſe things Jeſus is therefore made our example, becauſe he is *the author and finiſher of our faith;* without theſe faith is imperfect. But the thing is ſomething plainer yet, for [g] St. James ſaith, that faith lives not but by charity; and the life or eſſence of a thing is certainly the better part of its conſtitution, as the ſoul is to a man. And if we mark the manner of his probation, it will come home to the main point. For he proves that *Abraham's faith was* therefore *imputed to him for righteouſneſs,* becauſe [h] *he was juſtified by works;* [i] *was not Abraham our father juſtified by works, when he offered up his ſon?* [k] *And the ſcripture was fulfilled, ſaying, Abraham believed God, and it was imputed to him for righteouſneſs.* For *faith wrought with his works, and made his faith perfect.* It was a dead and imperfect faith, unleſs obedience gave it being, and all its integral or eſſential parts. So that faith and charity, in the ſenſe of a Chriſtian, are but one duty, as the underſtanding and the will are but one reaſonable ſoul: only they produce ſeveral actions in order to one another, which are but *divers operations, and the ſame ſpirit.*

9. THUS St. Paul, deſcribing the [l] *faith* of the Theſſalonians, calls it that whereby they *turned from idols,* and whereby they *ſerved the living God:* and the [m] *faith* of the patriarchs *believed the world's creation, received the promiſes, did miracles, wrought righteouſneſs,* and did and ſuffered ſo many things as make up the integrity of a holy life. And therefore [n] *diſobedience* and *unrighteouſneſs* is called *want of faith;* and [o] *hereſy,* which is oppoſed to faith, *is a work of the fleſh,* becauſe faith it ſelf is a work of righteouſneſs. And that I may enumerate no more particulars, the thing is ſo known, that the word [p] ἀπείθεια, which in propriety of language ſignifies *miſperſuaſion* or *infidelity,* is rendered *diſobedience;* and the *not providing for our families* is an act of *infidelity;* by the ſame reaſon and analogy that obedience or charity and a holy life are the duties of a Chriſtian, of a juſtifying faith. And although in the natural or philoſophical ſenſe faith and charity are diſtinct habits; yet in the ſenſe of a Chriſtian and the ſignification of duty they are the ſame: for we cannot believe aright, as believing is in the commandment, unleſs we live aright; for our faith is put upon the account juſt as it is made precious by charity; according to that rare ſaying of St. Bartholomew, recorded by the ſuppoſed St. Denys, [q] *charity is the greateſt and the leaſt theology.* All our faith, that is, all our religion, is compleated in the duties of univerſal charity: as our charity or our manner of living is, ſo is our faith. If our life be unholy, it may be the faith of Devils, but not the faith of Chriſtians. For this is the difference.

10. THE faith of the Devils hath more of the underſtanding in it, the faith of Chriſtians more of the will: the Devils in their faith have better diſcourſe, the Chriſtians better affections; they in their faith have better arguments, we more charity.

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[c] Ex fide annunciantium evangelium in fidem obedientium evangelio. S. Aug.

[d] Heb. xii. 2. [e] Ibid. verſe 1. [f] Verſ. 4.

[g] Jam. ii. 20, 26. [h] Verſe 21. [i] Verſe 23.

[k] Verſe 22. [l] 1 Theſſ. i, 8, 9. [m] Heb. xi. per totum.

[n] Col. iii. 6. 2 Theſſ. iii. 2. [o] Gal. v. 20.

[p] Eph. ii. 2. & v. 6. 1 Tim. v. 8.

[q] Ἡ ἀγάπη θεολογία πολλή καὶ ἐλαχίστη, f. 1. de Myſt. Theol.

So that charity or a good life is ſo neceſſary an ingredient in the definition of a Chriſtian's faith, that we have nothing elſe to diſtinguiſh it from the faith of Devils: and we need no trial of our faith but the examination of our lives. If you [r] *keep the commandments of God*, then have you the *faith of Jeſus* (they are immediate in St. John's expreſſion:) but if you be [s] *importune and ungodly*, you are in St. Paul's liſt amongſt them that *have no faith*. Every vice that rules amongſt us, and ſullies the fair beauty of our ſouls, is a conviction of infidelity.

11. FOR it was the faith of Moſes that made him deſpiſe *the riches of Egypt*; the faith of *Joſhua*, that made him valiant; the faith of *Joſeph*, that made him chaſte; Abraham's faith made him obedient; St. Mary Magdalen's faith made her penitent; and the faith of St. Paul made him travel ſo far, and ſuffer ſo much, till he became a prodigy both of zeal and patience. Faith is a catholicon, and cures all the diſtemperatures of the ſoul: it [t] *overcomes the world*, (ſaith St. John;) [u] *it works righteouſneſs*, (ſaith St. Paul;) it [x] *purifies the heart*, (ſaith St. Peter;) it *works miracles*, (ſaith our Bleſſed Saviour:) miracles in grace always, as it did miracles in nature at its firſt publication. And whatſoever is good, if it be a grace, it is an act of faith; if it be a reward, it is the fruit of faith. So that as all the actions of men are but the productions of the ſoul, ſo are all the actions of the new man the effects of faith. For faith is the life of Chriſtianity, and a good life is the life of faith.

12. UPON the grounds of this diſcourſe we may underſtand the ſenſe of that queſtion of our Bleſſed Saviour, [y] *when the Son of man comes, ſhall he find faith on earth?* Truly juſt ſo much as he finds charity and holy living, and no more. For then only we can be confident that *faith is not failed from among the children of men*, when we feel the heats of the primitive charity return, and the calentures of the firſt old devotion are renewed; when it ſhall be accounted honourable to be a ſervant of Chriſt, and a ſhame to commit a ſin: then, and then only, our churches ſhall be aſſemblies of the faithful, and the kingdoms of the world Chriſtian countries. But ſo long as it is notorious that we have made Chriſtian religion another thing than what the Holy Jeſus deſigned it to be; when it does not make us live good lives, but it ſelf is made a pretence to all manner of impiety, a ſtratagem to ſerve ends, the ends of covetouſneſs, of ambition and revenge; when the Chriſtian charity ends in killing one another for conſcience-ſake, ſo that faith is made to cut the throat of charity, and our faith kills more than our charity preſerves; when the humility of a Chriſtian hath indeed a name amongſt us, but it is like a mute perſon, talked of only, while ambition and rebellion, pride and ſcorn, ſelf-ſeeking and proud undertakings tranſact moſt of the great affairs of Chriſtendom; when the cuſtody of our ſenſes is to no other purpoſes but that no opportunity of pleaſing them paſs away; when our oaths are like the fringes of our diſcourſes, going round about them, as if they were ornaments and trimmings; when our blaſphemies, prophanation, ſacrilege and irreligion are become ſcandalous to the very Turks and Jews; while our [z] luſts are always habitual, ſometimes unnatural; will any wiſe man think, that we believe thoſe doctrines of humility and obedience, of chaſtity and charity, of temperance and juſtice, which the Saviour of the world made ſacred by his ſermon and example, or indeed any thing he either ſaid or did, promiſed or threatned? For is it poſſible, a man with his wits about him, and believing that he ſhould certainly be damned, (that is, be eternally tormented in body and ſoul with torments greater than can be in this world,) if he be a ſwearer, or liar, or drunkard, or cheats his neighbour, that this man ſhould dare to do theſe things, to which the temptations are ſo ſmall, in which the delight is inconſiderable, and the ſatisfaction ſo none at all.

13. WE ſee by the experience of the whole world, that the belief of an honeſt man in a matter of a temporal advantage makes us do actions of ſuch danger and difficulty, that half ſo much induſtry and ſufferance would aſcertain us into a poſſeſſion of all the promiſes evangelical. Now let any man be asked, whether he had rather be rich or be ſaved, he will tell you, without all doubt, Heaven is the better option by infinite degrees: for it cannot be that riches, or revenge, or luſt ſhould be directly preferred, that is, be thought more eligible than the glories of immortality. That therefore men neglect ſo great ſalvation, and ſo greedily run after the ſatisfaction of their baſer appetites, can be attributed to nothing but want of faith: they do not heartily believe that Heaven is worth ſo much; there is upon them a ſtupidity of ſpirit, and their

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[r] Apoc. xiv. 12.
[u] Heb. xi. 33.
[s] 2 Theſſ. iii. 2.
[x] Acts xv. 9.
[t] 1 John v. 4.
[y] Luk. xviii. 8.
[z] Τὸ ἀπιστεῖν ταῖς ἀπειλαῖς ἐκ τοῦ πρὸς τὴν ἐκπλήρωσιν ἐκλελύσθαι τῶν ἐντολῶν γίνεται. St. Chryſoſt. ad Demetr.

faith is dull, and its actions ſuſpended moſt commonly, and often interrupted, and it never enters into the will; ſo that the propoſitions are conſidered nakedly and preciſely in themſelves, but not as referring to us or our intereſts: there is nothing of faith in it, but ſo much as is the firſt and direct act of underſtanding; there is no conſideration nor reflection upon the act, or upon the perſon, or upon the ſubject. So that even as it is ſeated in the underſtanding, our faith is commonly lame, mutilous and imperfect: and therefore much more is it culpable, becauſe it is deſtitute of all co-operation of the rational appetite.

14. But let us conſider the power and efficacy of worldly belief. If a man believes that there is gold to be had in Peru for fetching, or pearls or rich jewels in India for the exchange of trifles, he inſtantly, if he be in capacity, leaves the wife of his boſom, and the pretty delights of children, and his own ſecurity, and ventures into the dangers of waters and unknown ſeas, and freezings and calentures, thirſt and hunger, pirates and ſhipwracks, and hath within him a principle ſtrong enough to anſwer all objections, becauſe he believes that riches are deſirable, and by ſuch means likely to be had. Our Bleſſed Saviour comparing the goſpel to *a merchant-man that found a pearl of great price*, and *ſold all to buy it*, hath brought this inſtance home to the preſent diſcourſe. For if we did as verily believe that in Heaven thoſe great felicities which tranſcend all our apprehenſions are certainly to be obtained by leaving our vices and lower deſires, what can hinder us but we ſhould at leaſt do as much for obtaining thoſe great felicities as for the leſſer, if the belief were equal? For if any man thinks he may have them without holineſs and juſtice and charity, then he wants faith; for he believes not the ſaying of St. Paul, [a] *follow peace with all men, and holineſs, without which no man ſhall ever ſee God.* If a man believes learning to be the only or chiefeſt ornament and beauty of ſouls, that which will ennoble him to a fair imployment in his own time, and an honourable memory to ſucceeding ages; this if he believes heartily, it hath power to make him endure catarrhs, gouts, hypochondriacal paſſions, to read till his eyes almoſt fix in their orbs, to deſpiſe the pleaſures of idleneſs or tedious ſports, and to undervalue whatſoever does not co-operate to the end of his faith, the deſire of learning. Why is the Italian ſo abſtemious in his drinkings, or the Helvetian ſo valiant in his fight, or ſo true to the prince that imploys him, but that they believe it to be noble ſo to be? If they believed the ſame, and had the ſame honourable thoughts of other vertues, they alſo would be as national as theſe. For faith will do its proper work. And when the underſtanding is peremptorily and fully determined upon the perſuaſion of a propoſition, if the will ſhould then diſſent and chuſe the contrary, it were unnatural and monſtrous, and poſſibly no man ever does ſo: for that men do things without reaſon and againſt their conſcience, is, becauſe they have put out their light, and diſcourſe their wills into the election of a ſenſible good, and want faith to believe truely all circumſtances which are neceſſary by way of prediſpoſition for choice of the intellectual.

15. But when men's faith is confident, their reſolution and actions are in proportion. For thus the faith of Mahometans makes them to abſtain from wine for ever: and therefore, if we had the Chriſtian faith, we ſhould much rather abſtain from drunkenneſs for ever; it being an expreſs rule apoſtolical, [b] *be not drunk with wine, wherein is exceſs.* The faith of the Circumcellians made them to run greedily to violent and horrid deaths as willingly as to a crown: for they thought it was the king's highway to martyrdom. And there was never any man zealous for his religion, and of an imperious bold faith, but he was alſo willing to die for it; and therefore alſo by as much reaſon to live in it, and to be a ſtrict obſerver of its preſcriptions. And the ſtories of the ſtrict ſanctity, and prodigious ſufferings, and ſevere diſciplines, and expenſive religion, and compliant and laborious charity, of the primitive Chriſtians, is abundant argument to convince us, that the faith of Chriſtians is infinitely more fruitful and productive of its univocal and proper iſſues than the faith of hereticks, or the falſe religions of misbelievers, or the perſuaſions of ſecular perſons, or the ſpirit of Antichriſt. And therefore when we ſee men ſerving their prince with ſuch difficult and ambitious ſervices, becauſe they believe him able to reward them, though of his will they are not ſo certain, and yet ſo ſupinely negligent and incurious of their ſervices to God, of whoſe power and will to reward us infinitely there is certainty abſolute and irreſpective, it is certain probation that we believe it not: for if we believe there is ſuch a thing as Heaven, and that every ſingle man's portion of Heaven is far better than all the wealth in the world, it is morally impoſſible we ſhould prefer ſo little before ſo great profit.

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[a] Heb. xii. 14.

[b] Epheſ. v. 18.

16. I inſtance but once more. The faith of Abraham was inſtanced in the matter of confidence or truſt in the divine promiſes; and he being the *father of the faithful*, we muſt imitate his faith by a clear dereliction of our ſelves and our own intereſts, and an intire confident relying upon the divine goodneſs in all caſes of our needs or danger. Now this alſo is a trial of the verity of our faith, the excellency of our condition, and what title we have to the glorious names of *Chriſtians*, and *faithful*, and *believers*: If our fathers when we were in pupillage and minority, or a true and an able friend when we were in need, had made promiſes to ſupply our neceſſities, our confidence was ſo great that our care determined. It were alſo well that we were as confident of God, and as ſecure of the event, when we had diſpoſed our ſelves to reception of the bleſſing, as we were of our friend or parents. We all profeſs that God is almighty, that all his promiſes are certain; and yet when it comes to a pinch, we find that man to be more confident that hath ten thouſand pounds in his purſe, than he that reads [c] God's promiſes over ten thouſand times. "Men of a common ſpirit, (ſaith St. Chryſoſtome) of an ordinary ſanctity, will not ſteal, or kill, or lye, or commit adultery; "but it requires a rare faith, and a ſublimity of pious affections, to believe that God "will work a deliverance which to me ſeems impoſſible." And indeed St. Chryſoſtome hit upon the right. He had need be a good man, and love God well, that puts his truſt in him. For thoſe we [d] love we are moſt apt to truſt. And although truſt and confidence is ſometimes founded upon experience, yet it is alſo begotten and increaſed by love, as often as by reaſon and diſcourſe. And to this purpoſe it was excellently ſaid by St. Baſil, "That the knowledge which one man learneth of another is made perfect "by continual uſe and exerciſe; but that which through the grace of God is ingrafted "in the mind of man, is made abſolute by juſtice, gentleneſs, and charity." So that if you are willing even in death not only to confeſs the articles, but in affliction and death to truſt the promiſes; if in the loweſt nakedneſs of poverty you can cheriſh your ſelves with the expectation of God's promiſes and diſpenſation, being as confident of food and raiment and deliverance or ſupport when all is in God's hand, as you are when it is in your own; if you can be chearful in a ſtorm, ſmile when the world frowns, be content in the midſt of ſpiritual deſertions and anguiſh of ſpirit, expecting all ſhould work together for the beſt, according to the promiſe; if you can ſtrengthen your ſelves in God when you are weakeſt, believe when you ſee no hope, and entertain no jealouſies or ſuſpicions of God though you ſee nothing to make you confident: then, and then only you have faith, which in conjunction with its other parts is able to ſave your ſouls. For in this preciſe duty of truſting God there are the rays of hope, and great proportions of charity and reſignation.

17. THE ſum is that pious and moſt Chriſtian ſentence of the author of the Ordinary Gloſs: "[e] To believe in God through Jeſus Chriſt is, by believing to love him, to "adhere to him, to be united to him by charity and obedience, and to be incorporated "into Chriſt's myſtical body in the communion of ſaints." I conclude this with a collation of certain excellent words of St. Paul highly to the preſent purpoſe: [f] *examine your ſelves, brethren, whether ye be in the faith; prove your own ſelves.* Well but how? *Know you not your own ſelves how that Jeſus Chriſt is in you, except ye be reprobates?* There's the touchſtone of faith. If Jeſus Chriſt dwells in us, then we are true believers; if he does not, we are reprobates, we have no faith. But how ſhall we know whether Chriſt be in us or not? St. Paul tells us that too: [g] *If Chriſt be in you, the body is dead, by reaſon of ſin; but the ſpirit is life, becauſe of righteouſneſs.* That's the Chriſtian's mark, and the characteriſtick of a true believer; *a death unto ſin*, and *a living unto righteouſneſs*; *a mortified body*, and *a quickned ſpirit*. This is plain enough, and by this we ſee what we muſt truſt to. A man of a wicked life does in vain hope to be ſaved by his faith, for indeed his faith is but equivocal and dead, which as to his purpoſe is juſt none at all; and therefore let him no more deceive himſelf. For (that I may ſtill uſe the words of St. Paul) [h] *this is a faithful ſaying, and theſe things I will that thou affirm conſtantly, that they which have believed in God might be careful to maintain good works.* For ſuch, and ſuch only, in the great ſcrutiny for faith in the day of doom, ſhall have their portion in the boſom of *faithful Abraham*.

The

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[c] Clarè cognoſceres non adeò facile Deo ſoli, re aliâ non aſſumpta, credere, propter eam quæ in nobis eſt cum mortali compage cognationem. Ab his autem purgari omnibus —— uni autem Deo confidere, magni & cœleſtis animi eſt opus, & ejus qui nullis ampliùs capiatur earum quas videmus rerum illecebris. Phil. Judæus, libr. Quis rerum Divinarum hæres.

[d] Ἔνεςι γάρ πως τῦτο τῇ τυραννίδι νόσημα, τοῖς φίλοισι μὴ πεποιθέναι. Æſchyl. Prometh.

[e] Credere in Deum eſt, credendo amare, credendo diligere, credendo in eum ire, & membris ejus incorporari. Gloſſ. Ord. in Rom. iv.

[f] 2 Cor. xiii. 5. [g] Rom. viii. 19. [h] Titus iii.

The PRAYER.

I.

O Eternal God, fountain of all truth and holineſs, in whom to believe is life eternal, let thy grace deſcend with a mighty power into my ſoul, beating down every ſtrong hold and vainer imagination, and bringing every proud thought and my confident and ignorant underſtanding into the obedience of Jeſus. Take from me all diſobedience and refractorineſs of ſpirit, all ambition, and private and baſer intereſts: remove from me all prejudice and weakneſs of perſuaſion; that I may wholly reſign my underſtanding to the perſuaſions of Chriſtianity, acknowledging thee to be the principle of truth, and thy word the meaſure of knowledge, and thy laws the rule of my life, and thy promiſes the ſatisfaction of my hopes, and an union with thee to be the conſummation of charity in the fruition of glory. Amen.

II.

HOLY Jeſus, make me to acknowledge thee to be my lord and maſter, and my ſelf a ſervant and diſciple of thy holy diſcipline and inſtitution: let me love to ſit at thy feet, and ſuck in with my ears and heart the ſweetneſs of thy holy ſermons. Let my ſoul be ſhod with the preparation of the goſpel of peace, with a peaceable and docile diſpoſition. Give me great boldneſs in the publick confeſſion of thy name and the truth of thy goſpel, in deſpite of all hoſtilities and temptations. And grant I may always remember that thy name is called upon me, and I may ſo behave my ſelf, that I neither give ſcandal to others, nor cauſe diſreputation to the honour of religion; but that thou mayeſt be glorified in me, and I by thy mercies after a ſtrict obſervance of all thy holy laws of Chriſtianity. Amen.

III.

O Holy and ever-bleſſed ſpirit, let thy gracious influences be the perpetual guide of my rational faculties. Inſpire me with wiſdom and knowledge, ſpiritual underſtanding, and a holy faith; and ſanctify my faith, that it may riſe up to the confidence of hope, and the adherences of charity, and be fruitful in a holy converſation. Mortify in me all peeviſhneſs and pride of ſpirit, all heretical diſpoſitions, and whatſoever is contrary to ſound doctrine. That when the eternal Son of God, the author and finiſher of our faith, ſhall come to make ſcrutiny and an inqueſt for faith, I may receive the promiſes laid up for them that believe in the Lord Jeſus, and wait for his coming in holineſs and purity: to whom with the Father and Thee, O bleſſed ſpirit, be all honour and eternal adoration payed with all ſanctity and joy and euchariſt now and for ever. Amen.

SECT.

BRITISH MUSEUM

And they came to Jerusalem: and Jeſus *went into the Temple and began to cast out them that sold and bought in the Temple and overthrew the Tables of the Money-changers, and the Seats of them that sold Doves.* S^t. Mark, Chap. 11^th. Ver. 15^th.

SECT. XI.

Of Chriſt's going to Jeruſalem to the paſſeover, the firſt time after his manifeſtation, and what followed till the expiration of the office of John the Baptiſt.

1. IMMEDIATELY after this miracle Jeſus abode a few days in Capernaum, but becauſe of the approach of the great feaſt of paſſeover he aſcended to Jeruſalem. And the firſt publick act of record that he did was, an act of holy zeal and religion in behalf of the honour of the temple. For divers merchants and exchangers of money made the temple to be the market and the bank, and brought beaſts thither to be ſold for ſacrifice againſt the great paſchal ſolemnity. At the ſight of which, Jeſus, being moved with zeal and indignation, *made a whip of cords, and drave the beaſts out of the temple, overthrew the accounting tables, and commanded them that ſold the doves to take them from thence.* For his anger was holy, and he would mingle no injury with it. And therefore the doves, which if let looſe would be detrimental to the owners, he cauſed to be fairly removed: and publiſhed the religion of holy places, eſtabliſhing their ſacredneſs for ever by his firſt goſpel-ſermon that he made at Jeruſalem. *Take theſe things hence: make not my father's houſe a houſe of merchandiſe;* for *it ſhall be called a houſe of prayer to all nations.* And being required to give a *ſign* of his vocation, (for this, being an action like the religion of the zealots among the Jews, if it was not atteſted by ſomething extraordinary, might be abuſed into an exceſs of liberty,) he only foretold the reſurrection of his body, after three days death, but he expreſſed it in the metaphor of the temple: *Deſtroy this temple, and I will build it again in three days. He ſpake of the temple of his body,* and they underſtood him of the temple of Jeruſalem: and it was never rightly conſtrued, till it was accompliſhed.

2. AT this publick convention of the Jewiſh nation Jeſus did many miracles, publiſhed himſelf to be the Meſſias, and perſuaded many diſciples, amongſt whom was Nicodemus, a doctor of the law, and *a ruler of the* nation. He *came by night to Jeſus,* and affirmed himſelf to be convinced by the miracles which he had ſeen; for *no man could do thoſe miracles, except God be with him.* When Jeſus perceived his underſtanding to be ſo far diſpoſed, he began to inſtruct him in the great ſecret and myſteriouſneſs of *regeneration,* telling him, "That every production is of the ſame nature and condition with its parent, *from fleſh comes fleſh* and corruption, *from the ſpirit comes ſpirit* and life and immortality; and nothing from a principle of nature could arrive to a ſupernatural end; and therefore the only door to enter into the kingdom of God was *water* by the manuduction of *the ſpirit;* and by this regeneration we are put into a new capacity, of living a ſpiritual life in order to a ſpiritual and ſupernatural end."

3. THIS was ſtrange philoſophy to Nicodemus; but Jeſus bad him "*not to wonder:* for this is not a work of humanity, but a fruit of God's ſpirit, and an iſſue of predeſtination. For *the ſpirit bloweth where it liſteth,* and is as the wind, certain and notorious in the effects, but ſecret in the principle and in the manner of production. And therefore this doctrine was not to be eſtimated by any proportions to natural principles or experiments of ſenſe, but to the ſecrets of a new metaphyſick, and abſtracted, ſeparate ſpeculations. Then Chriſt proceeds in his ſermon, telling him there are yet higher things for him to apprehend and believe; for this in reſpect of ſome other myſteriouſneſs of his goſpel, was but as *earth* in compariſon of *heaven.* Then he tells of his own deſcent from heaven, foretells his death and aſcenſion, and the bleſſing of redemption which he came to work for mankind: he preaches of the love of the Father, the miſſion of the Son, the rewards of faith, and the glories of eternity: he upbraids the unbelieving and impenitent, and declares the differences of a holy and corrupt conſcience, the ſhame and fears of the one, the confidence and ſerenity of the other." And this is the ſum of his ſermon to Nicodemus, which was the fulleſt of myſtery and ſpeculation and abſtracted ſenſes of any that he ever made, except that which he made immediately before his paſſion; all his other ſermons being more practical.

4. **From** Jeruſalem Jeſus goeth into the country of Judea, attended by divers diſciples, whoſe underſtandings were brought into ſubjection and obedience to Chriſt upon confidence of the divinity of his miracles. There his diſciples did receive all comers, and baptized them, (as John at the ſame time did) and by that ceremony admitted them to the diſcipline and inſtitution; according to the cuſtom of the doctors and great prophets among the Jews, whoſe baptizing their ſcholars was the ceremony of their admiſſion. As ſoon as John heard it, he acquitted himſelf in publick by renewing his former teſtimony concerning Jeſus, affirming him "to be the Meſſias; and now the "time was come that Chriſt *muſt encreaſe*, and the Baptiſt *ſuffer diminution:* for "*Chriſt came from above, was above all*; and the ſumm of his doctrine was, *that* "*which he had heard and ſeen* from the Father; *whom God ſent* to that purpoſe; to "whom God *had ſet his ſeal, that he was true*; who *ſpake the words of God*; "whom the *Father loved, to whom he gave the ſpirit without meaſure, and into* "*whoſe hands God had delivered all things:* this was he, whoſe *teſtimony the world* "*received not.*" And that they might know not only what perſon they ſlighted, but how great ſalvation alſo they neglected, he ſums up all his ſermons and finiſhes his miſſion with this ſaying, [a] *He that believeth on the Son hath everlaſting life; and he that believeth not on the Son ſhall not ſee life, but the wrath of God abideth on him.*

5. **For** now that the Baptiſt had fulfilled his office of bearing witneſs unto Jeſus, God was pleaſed to give him his writ of eaſe, and bring him to his reward upon this occaſion. John, who had ſo learned to deſpiſe the world and all its exterior vanities and impertinent relations, did his duty juſtly, and ſo without reſpect of perſons, that as he reproved the people for their prevarications, ſo he ſpared not Herod for his, but abſtaining from all expreſſes of the ſpirit of ſcorn and aſperity, mingling no diſcontents, intereſts nor mutinous intimations with his ſermons, he told Herod *it was not lawful for him to have his* [b] *brother's wife.* For which ſermon he felt the furies and malice of a woman's ſpleen, was caſt into priſon, and about a year after was ſacrificed to the ſcorn and pride of a luſtful woman and her immodeſt daughter, being at the end of the ſecond year of Chriſt's preaching beheaded by Herod's command; who would not retract his promiſe, becauſe of his honour, and a raſh vow he made in the gaiety of his luſt and complacencies of his riotous dancings. His head was brought up in a diſh, and made a feſtival-preſent to the young girl, (who gave it to her mother). A cruelty that was not known among the barbariſms of the worſt of people, to mingle banquettings with blood and ſights of death. An inſolency and inhumanity for which the Roman orators accuſed Q. Flaminius of treaſon, becauſe to ſatisfy the wanton cruelty of Placentia, [c] he cauſed a condemned ſlave to be killed at ſupper: and which had no precedent but in the furies of Marius, who cauſed the head of the conſul Antonius to be brought up to him in his feaſts, which he handled with much pleaſure and inſolency.

6. **But** God's judgments, which ſleep not [d] long, found out Herod, and marked him for a curſe. For the wife of Herod, who was the daughter of Aretas a king of Arabia Petræa, being repudiated by paction with Herodias, provoked her father to commence a war with Herod; who prevailed againſt Herod in a great battel, defeating his whole army, and forcing him to an inglorious flight. Which the Jews generally expounded to be a judgment on him for the unworthy and barbarous execution and murder of John the Baptiſt: God in his wiſdom and ſeverity making one ſin to be the puniſhment of another, and neither of them both to paſs without the ſignature of a curſe. And Nicephorus reports, that the dancing daughter of Herodias paſſing over a frozen lake, the ice brake, and ſhe fell up to the neck in water, and her head was parted from her body, by the violence of the fragments ſhaked by the water and its own fall, and ſo periſhed; God having fitted a judgment to the analogy and repreſentment of her ſin. Herodias herſelf, with her adulterous paramour Herod were baniſhed to [e] Lyons in France by decree of the Roman ſenate, where they lived ingloriouſly and died miſerably, ſo paying dearly for her triumphal ſcorn ſuperadded to her crime of murther: for when ſhe ſaw the head of the Baptiſt, which her daughter Salome had preſented to her in a charger, ſhe thruſt the tongue through with a needle, as Fulvia had formerly done to Cicero. But herſelf paid the charges of her triumph.

Ad

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[a] John iii. 36.

[b] Montaniſtæ, & cum his Tertul. adv. Marcion. l. iv. c. 34. aiunt Philippum defunctum fuiſſe, & inde probare ſatagunt ſecundas nuptias illicitas eſſe. Sed hoc tam aperta fraude, ut agens adv. Catholicos Tertullianus abſtineat abs tam iniqua recitatione. Marcioni autem evangelium neganti hoc obtrudere in facili erat.

[c] Senec. cont. l. v. Livius, l. xxxix. Plut. in Marcio.

[d] Ὅστις δὲ θνητῶν μέμφεται τὰ Θεῖ', ὅτι
Οὐκ εὐθὺς, ἀλλὰ τῷ χρόνῳ μετέρχεται
Τοὺς μὴ δικαίως· πρόφασιν ἐξακυσατω.
Εἰ γὰρ παραυτίκ' ἦσαν αἱ τιμωρίαι,
Πολλοὶ διὰ φόβον, κ' οὐ δι' εὐσεβῆ τρόπον,
Θεὸν σέβοιντ' ἄν· νῦν δὲ τῆς τιμωρίας
Ἄπωθεν οὔσης, τῇ φύσει χρῶνται βροτοί.
Ὅταν δὲ φωραθῶσιν, ὀφθέντες κακοὶ
Τίνουσι ποινὰς ὑστέροισιν ἐν χρόνοις. Theodect.

[e] Joſ. Ant. lib. xviii. c. vii. lib. i. hiſt. c. 20.

Ad SECT. XI.

Conſiderations upon the firſt journey of the holy Jeſus to Jeruſalem, when he whipt the merchants out of the temple.

1. WHEN the feaſt came, and Jeſus was aſcended up to Jeruſalem, the firſt place we find him in is the temple, where not only was the area and court of religion, but, by occaſion of publick conventions, the moſt opportune ſcene for tranſaction of his commiſſion and his father's buſineſs. And thoſe Chriſtians who have been religious and affectionate even in the circumſtances of piety, have taken this for a precedent, and accounted it a good expreſs of the regularity of their devotion and order of piety, at their firſt arrival to a city to pay their firſt viſits to God, the next to his ſervant the preſident of religious rites: firſt they went into the church and worſhipped; then to the angel of the church, to the biſhop, and begged his bleſſing. And having thus commenced with the auſpiciouſneſs of religion, they had better hopes their juſt affairs would ſucceed proſperouſly, which after the rites of Chriſtian countries had thus been begun with devotion and religious order.

2. WHEN the holy Jeſus entered the temple, and eſpied a mart kept in the holy ſept, a fair upon holy ground, he, who ſuffered no tranſportations of anger in matters and accidents temporal, was born high with an ecſtaſie of zeal, and, according to the cuſtom of the zealots of the nation, took upon him the office of a private infliction of puniſhment in the cauſe of God, which ought to be dearer to every ſingle perſon than their own intereſt and reputation. What the exterminating angel did to Heliodorus, who came into the temple upon deſign of ſacrilege, that the meekeſt Jeſus did to them who came with acts of profanation; he whipt them forth. And as uſually good laws ſpring from ill manners, and excellent ſermons are occaſioned by men's iniquities; now alſo our great maſter upon this accident aſſerted the ſacredneſs of holy places in the words of a prophet, which now he made a leſſon evangelical, *My houſe ſhall be called a houſe of prayer to all nations.*

3. THE beaſts and birds there ſold were brought for ſacrifice, and the banks of money were for the advantage of the people that came from far, that their returns might be ſafe and eaſy, when they came to Jeruſalem upon the employments of religion. But they were not yet fit for the temple. They who brought them thither purpoſed their own gain, and meant to paſs them through an unholy uſage, before they could be made *anathemata*, vows to God: and when religion is but the purpoſe at the ſecond hand, it cannot hallow a lay-deſign, and make it fit to become a religious miniſtry, much leſs ſanctify an unlawful action. When Rachel ſtole her father's gods, though poſſibly ſhe might do it in zeal againſt her father's ſuperſtition, yet it was occaſion of a ſad accident to herſelf. For the Jews ſay that Rachel died in childbirth of her ſecond ſon, becauſe of that imprecation of Jacob, [a] *With whomſoever thou findeſt thy gods, let him not live.* Saul pretended ſacrifice when he ſpared the fat cattle of Amalek; and Micah was zealous when he made him an ephod and a teraphim, and meant to make himſelf an image for religion when he ſtole his mother's money; but theſe are colours of religion, in which not only the world, but ourſelves alſo are deceived by a latent purpoſe, which we are willing to cover with a remote deſign of religion, leſt it ſhould appear unhandſome in its own dreſſing. Thus ſome believe a covetouſneſs allowable, if they greedily heap treaſure with a purpoſe to build hoſpitals or colleges; and ſiniſter acts of acquiring church-livings are not ſo ſoon condemned, if the deſign be to prefer an able perſon; and actions of revenge come near to piety, if it be to the ruin of an ungodly man; and indirect proceedings are made ſacred, if they be for the good of the *holy cauſe*. This is profaning the temple with beaſts brought for ſacrifices, and diſhonours God, by making himſelf acceſſary to his own diſhonour, as far as lies in them; for it diſſerves him with a pretence of religion. And but that our hearts are deceitful, we ſhould eaſily perceive that the greateſt buſineſs of the letter, is written in poſtſcript: the great pretence is the leaſt purpoſe; and the latent covetouſneſs or revenge, or the ſecular appendix, is the main engine, to which the end of religion is made but inſtrumental and pretended. But men when they ſell a mule, uſe to ſpeak of the horſe that begat him, not of the aſs that bore him.

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[a] Gen. xxxi. 32.

4. THE holy Jeſus *made a whip of cords,* to repreſent and to chaſtiſe the implications and enfoldings of ſin and the cords of vanity. 1. There are ſome ſins that of themſelves are a whip of cords: thoſe are the crying ſins, that by their degree and malignity ſpeak loud for vengeance; or ſuch as have great diſreputation, and are accounted the baſeſt iſſues of a caitive diſpoſition; or ſuch which are unnatural and unuſual: or which by publick obſervation are marked with the ſignature of divine judgments. Such are murther, oppreſſion of widows and orphans, detaining the labourer's hire, luſts againſt nature, parricide, treaſon, betraying a juſt truſt in great inſtances and baſe manners, lying to a king, perjury in a prieſt. Theſe carry Cain's mark upon them, or Judas's ſting, or Manaſſes's ſorrow, unleſs they be made impudent by the ſpirit of obduration. 2. But there are ſome ſins that bear ſhame upon them, and are uſed as correctives of pride and vanity; and if they do their cure, they are converted into inſtruments of good by the great power of the divine grace: but if the ſpirit of the man grows impudent and hardened againſt the ſhame, that which commonly follows is the worſt ſtring of the whip, a direct conſignation to a reprobate ſpirit. 3. Other ſins there are for the chaſtiſing of which Chriſt takes the whip into his own hand; and there is much need, when ſins are the cuſtoms of a nation, and marked with no exterior diſadvantage, or have ſuch circumſtances of encouragement, that they are unapt to diſquiet a conſcience, or make our beds uneaſy, till the pillows be ſoftned with penitential ſhowers. In both theſe caſes the condition of a ſinner is ſad and miſerable. For *it is a fearful thing to fall into the hands of the living God:* his hand is heavy, and his ſword is ſharp, and *pierces to the dividing the marrow and the bones.* And he that conſiders the infinite diſtance between God and us, muſt tremble, when he remembers that he is to feel the iſſues of that anger, which he is not certain whether or no it will deſtroy him infinitely and eternally. 4. But if the whip be given into our hands, that we become executioners of the divine wrath, it is ſometimes worſe: for we ſeldom ſtrike ourſelves for emendation, but add ſin to ſin, till we periſh miſerably and inevitably. God ſcourges us often into repentance: but when a ſin is the whip of another ſin, the rod is put into our hands, who like blind men ſtrike with a rude and undiſcerning hand, and, becauſe we love the puniſhment, do it without intermiſſion or choice, and have no end but ruin.

5. WHEN the holy Jeſus had whipt the merchants in the temple, they took away all the inſtruments of their ſin. For a judgment is uſually the commencement of repentance: love is the laſt of graces, and ſeldom at the beginning of a new life, but is reſerved to the perfections and ripeneſs of a Chriſtian. We begin in fear; [a] *The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wiſdom: when he ſmote them, then they turned, and enquired early after God.* And afterwards the impreſſes of fear continue like a hedge of thorns about us, to reſtrain our diſſolutions within the awfulneſs of the divine majeſty, that it may preſerve what was from the ſame principle begun. This principle of their emendation was from God, and therefore innocent and holy: and the very purpoſe of divine threatnings is, that upon them, as upon one of the great hinges, the piety of the greateſt part of men ſhould turn; and the effect was anſwerable, but ſo are not the actions of all thoſe who follow this precedent in the tract of the letter. For indeed there have been ſome reformations which have been ſo like this, that the greateſt alteration which hath been made was, that they carried all things out of the temple, the money, and the tables, and the ſacrifice; and the temple itſelf went at laſt. But theſe men's ſcourge is to follow after; and Chriſt, the prince of the catholick church, will provide one of his own contexture, more ſevere than the ſtripes which Heliodorus felt from the infliction of the exterminating angel. But the holy Spirit of God, by making proviſion againſt ſuch a reformation, hath prophetically declared the aptneſſes which are in pretences of religious alterations to degenerate into ſacrilegious deſires: [b] *Thou that abhorreſt idols, doſt thou commit ſacrilege?* In this caſe there is no amendment, only one ſin reſigns to another, and the perſon ſtill remains under its power and the ſame dominion.

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[a] Pſal. lxxviii. 33.

[b] Rom. ii. 22.

The PRAYER.

O Eternal Jeſu, thou bright image of thy Father's glories, whoſe light did ſhine to all the world, when thy heart was inflamed with zeal and love of God and of religion, let a coal from thine altar, fanned with the wings of the holy dove, kindle in my ſoul ſuch holy flames, that I may be zealous of thy honour and glory, forward in religious duties, earneſt in their purſuit, prudent in their managing, ingenuous in my purpoſes, making my religion to ſerve no end but of thy glories, and the obtaining of thy promiſes: and ſo ſanctify my ſoul and my body, that I may be a holy temple, fit and prepared for the inhabitation of thy ever-bleſſed ſpirit; whom grant that I may never grieve by admitting any impure thing to deſecrate the place, and unhallow the courts of his abode; but give me a pure ſoul in a chaſte and healthful body, a ſpirit full of holy ſimplicity, and deſigns of great ingenuity, and perfect religion, that I may intend what thou commandeſt, and may with proper inſtruments proſecute what I ſo intend, and by thy aids may obtain the end of my labours, the rewards of obedience and holy living, even the ſociety and inheritance of Jeſus in the participation of the joys of thy temple, where thou dwelleſt and reigneſt with the Father and the Holy Ghoſt, O Eternal Jeſu. Amen.

DISCOURSE VIII.

Of the religion of holy places.

1. THE holy Jeſus brought a divine warrant for his zeal. The ſelling ſacrifices and the exchange of money, and every lay-employment, did violence and diſhonour to the temple, which was hallowed to eccleſiaſtical miniſteries, and ſet apart for offices of religion, for the uſe of holy things; for it was God's houſe: and ſo is every houſe by publick deſignation ſeparate for prayer or other uſes of religion, it is God's houſe. [*My houſe:*] God had a propriety in it, and had ſet his mark on it, even his own name. And therefore it was in the Jews idiom of ſpeech called *the mountain of the Lord's houſe*, and *the houſe of the Lord* by David frequently. God had put *his name* into all places appointed for ſolemn worſhip; [a] *In all places where I record my name, I will come unto thee, and bleſs thee.* For God, who was never viſible to mortal eye, was pleaſed to make himſelf preſential by ſubſtitution of his name; that is, in certain places he hath appointed that his name ſhall be called upon, and by promiſing and imparting ſuch bleſſings which he hath made conſequent to the invocation of his name, hath made ſuch places to be a certain determination of ſome ſpecial manner of his preſence. For God's name is not a diſtinct thing from himſelf, not an idea, and it cannot be put into a place in literal ſignification; the expreſſion is to be reſolved into ſome other ſenſe. God's name is that whereby he is known, by which he is invocated, that which is the moſt immediate publication of his eſſence, nearer than which we cannot go unto him: and becauſe God is eſſentially preſent in all places, when he makes himſelf preſent in one place more than another, it cannot be underſtood to any other purpoſe, but that in ſuch places he gives ſpecial bleſſings and graces, or that in thoſe places he appoints his name, that is, himſelf, ſpecially to be invocated.

2. So that when God *puts his name* in any place by a ſpecial manner, it ſignifies that there himſelf is in that manner: but in ſeparate and hallowed places God hath expreſſed that he puts his name with a purpoſe it ſhould be called upon: therefore in plain ſignification it is thus; in conſecrate places God himſelf is preſent to be invoked, that is, there he is moſt delighted to hear the prayers we make to him. For all the expreſſions of ſcripture, of *God's houſe, the tabernacle of God, God's dwelling, puting his name there, his ſanctuary*, are reſolved into that ſaying of God to Solomon, who prayed that he would hear the prayers of neceſſitous people in that place: God granting the requeſt expreſſed it thus, [b] *I have ſanctified the houſe which thou haſt built*: that is, the houſe which thou haſt deſigned for my worſhip, I have deſigned

[a] Exod. xx. 24.

[b] 1 Kings ix. 3.

for your bleſſing; what you have dedicated, I have accepted; what you have conſecrated, I have hallowed; I have taken it to the ſame purpoſe to which your deſires and deſignation pretended it in your firſt purpoſes and expence. So that ſince the purpoſe of man in ſeparating places of worſhip is, that thither by order and with convenience and in communities of men God may be worſhipped and prayed unto; God having declared that he accepts of ſuch ſeparate places to the ſame purpoſes, ſays, that there he will be called upon, that ſuch places ſhall be places of advantage to our devotions, in reſpect of human order, and divine acceptance and benediction.

3. Now theſe are therefore God's houſes, becauſe they were given by men, and accepted by God, for the ſervice of God and the offices of religion. And this is not the effect or reſult of any diſtinct covenant God hath made with man in any period of the world, but it is merely a favour of God, either hearing the prayer of dedication, or [*] complying with human order or neceſſities. For there is nothing in the covenant of Moſes's law that by virtue of ſpecial ſtipulation makes the aſſignment of a houſe for the ſervice of God to be proper to Moſes's rite. Not only becauſe God had memorials and determinations of this manner of his preſence before Moſes's law, as at Bethel, where Jacob laid the firſt ſtone of the church, (nothing but a ſtone was God's memorial,) and the beginning and firſt rudiments of a temple; but alſo becauſe after Moſes's law was given, as long as the nation was ambulatory, ſo were their places, and inſtruments of religion. And although the ark was not confined to a place till Solomon's time, yet God was pleaſed in this manner to confine himſelf to the ark: and in all places where-ever his name was put, even in ſynagogues, and oratories, and threſhing-floors, when they were hallowed with an altar and religion, thither God came, that is, there he heard them pray, and anſwered and bleſſed accordingly, ſtill in proportion to that degree of religion which was put upon them. And thoſe places, when they had once entertained religion, grew ſeparate and ſacred for ever. For therefore David bought the threſhing-floor of Araunah, that it might never return to common uſe any more: for it had been no trouble or inconvenience to Araunah to have uſed his floor for one ſolemnity; but he offered to give it, and David reſolved to buy it, becauſe it muſt of neceſſity be aliened from common uſes, to which it could never return any more when once it had been the inſtrument of a religious ſolemnity. And yet this was no part of Moſes's law, that every place of a temporary ſacrifice ſhould be *holy for ever*. David had no guide in this but right reaſon and the religion of all the world. For ſuch things which were great inſtruments of publick ends, and things of higheſt uſe, were alſo in all ſocieties of men of greateſt honour, and immured by reverence and the ſecurity of laws. For honour and reputation is not a thing inherent in any creature, but depends upon the eſtimate of God or men, who either in diffuſion or repreſentation become fountains of a derivative honour. Thus ſome men are honourable; that is, thoſe who are fountains of honour in civil account have commanded that they ſhould be honoured. And ſo places and things are made honourable; that as honourable perſons are to be diſtinguiſhed from others by honourable uſages and circumſtances proper to them, ſo alſo ſhould places and things (upon ſpecial reaſon ſeparate) have an uſage proper to them, when by a publick inſtrument or miniſter they are ſo ſeparated. No common uſage then; ſomething proper to tell what they are, and to what purpoſes they are deſigned, and to ſignifie their ſeparation and extraordinarineſs. Such are the perſon of the prince, the archives and records of a kingdom, the walls and great defences of the imperial city, the eagles and enſigns of war amongſt the Romans, and above all things, though not above all perſons, the temples and altars, and all the inſtruments of religion. And there is much reaſon in it. For thus a ſervant of a king, though his employment be naturally mean, yet is more honourable, becauſe he relates to the moſt excellent perſon: and therefore much more thoſe things which relate to God. And though this be the reaſon why it ſhould be ſo; yet for this and other reaſons they that have power, that is, they who are acknowledged to be the fountains and the chanels of honour, I mean the ſupreme power, and publick fame, have made it actually to be ſo. For whatſoever all wiſe men, and all good men, and all publick ſocieties, and all ſupreme authority hath commanded to be honoured or revered, that is honourable and reverend; and this honour and reverence is to be expreſſed according to the cuſtoms of the nation, and inſtruments of honour proper to the nature of the thing or perſon reſpectively. Whatſoever is eſteemed ſo, is ſo; becauſe honour and noble ſeparations are relative actions and terms, creatures

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[*] Nec fortuitum ſpernere ceſpitem
Leges ſinebant, oppida publico
Sumptu jubentes & deorum
Templa novo decorare ſaxo. Hor. l. ii. od. 15.

and productions of fame, and the voice of princes, and the ſenſe of people: and they who will not honour thoſe things or thoſe perſons which are thus decreed to be honourable, have no communications with the civilities of humanity, or the guiſes of wiſe nations, they do not *give honour to whom honour belongs*. Now that which in civil account we call [*honourable,*] the ſame in religious account we call [*ſacred:*] for by both theſe words we mean things or perſons made ſeparate and retired from common opinion and vulgar uſages, by reaſon of ſome excellency really inherent in them, (ſuch as are excellent men;) or for their relation to excellent perſons, or great ends, publick or [a] religious, (and ſo ſervants of princes, and miniſters of religion, and its inſtruments and utenſils, are made honourable or ſacred). And the expreſſions of their honour are all thoſe actions and uſages which are contrary to deſpite, and above the uſage of vulgar things or places. [b] Whatſoever is ſacred, that is honourable, for its religious relation; and whatſoever is honourable, that alſo is ſacred (that is, ſeparate from the vulgar uſages and account) for its civil excellency or relation. The reſult is this: that when publick authority, or the conſent [c] of a nation hath made any place ſacred for the uſes of religion, we muſt eſteem it ſacred, juſt as we eſteem perſons honourable who are ſo honoured. And thus are judges, and the very places of judicature, the king's preſence chamber, the chair of ſtate, the ſenate-houſe, the royal enſigns of a prince: whoſe gold and purple in its natural capacity hath in it no more dignity than the money of the bank, or the cloth of the mart; but it hath much more for its ſignification and relative uſe. And it is certain, theſe things whoſe excellency depends upon their relation, muſt receive the degree of their honour in that proportion they have to their term and foundation; and therefore what belongs to God (as holy places of religion) muſt riſe higheſt in this account; I mean higher than any other places. And this is beſides the honour which God hath put upon them by his preſence and his title to them, which in all religions he hath ſignified to us.

4. INDEED among the Jews, as God had confined his church and the rites of religion to be uſed only in communion and participation with that nation; ſo alſo he had limited his preſence, and was more ſparing of it than in the time of the goſpel his Son declared he would be. *It was ſaid of old that at Jeruſalem men ought to worſhip*, that is, by a ſolemn, publick and great addreſs in the capital expreſſes of religion; in the diſtinguiſhing rites of liturgy: for elſe it had been no new thing. For in ordinary prayers God was then, and long before, pleaſed to hear Jeremy in the dungeon, Manaſſes in priſon, Daniel in the lion's den, Jonas in the belly of the deep, others in the offices yet more ſolemn in the Proſeuchæ, in the houſes of prayer, which the Jews had, not only in their diſperſion, but even in Paleſtine, for their diurnal and nocturnal offices. But when the holy Jeſus had *broken down the partition wall*, then the moſt ſolemn offices of religion were as unlimited as their private devotions were before: for where-ever a temple ſhould be built, thither God would come, if he were *worſhipped ſpiritually and in truth*, that is, according to the rites of Chriſt, (who is *grace and truth*,) and the dictate of *the ſpirit*, and analogy of the goſpel. All places were now alike to build churches in, or memorials for God, God's houſes. And that our Bleſſed Saviour diſcourſes of places of publick worſhip to the woman of Samaria is notorious, becauſe the whole queſtion was concerning the great addreſſes of Moſes's rites, whether at Jeruſalem or mount Gerizim, which were the places of the right and the ſchiſmatical temple, the confinements of the whole religion: and in antitheſis Jeſus ſaid, nor here nor there ſhall be the ſolemnities of addreſs to God, but in all places you may build a temple, and God will dwell in it.

5. AND this hath deſcended from the firſt beginning of religion down to the conſummation of it in the perfections of the goſpel. For the apoſtles of our Lord carried the offices of the goſpel into the temple of Jeruſalem, there they preached and prayed, and payed vows, but never, that we read of, offered ſacrifice: which ſhews that the offices purely evangelical were proper to be done in any of God's proper places, and that thither they went not in compliance with Moſes's rites, but merely for goſpel duties, or for ſuch offices which were common to Moſes and Chriſt, ſuch as were prayers and vows. While the temple was yet ſtanding, they had peculiar places for the aſſemblies of the faithful, where either by accident, or obſervation, or religion, or choice, they met regularly. And I inſtance in the houſe of John ſurnamed Mark, which, as Alexander reports in the life of St. Barnabas, was conſecrated by many

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[a] Religioſum eſt quod propter ſanctitatem aliquam remotum ac ſepoſitum à nobis eſt, verbum à reliquendo dictum, tanquam ceremonia à carendo. Gel. l. iv. c. 9.

[b] Ceremoniæ deorum, ſanctitas regum. Jul. Cæſar apud Sueton.

[c] Ex lege cujuſque civitatis jubentur dii coli. Dictum 5 Sapientum apud Xenophon. Σπένδειν δὲ ϗ θύειν κατὰ τὰ πάτρια ἑκάστοις προσήκει. Epict. c. 38.

actions of religion, by our Bleſſed Saviour's eating the paſſeover, his inſtitution of the holy euchariſt, his farewell ſermon; and the apoſtles met there in the octaves of Eaſter, whither Chriſt came, and hallowed it with his preſence; and there, to make up the relative ſanctification complete, the Holy Ghoſt deſcended upon their heads in the *feaſt of pentecoſt*. And this was erected into a fair fabrick, and is mentioned as a famous church by St. [a] Jerom and Ven. Bede; in which, as Adricomius adds, St. Peter preached that ſermon which was miraculouſly proſperous in the converſion of three thouſand: there St. James, brother of our Lord, was conſecrated firſt biſhop of Jeruſalem; St. Stephen and the other ſix were there ordained deacons; there the apoſtles kept their firſt council, and compiled their creed: by theſe actions and their frequent conventions ſhewing the ſame reaſon, order and prudence of religion in aſſignation of ſpecial places of divine ſervice, which were ever obſerved by all the nations and religions, and wiſe men of the world. And it were a ſtrange imagination, to fancy, that in Chriſtian religion there is any principle contrary to that wiſdom of God and all the world, [b] which for order, for neceſſity, for convenience, for the ſolemnity of worſhip, hath ſet apart places for God and for religion. Private prayer had always an unlimited reſidence and relation, even under Moſes's law; but the publick ſolemn prayer of ſacrifice in the law of Moſes was reſtrained to one temple. In the law of nature it was not confined to one, but yet determined to publick and ſolemn places. And when the holy Jeſus diſparked the incloſures of Moſes, we all returned to the permiſſions and liberty of the natural law, in which although the publick and ſolemn prayers were confined to a temple, yet the temple was not confined to a place; but they might be any where, ſo they were at all, inſtruments of order, conveniences of aſſembling, reſidences of religion. And God, who always loved order, and was apt to hear all holy and prudent prayers, (and therefore alſo the prayers of conſecration,) hath often declared that he loves ſuch places, that he will dwell in them: not that they are advantages to him, but that he is pleaſed to make them ſo to us. And therefore all nations of the world built publick houſes for religion: and ſince all ages of the church [c] did ſo too, it had need be a ſtrong and a convincing argument that muſt ſhew they were deceived. And *if any man liſt to be contentious*, he muſt be anſwered with St. Paul's reproof, *We have no ſuch cuſtom, nor the churches of God.*

6. THUS St. Paul reproved the Corinthians for [d] *deſpiſing the Church of God* by ſuch uſes, which were therefore unfit for God's, becauſe they were proper for their own, that is for common houſes. And although they were at firſt, and in the deſcending ages ſo afflicted by the tyranny of enemies, that they could not build many churches; yet ſome they did, and the churches themſelves ſuffered part of the perſecution. For ſo Euſebius reports, that when under Severus and Gordianus, Philip and Galienus, the Chriſtian affairs were in a tolerable condition, they built churches in great number and expence. But when the perſecution waxed hot under Diocletian, down went the churches, upon a deſign to extinguiſh or diſadvantage the religion. Maximinus gave leave to rebuild them. Upon which reſcript (ſaith the ſtory) the Chriſtians were overjoyed, and raiſed them up to an incredible height and [e] incomparable beauty. This was Chriſtian religion then, and ſo it hath continued ever ſince; and unleſs we ſhould have new reaſon and new revelation, it muſt continue ſo till our churches are exchanged for thrones, and our chapels for ſeats placed before the lamb in the eternal temple of the celeſtial Jeruſalem.

7. AND to this purpoſe it is obſerved, that the holy Jeſus firſt ejected the beaſts of ſacrifice out of the temple, and then proclaimed the place holy, and the ſcene of repreſenting prayers; which in type intimates the ſame thing which is involved in the expreſſion of the next words, *My houſe ſhall be called the houſe of prayer to all nations.* Now and for ever to the Jews and to the Gentiles, in all circumſtances and variety of time and [f] nation. God's houſes are holy in order to holy uſes; the time as unlimited as the nations were indefinite and univerſal. Which is the more obſervable,

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[a] Epiſt. xxvii. De locis ſanctis cap. 3. In deſcrip. Hieroſ. n. 6.

[b] Φήμη δ' οὔτις πάμπαν ἀπόλλυται ἥντινα πολλοὶ Λαοὶ φημίξωσι. Heſiod.

[c] Omnes ad orandum in idem loci convenite: ſit una communis precatio, una mens, una ſpes in charitate & fide inculpata in Chriſtum Jeſum; quo nihil eſt præſtantius. Omnes velut unus quiſpiam ad templum Dei concurrite, velut ad unum altare, ad unum Jeſum Chriſtum, &c. S. Ignat. ad Magneſ.

[d] 1 Cor. xi. 22.

[e] Καὶ δὴ διήλθομεν σιδηρείας τε πύλας καὶ χαλκείους ὀδοὺς, ἀναβάθρας δὲ πλείστας περικυκλωσάμενοι, ἐς χρυσόφορον οἶκον ἀνήλθομεν, οἷον Ὅμηρος τὸν Μενελάου φησί. Lucian. Philopat. de templo Chriſtiano.

[f] Quod ab omnibus gentibus obſervatum eſt, id non niſi à Deo ſancitum eſt. Socrates,

Χρόνῳ κρατηθὲν ἔθος γένους καὶ θρησκείας ἰσχυρότερον. Nicet. Τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀσφαλέστατα τούτους οἰκεῖν, οἳ ἂν τοῖς παροῦσιν ἤθεσι καὶ νόμοις ἢν καὶ χείρω ᾖ, ἥκιστα διαφόρως πολιτεύωσι. Alcibiad. apud Thucyd. l. vi.

able, becauſe it was of the outward courts, not whither Moſes's rites alone were admitted, but the natural devotion of Jews and Gentile proſelytes, that Chriſt affirmed it to be holy, to be the houſe of God, and the place of prayer. So that the religion of public places of prayer is not a rite of Levi, but a natural and prudent circumſtance and advantage of religion, in which all wiſe men agree; who therefore muſt have ſome common principle with influence upon all the world, which muſt be the univocal cauſe of the conſent of all men: which common principle muſt either be a dictate of natural or prime reaſon, or elſe ſome tradition from the firſt parents of mankind; which becauſe it had order in it, beauty, religion, and confirmation from Heaven, and no reaſon to conteſt againſt it; it hath ſurpriſed the underſtanding and practices of all nations. And indeed we find that even in Paradiſe God had that which is analogical to a church, a diſtinct place where he manifeſted himſelf preſent in proper manner. For Adam and Eve, when they had ſinned, *hid themſelves from the preſence of the Lord:* and this was the word in all deſcents of the church, for the being of God in holy places, *the preſence of the Lord was there.* And probably when Adam from this intimation, or a greater direction, had taught Cain and Abel to offer ſacrifices to God in a certain place, where they were obſerved of each in their ſeveral offerings, it became one of the rules of religion which was derived to their poſterity by tradition, the only way they had to communicate the dictates of divine commandment.

8. THERE is no more neceſſary to be added in behalf of holy places, and to aſſert them into the family and relatives of religion: our eſtimate and deportment towards them is matter of practice, and therefore of proper conſideration. To which purpoſe I conſider, that holy places being the reſidence of God's name upon earth, there where he hath put it, that by fiction of law it may be the [a] ſanctuary and the laſt reſort in all calamities and need, God hath ſent his agents to poſſeſs them in perſon for him. Churches and oratories are regions and courts of angels, and they are there not only to miniſter to the ſaints, but alſo they poſſeſs them in the right of God. There they are: ſo the greateſt and prince of ſpirits tells us, the Holy Ghoſt; [b] *I ſaw the Lord ſitting upon his throne, and his train filled the temple; above it ſtood the Seraphim:* that was God's train. And therefore holy David knew that his addreſſes to God were in the preſence of angels: [c] *I will praiſe thee with my whole heart, before the Gods will I ſing praiſe unto thee:* [d] before the *angels*, ſo it is in the Septuagint. And that we might know where or how the kingly worſhipper would pay this adoration, he adds, *I will worſhip towards thy holy temple.* And this was ſo known by him, that it became expreſſive of God's manner of preſence in heaven: [e] *The chariots of God are twenty thouſand, even thouſands of angels; and the Lord is among them as in Sinai, in the holy place.* God in the midſt of angels, and the angels in the midſt of *the holy place*; and God in heaven in the midſt of that holy circle, as ſure as he is amongſt angels in the receſſes of his ſanctuary. Were the rudiments of the law worthy of an attendance of angels? and are the memorials of the goſpel deſtitute of ſo brave a retinue? did the beatified ſpirits wait upon the types? and do they decline the office at the miniſtration of the ſubſtance? Is the nature of man made worſe ſince the incarnation of the Son of God? and have the angels purchaſed an exemption from their miniſtry ſince Chriſt became our brother? We have little reaſon to think ſo. And therefore St. Paul ſtill makes uſe of the argument to preſs women to modeſty and humility in churches, *becauſe of the angels.* And upon the ſame ſtock St. [f] Chryſoſtome chides the people of his dioceſe for walking, and laughing, and prating in churches: "the church is not a "ſhop of manufactures or merchandiſe, but the place of angels and of arch-angels, "the court of God, and the image or repreſentment of heaven itſelf."

9. FOR if we conſider that Chriſtianity is ſomething more than ordinary, that there are myſteries in our religion and in none elſe, that God's *angels are miniſtring ſpirits for our good*, and eſpecially about the conveyances of our prayers; either we muſt think very low of Chriſtianity, or that greater things are in it than the preſence of angels in our churches. And yet if there were no more, we ſhould do well to behave ourſelves there with the thoughts and apprehenſions of Heaven about us; always remembring, that our buſineſs there is an errand of religion, and God is the object of our worſhippings. And therefore although by our weakneſs, we are fixed in the

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[a] Pſal. xxvii. 4, 5, 6.

[b] Iſa. vi. 1, 2.

[c] Pſal. cxxxviii. 1, 2.

[d] Ἐναντίον ἀγγέλων, LXX. Μαρτύρομαι δὲ ἐγὼ μὲν ὑμῶν τὰ ἅγια, καὶ τοὺς ἱεροὺς ἀγγέλους τοῦ Θεοῦ. Orat. Agrip. apud Joſeph. l. 2. c. 16. de Bello Judaic.

[e] Pſal. lxiii. 17.

[f] Homil. xvi. in 1 Cor. & de Sacerd. Τότε καὶ ἄγγελοι παρεστήκασι τῷ ἱερεῖ, &c. St. Ambroſ. in c. 1. Lucæ. Non dubites aſſiſtere angelum quando Chriſtus aſſiſtit, Chriſtus immolatur. R. Canutus in Lege Etc. i. 4. Angeli ſiquidem circumfuſi ſacra cuſtodiunt, & divinâ freti potentiâ ſacerdoti ſubſerviunt.

lowneſs of men: yet becauſe God's infinity is our object, it were very happy if our actions did bear ſome few degrees of a proportionable and commenſurate addreſs.

10. NOW that the angels are there in the right of God, and are a manner and an exhibition of the divine preſence, is therefore certain, becauſe when-ever it is ſaid in the Old Teſtament that God appeared, it was by an angel: and *the law* it ſelf, in the midſt of all the glorious terrours of its manifeſtation, *was ordained by angels*, and *a word ſpoken by angels*, and yet God is ſaid to have deſcended upon the mount. And in the greateſt glory that ever ſhall be revealed till the conſummation of all things, the inſtrument of the divine ſplendour is the apparition of angels: for when the holy *Jeſus ſhall come in the glory of his Father*, it is added by way of explication, that is, *with an hoſt of angels*.

11. THE reſult is thoſe words of God to his people, [a] *Reverence my ſanctuary*. For what God loves in an eſpecial manner, it is moſt fit we ſhould eſteem accordingly. [b] *God loves the gates of Sion more than all the dwellings of Jacob*. The leaſt turf of hallowed glebe is with God himſelf of more value than all the champain of common poſſeſſion; it is better in all ſenſes. [c] *The temple is better than gold*, ſaid our Bleſſed Saviour: and therefore it were well we ſhould do that which is expreſſed in the command of giving reverence to it; for we are too apt to pay undue devotions to gold. Which precept the holieſt of that nation expreſſed by worſhipping towards the ſanctuary, by [d] pulling off their ſhoes when they went into it, by making it the determination of their religious addreſſes, by falling down low upon the earth in their acceſſes; by opening their windows towards it in their private devotions, by calling it the *glory* of their nation; as is certain in the inſtances of David, Daniel, and the wife of Phinehas. I ſhall not need to ſay, that the devouter chriſtians in the firſt ages did worſhip God with ſolemnities of addreſs whenever they entred into their oratories. It was a civility Jeſus commanded his diſciples to uſe to common houſes: *When ye enter into a houſe, ſalute it:* I ſuppoſe he means the dwellers in it. And it is certain, whatever thoſe devouter people did in their religious approaches, they deſigned it to God, who was the *major domo*, the maſter of thoſe aſſemblies. And thus did the convinced chriſtian in S. Paul's diſcourſe, when he came into the church where they were propheſying in a known language; [e] *The ſecrets of his heart are made manifeſt, and ſo falling down on his face he will worſhip God*.

12. IT was no unhandſome expreſſion of reverencing God's ſanctuary, that pious people ever uſed, in beſtowing coſtly and fair ornaments upon it: for ſo all the chriſtians did; as ſoon as themſelves came from contempt and ſcorn, they raiſed chriſtian oratories to an equal portion of their honour: and by this way they thought they did honour to God, who was the [f] *numen* of the place. Not that a rich houſe or coſtly offertory is better in reſpect of God, for to him all is alike, ſave that in equal abilities our devotion is diſtinguiſhed by them; [g] and be the offering never ſo contemptible, it is a rich devotion that gives the beſt we have: becauſe (although if all the wealth of the Levant were united into a preſent, it were ſhort of God's infinity; yet) ſuch an offertory, or any beſt we have, makes demonſtration, that if we had an offering infinitely better, we ſhould give it, to expreſs our love and our belief of God's infinite merit and perfection. And therefore let not *the widow's two mites* become a precedent to the inſtance and value of our donation; and becauſe ſhe, who gave no more, was accepted, think that two farthings is as fit to be caſt into the corban as two thouſand pound. For the reaſon why our bleſſed Saviour commended the widow's oblation was for the greatneſs of it, not the ſmalneſs: *ſhe gave all ſhe had, even all her living*, therefore ſhe was accepted. And indeed ſince God gives to us more than enough, beyond our neceſſities, much for our conveniency, much for eaſe, much for repute, much for publick compliances, for variety, for content, for pleaſure, for ornament; we ſhould deal unworthily with God Almighty, if we limit and reſtrain our returns

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[a] Lev. xix. 30. [b] Pſal. lxxxvii. 2. [c] Mat. xxiii. 17.

[d] Ἀνυποδέτους θύειν καὶ προσκυνεῖν dixit Pythagoras. Maimonides ait nefas fuiſſe Judæis calceatis ingredi ſanctuarium, aut veſtitis veſtibus opificum. Juſtin. Martyr ait gentes in ſacris ἀπολύεσθαι. Intramus templa compoſiti, ad ſacrificium acceſſuri vultum ſubmittimus, togam adducimus, in omne argumentum modeſtia fingimur. Sen. Ex templo illo te ducam ubi non deſpuas. Nævius in Triphallo. Quo ore Thurarius Chriſtianus, ſi per templa tranſibit, fumantes aras deſpuet? Tert. de Idol. c. 1 Con. Gang. c. 5.

[e] 1 Cor. xiv. 25.

[f] Πρὸς γὰρ τὸν ἑκατόμβας θύσαντα μὴ μετ' εὐσεβοῦς γνώμης, καὶ πυνθανόμενον πῶς εἴη προσδεδεγμένος τὰ παρ' αὐτοῦ δῶρα, ἀποκρίνεται [Πύθιος,] Ἀλλά μοι εὔαδε χόνδρος ἀγακλυτοῦ Ἑρμιονῆος· τὸ εὐτελέστατον προκρίνων τῆς τοσαύτης πολυτελείας, ὅ, τι δὴ θεοσεβείας γνώμῃ κεκόσμητο· μετ' αὐτῆς γὰρ πάντα θεοφιλῆ, καὶ ἄνευ ταύτης οὐδὲν Θεῷ φίλον ἂν ποτε γένοιτο. Hierocles in Pyth.

[g] Plebs devota veni, perque hæc commercia diſce
Terreno cenſu regna ſuperna peti.
Simplicius P. in Expoſitione Eccleſiæ S. Adreanæ in Roma.

turns to him, by confining them within the narrow bounds of mere neceſſity. [a] Certainly beggarly ſervices and cheapneſs is not more pleaſing to God than a rich and magnificent addreſs. To the beſt of eſſences the beſt of preſents is moſt proportionable. And although the ſervice of the ſoul and ſpirit is moſt delectable and eſteemed by God: yet becauſe our ſouls are ſerved by things periſhing and material, and we are of that conſtitution, that by the body we ſerve the ſpirit, and by both we ſerve God: as the ſpirit is chiefly to be offered to God, becauſe it is better than the body, ſo the richeſt oblation is the beſt in an equal power and the ſame perſon, becauſe it is the beſt of things material: and although it hath not the excellency of the ſpirit, it hath an excellency that a cheap oblation hath not; and beſides the advantage of the natural value, it can no otherwiſe be ſpoiled than a meaner offering may, it is always capable of the ſame commendation from the piety of the preſenter's ſpirit, and may be as much purified and made holy as the cheaper or the more contemptible. God hath not any where expreſſed, that he accepts of a cheaper offering, but when we are not able to give him a better. When the people brought offerings more than enough for the tabernacle, Moſes reſtrained their forwardneſs, by ſaying *it was enough*; but yet commended the diſpoſition highly, and wiſhed it might be perpetual. But God chid the people when they let his houſe lie waſte without reparation of its decaying beauty; and therefore ſent famines upon the land, and a curſe into their eſtate, becauſe they would not by giving a portion to religion ſanctify and ſecure all the reſt. For the way for a man to be a ſaver by his religion is, to depoſite one part of his eſtate in the temple, and one in the hands of the poor; for theſe are God's treaſury and ſtewards reſpectively. And this is *laying up treaſures in Heaven*: and beſides that it will procure bleſſing to other parts, it will help to ſave our ſouls; and that's good husbandry, that's worth the ſaving.

13. FOR I conſider that thoſe riches and beauties in churches and religious ſolemnities, which add nothing to God, add much devotion to us, and much honour and efficacy to devotion. [b] For ſince impreſſion is made upon the ſoul by the intervening of corporal things, our religion and devotion of the ſoul receives the addition of many degrees by ſuch inſtruments. Inſomuch that we ſee perſons of the greateſt fancy, and ſuch who are moſt pleaſed with outward fairneſſes, are moſt religious. Great underſtandings make religion laſting and reaſonable; but great fancies make it more ſcrupulous, ſtrict, operative, and effectual. And therefore it is ſtrange, that we ſhall beſtow ſuch great expences to make our own houſes convenient and delectable, that we may entertain our ſelves with complacency and appetite, and yet think that religion is not worth the ornament, nor our fancies fit to be carried into the choice and proſecution of religious actions with ſweetneſs, entertainments, and fair propoſitions. If we ſay that God is not the better for a rich houſe or a coſtly ſervice: we may alſo remember that neither are we the better for rich cloaths; and the ſheep will keep us as modeſt, as warm, and as clean as the ſilk-worm; and a gold chain or a carkenet of pearl does no more contribute to our happineſs than it does to the ſervice of religion. For if we reply, that they help to the eſteem and reputation of our perſons, and the diſtinction of them from the vulgar, from the ſervants of the lot of Iſſacher, and add reverence and veneration to us: how great a ſhame is it, if we ſtudy by great expences to get reputation and accidental advantages to our ſelves, and not by the ſame means to purchaſe reverence and eſteem to religion; ſince we ſee that religion, amongſt perſons of ordinary underſtandings, receives as much external and accidental advantages by the acceſſion of exteriour ornaments and accommodation, as we ourſelves can by rich cloaths and garments of wealth, ceremony and diſtinction? and as in princes courts the reverence to princes is quickened and encreaſed by an outward ſtate and glory; ſo alſo it is in the ſervice of God. Although the underſtandings of men are no more ſatisfied by a pompous magnificence than by a cheap plainneſs; yet the eye is, and the fancy, and the affections, and the ſenſes: that is, many of our faculties are more pleaſed with religion, when religion by ſuch inſtruments and conveyances pleaſes them. And it was noted by Sozomen concerning Valens the Arian emperor, that when he came to Cæſarea in Cappadocia, he praiſed S. Baſil their biſhop, and upon more eaſie terms

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[a] Delicta majorum immeritus lues,
Romane, donec templa refeceris,
Ædéſque labantes deorum, &
Fœda nigro ſimulachra fumo. Hor. l. iii. od. 6.

Impietatis notatur Zeno, quòd dixerit ἱερὰ θεῶν μὴ οἰκοδομεῖν. Et barbararum gentium mos erat aras diis ponere in lucis, nemoribus, & montium jugis, eò quòd deos templis includendos non eſſe dixerant.

[b] Τὰ αἰσθήσει καλὰ, καὶ νοήσει καλῶν εἰκόνες. Philo.

revoked his baniſhment, [a] becauſe he was a grave perſon, and did his holy offices with reverent and decent addreſſes, and kept his church aſſemblies with much ornament and ſolemnity.

14. BUT when I conſider that ſaying of [b] St. Gregory, "that the church is Heaven "within the tabernacle, Heaven dwelling among the ſons of men;" and remember that God hath ſtudded all the firmament and paved it with ſtars, becauſe he loves to have his houſe beauteous, and highly repreſentative of his glory; I ſee no reaſon we ſhould not do as [c] Apollinaris ſays God does, *In earth do the works of Heaven.* For he is the God of beauties and perfections, and every excellency in the creature is a portion of influence from the Divinity, and therefore is the beſt inſtrument of conveying honour to him, who made them for no other end but for his own honour, as the laſt reſort of all other ends for which they were created.

15. BUT the beſt manner to reverence the ſanctuary is, by the continuation of ſuch actions which gave it the firſt title of holineſs. [d] *Holineſs becometh thine houſe for ever,* ſaid David. *Sancta ſanctis,* holy perſons and holy rites in holy places. That as it had the firſt relation of ſanctity by the conſecration of a holy and reverend miniſter and preſident of religion; ſo it may be perpetuated in holy offices, and receive the daily conſecration by the aſſiſtance of ſanctified and religious perſons. *Foris canes,* dogs and criminal perſons are unfit for churches: the beſt ornament and beauty of a church is a holy prieſt and a ſanctified people. [e] For ſince angels dwell in churches, and God hath made his name to dwell there too; if there alſo be a holy people, that there be ſaints as well as angels, it is a holy fellowſhip and a bleſſed communion. But to ſee a Devil there, would ſcare the moſt confident and bold fancy, and diſturb the good meeting: and ſuch is every wicked and graceleſs perſon. *Have not I choſen twelve of you? and one of you is a Devil.* An evil ſoul is an evil ſpirit; [f] and ſuch are no good ornaments for temples. And it is a ſhame that a goodly Chriſtian church ſhould be like an Egyptian temple; without, goodly buildings, within, a dog or a cat for the deity they adore. It is worſe if in our addreſſes to holy places and offices, we bear our luſts under our garments. For dogs and cats are of God's making, but our luſts are not, but are God's enemies: and therefore, beſides the unholineſs, it is an affront to God to bring them along, and it defiles the place in a great degree.

16. FOR there is a defiling of a temple by inſinuation of impurities, and another by direct and poſitive profanation, and a third by expreſs ſacrilege: this *defiles a temple* to the ground. Every ſmall ſin is an unwelcome gueſt, and is a *ſpot* in thoſe *feaſts of charity* which entertain us often in God's houſes: but there are ſome (and all great crimes are ſuch) which deſecrate the place, unhallow the ground, as to our particulars, ſtop the aſcent of our prayers, obſtruct the current of God's bleſſings, turn religion into bitterneſs, and devotion into gall; ſuch as are marked in ſcripture with a diſtinguiſhing character, as enemies to the peculiar diſpoſitions of religion. And ſuch are unchaſtity, which defiles the temples of our bodies; covetouſneſs, which ſets up an idol inſtead of God; and unmercifulneſs, which is a direct enemy to the mercies of God, and the fair return of our prayers. He that ſhews not the mercies of alms, of forgiveneſs, and comfort, is forbid to hope for comfort, relief or forgiveneſs from the hands of God. [g] A pure mind is the beſt manner of worſhip, and the impurity of a crime is the greateſt contradiction to the honour and religion of holy places. And therefore let us imitate the precedent of the moſt religious of kings, [h] *I will waſh my hands in innocency, O Lord, and ſo will I go to thine altar:* always remembring thoſe decretory and final words of [i] St. Paul, *He that defiles a temple, him will God deſtroy.*

The

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[a] Quod cum tanto ornatu támque decenter ſacerdotio fungeretur, conventúſque ageret.

[b] Ἐκκλησία ἐστὶν οὐρανὸς ἐπίγειος.

[c] Ἔργον τὸ μέγα, καὶ καλὸν τίμιον· τοῦ γὰρ τοιούτου ἡ θεωρία θαυμαστή. Ariſt.

[d] Gravitas honeſta, diligentia attonita, cura ſolicita, apparitio devota, & proceſſio modeſta. Tertul. de Præſcript. Confluunt ad eccleſiam caſtâ celebritate, honeſtâ utriuſque ſexûs diſcretione. S. Aug. l. ii. c. 28. de Civit. Dei.

[e] Τὰ γὰρ κατὰ πόλεις προσευκτήρια τί ἕτερόν ἐστιν ἢ διδασκαλία φρονήσεως καὶ ἀνδρείας, καὶ σωφροσύνης καὶ δικαιοσύνης, εὐσεβείας τε καὶ ὁσιότητος, καὶ συμπάσης ἀρετῆς. Phil. legat. ad Caium.

Μόνος γὰρ οἶδε τιμᾷν ὁ προηγουμένως ἱερεῖον ἑαυτὸν προσάγων, καὶ ἄγαλμα θεῖον τεκταίνων τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ψυχὴν, καὶ ναὸν εἰς ὑποδοχὴν τοῦ θείου φωτὸς τὸν ἑαυτοῦ παρασκευάζων νοῦν. Hier. in Pyth.

Ψυχῆς καθαρᾶς τόπον οἰκειότερον ἐπὶ γῆς θεὸς οὐκ ἔχει· ὅτις καὶ ὁ Πύθιος συμφέρεται, λέγων, Εὐσεβέσιν δὲ βροτοῖς γάνυμαι τόσον ὅσσον ὀλύμπῳ. Idem.

[f] Quin demus id ſuperis——

Compoſitum jus fáſque animi, ſanctóſque receſſus
Mentis, & incoctum generoſo pectus honeſto:
Hæc cedò ut admoveam templis, & farre litabo.

Perſ. Sat. ii.

[g] Animadverto gratiorem exiſtimari qui delubris deorum puram caſtámque mentem, quàm qui meditatum carmen intulerit. Plin. Sec. Pan. Trajan.

Ἁγνὸν δὴ ναιοῖο θυώδεος ἔνδον ἰόντα Ἔμφαμεν· ἁγνείη δ' ἐστὶ, φρονεῖν ὅσια. Porphyr. de Non eſu animal. l. iii.

Optimus animus pulcherrimus cultus. Μὴ καθαρῷ καθαροῦ ἐφάπτεσθαι οὐ μὴ θεμιτόν.

[h] Pſal. xxvi. 6.

[i] 1 Cor. iii. 17.

The PRAYER.

O Eternal God, who dwelleſt not in temples made with hands, the Heaven of Heavens is not able to contain thee, and yet thou art pleaſed to manifeſt thy preſence amongſt the ſons of men by ſpecial iſſues of thy favour and benediction. Make my body and ſoul to be a temple pure and holy, apt for the entertainments of the Holy Jeſus, and for the habitation of the holy ſpirit. Lord, be pleaſed with thy rod of paternal diſcipline to caſt out all impure luſts, all worldly affections, all covetous deſires, from this thy temple; that it may be a place of prayer and meditation, of holy appetites and chaſt thoughts, of pure intentions and zealous deſires of pleaſing thee; that I may become alſo a ſacrifice as well as a temple, eaten up with the zeal of thy glory, and conſumed with the fire of love; that not one thought may be entertained by me but ſuch as may be like perfume breathing from the altar of incenſe, and not a word may paſs from me but may have the accent of heaven upon it, and ſound pleaſantly in thy ears. O deareſt God, fill every faculty of my ſoul, with impreſſes, diſpoſitions, capacities and aptneſſes of religion: and do thou hallow my ſoul that I may be poſſeſt with zeal and religious affections, loving thee above all things in the world, worſhipping thee with the humbleſt adorations and frequent addreſſes, continually feeding upon the apprehenſions of the divine ſweetneſs, and conſiderations of thy infinite excellencies, and obſervations of thy righteous commandments, and the feaſt of a holy conſcience, as an antepaſt of eternity, and conſignation to the joys of Heaven, through Jeſus Chriſt our Lord. Amen.

SECT. XII.

Of Jeſus's departure into Galilee; his manner of life, miracles and preaching; his calling of diſciples: and what happened until the Second Paſſeover.

1. WHEN [a] *Jeſus underſtood that John was caſt into priſon*, and that the Phariſees were envious at him for the great multitudes of people that reſorted to his baptiſm, which he miniſtred not in his own perſon, but by the deputation of his diſciples, they finiſhing the miniſtration which himſelf began, (who, as [b] Euodius Biſhop of Antioch reports, baptized the bleſſed virgin his mother and Peter only, and Peter baptized Andrew, James and John, and they others,) he left Judea, and came into Galilee: and in his paſſage he muſt touch Sychar a city of Samaria, where in the heat of the day and the wearineſs of his journey, he ſat himſelf down upon the margin of Jacob's well; whither, when *his diſciples were gone to buy meat, a Samaritan woman cometh to draw water*, of whom Jeſus asked ſome to cool his thirſt, and refreſh his wearineſs.

2. LITTLE knew the woman the excellency of the perſon that asked ſo ſmall a charity; neither had ſhe been taught, that *a cup of cold water given to a diſciple ſhould be rewarded*, and much rather ſuch a preſent to the Lord himſelf. But ſhe proſecuted [c] the ſpite of her nation, and the intereſt and quarrel of the ſchiſm; and inſtead of waſhing Jeſus's feet, and giving him drink, demanded, *why* he, *being a Jew, ſhould ask water of a Samaritan: for the Jews have no intercourſe with the Samaritans.*

3. THE ground of the quarrel was this. In the ſixth year of Hezekiah, Salmanaſar king of Aſſyria ſacked Samaria, tranſported the Iſraelites to Aſſyria, and planted an Aſſyrian colony in the town and country, who by divine vengeance were deſtroyed by lions, which no power of man could reſtrain or leſſen. The king thought the cauſe was, their not ſerving the God of Iſrael according to the rites of Moſes; and therefore ſent a Jewiſh captive prieſt to inſtruct the remanent inhabitants in the Jewiſh

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[a] Matt. iv. 12.

[b] Euthym. c. 3. in Joan. apud Niceph. l. ii. c. 3. hiſt.

[c] Non monſtrare vias eadem niſi ſacra colenti:
Quæſitum ad fontem ſolos deducere verpos. Juv. Sat. xiv.

religion; who ſo learned and practiſed it, that they ſtill retained the ſuperſtition of the Gentile rites; till Manaſſes, the brother of Jaddi the high prieſt at Jeruſalem, married the daughter of Sanballat, who was the governour under king Darius. Manaſſes being reproved for marrying a ſtranger the daughter of an uncircumciſed Gentile, and admoniſhed to diſmiſs her, flies to Samaria, perſuades his father-in-law to build a temple in mount Gerizim, introduces the rites of daily ſacrifice, and makes himſelf high prieſt, and began to pretend to be the true ſucceſſor of Aaron, and commences a ſchiſm in the time of Alexander the Great. From whence the queſtion of religion grew ſo high, that it begat diſaffections, anger, animoſities, quarrels, bloodſhed and murthers, not only in Paleſtine, but where-ever a Jew and Samaritan had the ill fortune to meet. Such being the nature of men, that they think it the greateſt injury in the world when other men are not of their minds; and that they pleaſe God moſt when they are moſt furiouſly zealous; and no zeal better to be expreſſed than by hating all thoſe whom they are pleaſed to think God hates. This ſchiſm was proſecuted with the greateſt ſpite that ever any was, becauſe both the people were much given to ſuperſtition: and this was helped forward by the conſtitution of their religion, conſiſting much in externals and ceremonials, and which they cared not much to hallow and make moral by the intertexture of ſpiritual ſenſes and charity. And therefore the Jews called the Samaritans *accurſed*; the Samaritans at the paſchal ſolemnity would at midnight, when the Jews temple was open, [a] ſcatter dead men's bones to profane and deſecrate the place; and both would fight, and eternally diſpute the queſtion: ſometimes referring it to arbitrators, and then the conquered party would decline the arbitration after ſentence; which they did at Alexandria before Ptolemæus Philometor, when Andronicus had by a rare and exquiſite oration procured ſentence againſt Theodoſius and Sabbæus, the Samaritan advocates. The ſentence was given for Jeruſalem, and the ſchiſm increaſed, and laſted till the time of our Saviour's conference with this woman.

4. AND it was ſo implanted and woven in with every underſtanding, that when the woman perceived *Jeſus to be a prophet*, ſhe undertook this queſtion with him: *Our Fathers worſhipped in this mountain*; *and ye ſay that Jeruſalem is the place where men ought to worſhip.* Jeſus knew the ſchiſm was great enough already, and was not willing to make the rent wider. And though he gave teſtimony to the truth, by ſaying, *Salvation is of the Jews*; and, *We know what we worſhip, ye do not*: yet becauſe the ſubject of this queſtion was ſhortly to be taken away, Jeſus takes occaſion to preach the goſpel, to haſten an expedient, and by way of anticipation to reconcile the diſagreeing intereſts, and ſettle a revelation to be verified for ever; neither here nor there by way of confinement, not in one country more than another, but where-ever any man ſhall call upon God *in ſpirit and truth*, there he ſhall be heard.

5. BUT all this while the Holy Jeſus was a-thirſt, and therefore haſtens at leaſt to diſcourſe of water, though as yet he got none. He tells her of *living water*, of eternal ſatisfactions, of *never thirſting again*, of her own perſonal condition, of matrimonial relation, and profeſſes himſelf to be the Meſſias: and then was interrupted by the coming of his diſciples, who *wondred* to ſee him alone *talking with a woman*, beſides his cuſtom and uſual reſervation. But the woman full of joy and wonder left her water-pot, and ran to the city, to publiſh the Meſſias; and immediately *all the city came out* to ſee; and *many believed on him upon the teſtimony of the woman, and more when they heard his own diſcourſes.* They invited him to the town, and received him with hoſpitable civilities for *two days*, after which he departed to his own *Galilee*.

6. JESUS therefore came into the country, where he was received with reſpect and fair entertainment, becauſe of the miracles which the Galilæans ſaw done by him at the feaſt. And being at Cana, where he wrought the firſt miracle, a noble perſonage, a little king ſay ſome, a palatinate ſays St. Hierom, a kingly perſon certainly, came to Jeſus with much reverence and deſire that he would be pleaſed to come to his houſe, and cure his ſon now ready to die: which he ſeconds with much importunity, fearing leſt his ſon be dead before he get thither. Jeſus, who did not do his miracles by natural operations, cured the child at diſtance, and diſmiſſed the prince, telling him his ſon lived, which by narration of his ſervants he found to be true, and that he recovered at the ſame time when Jeſus ſpake theſe ſalutary and healing words. Upon which accident he and all his houſe became diſciples.

7. AND now Jeſus left Nazareth, and came to Capernaum, a maritime town, and of great reſort, chooſing that for his ſcene of preaching, and his place of dwelling. For now

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[a] Joſeph. Ant. lib. xviii. cap. 3. Διαῤῥιψιν ἀνθρωπίνων ὀϛῶν ἐν ταῖς ϛοαῖς ποιῆσαι.

The Woman *saith unto* him, *I know that* Meſsias *cometh which is call'd* Chriſt, *when he is come he will tell us all things. And upon this came his* Diſciples *and marvelled that he talked with the* Woman. *S.t John, Chap. 4.th V. 25. 27.*

BRITISH MUSEUM
5 AU 70

now the time was fulfilled, the office of the Baptiſt was expired, and the kingdom of God was at hand. He therefore preached the ſumm of the goſpel, faith and repentance, *Repent ye, and believe the goſpel.* And what that goſpel was, the ſum and ſeries of all his ſermons afterwards did declare.

8. THE work was now grown high and pregnant, and Jeſus ſaw it convenient to chooſe diſciples to his miniſtry and ſervice in the work of preaching, and to be *witneſſes of all that he ſhould ſay, do, or teach,* for ends which were afterwards made publick and excellent. Jeſus therefore, *as he walked by the ſea of Galilee,* called Simon and Andrew; who knew him before by the preaching of John, and now *left all,* their ſhip and *their net, and followed him. And when he was gone a little farther, he calls the two ſons of Zebedee, James and John; and they went after him.* And with this family he goes up and down the whole Galilee, preaching the goſpel of the kingdom, healing all manner of diſeaſes, curing demoniacks, cleanſing lepers, and giving ſtrength to paralyticks and lame people.

9. BUT when *the people preſſed on him to hear the word of God, he ſtood by the lake of Geneſareth,* and preſently *entered into Simon's ſhip,* commanded him *to launch into the deep;* and from *thence he taught the people,* and there wrought a miracle: for, being Lord of the creatures, he commanded the fiſhes of the ſea, and they obeyed. For when Simon, who had *fiſhed all night in vain, let down his net at the command of* Jeſus, *he incloſed ſo great a multitude of fiſhes, that the net brake,* and the fiſhermen *were amazed* and fearful *at* ſo prodigious a *draught.* But beyond the miracle it was intended, that a repreſentation ſhould be made of the plenitude of the catholick church, and multitudes of believers who ſhould be taken by Simon and the reſt of the diſciples, whom by that miracle he conſign'd to become *fiſhers of men,* who by their artifices of prudence and holy doctrine might gain ſouls to God; that when the net ſhould be drawn to ſhore, and ſeparation made by the angels, they and their diſciples might be differenced from the reprobate portion.

10. BUT the light of the ſun uſes not to be confined to a province or a kingdom; ſo great a prophet, and ſo divine a phyſician, and ſo great miracles, created a fame loud as thunder, but not ſo full of ſadneſs and preſage. Immediately the *fame of Jeſus went into all Syria, and there came to him multitudes from Galilee, Decapolis, Jeruſalem and Judæa.* And all that had any *ſick with divers diſeaſes brought them to him;* and he laid his hands on every one of them, *and healed them.* And when he cured the *lunaticks and perſons poſſeſſed with evil ſpirits,* the Devils *cried out,* and confeſſed him to be Chriſt *the Son of God.* But *he ſuffer'd them not;* chooſing rather to work faith in the perſuaſions of his diſciples by moral arguments and the placid demonſtrations of the ſpirit, that there might in faith be an excellency in proportion to the choice, and that it might not be made violent by the conviction and forced teſtimonies of accurſed and unwilling ſpirits.

11. BUT when Jeſus ſaw his aſſembly was grown full, and his audience *numerous,* he *went up into a mountain:* and when his diſciples came unto him, he made that admirable ſermon, called *the ſermon upon the mount;* (which is a divine repoſitory of moſt excellent truths and myſterious dictates of ſecret theology, and contains a breviary of all thoſe precepts which integrate the morality of Chriſtian religion;) preſſing the moral precepts given by Moſes, and enlarging their obligation by a ſtricter ſenſe and more ſevere expoſition, that their *righteouſneſs* might *exceed the righteouſneſs of the Scribes and Phariſees.* "He preaches perfection, and the doctrines of meek-" neſs, poverty of ſpirit, Chriſtian mourning, deſire of holy things, mercy and purity, " peace and toleration of injuries; affixing a ſpecial promiſe of bleſſing to be the guer-" don and inheritance of thoſe graces and ſpiritual excellencies. He explicates ſome " parts of the decalogue, and adds appendices and precepts of his own. He teaches " his diſciples to pray, how to faſt, how to give alms, contempt of the world, not " to judge others, forgiving injuries, an indifferency and incurioſneſs of temporal " proviſions, and a ſeeking of the kingdom of God and its appendent righteouſneſs."

12. WHEN Jeſus had finiſhed his ſermon, and deſcended from the mountain, a poor leprous perſon came and worſhipped, and begged to be cleanſed: which Jeſus ſoon granted, engaging him not to publiſh it where he ſhould go abroad, but ſending him to the prieſt to offer an oblation according to the rites of Moſes's law; and then came directly to Capernaum, and *taught in the ſynagogues upon the ſabbath-days.* where in his ſermons he expreſſed the dignity of a prophet, and the authority of a perſon ſent from God; not inviting the people by the ſoft arguments and inſinuations of Scribes and Phariſees, but by demonſtrations and iſſues of divinity. There he cures a

demoniack in one of their ſynagogues, and by and by after going abroad he heals Peter's wife's mother of a fever; inſomuch that he grew the talk of all men and their wonder: till they they flocked ſo to him to ſee him, to hear him, to ſatisfie their curioſity and their needs, that after he had healed thoſe multitudes which beſet the houſe of Simon, where he cured his mother of the fever, he retired himſelf into a deſart place very early in the morning, that he might have an opportunity to pray, free from the oppreſſions and noiſes of the multitude.

13. BUT neither ſo could he be hid, but, like a light ſhining by the fringes of a curtain, he was ſoon diſcovered in his ſolitude: for the multitude found him out, impriſoning him in their circuits and undeniable attendences. But Jeſus told them plainly, he muſt *preach* the goſpel *to other cities alſo*; and therefore reſolved to paſs to the other ſide of the lake of Geneſareth, ſo to quit the throng. Whither as he was going, a Scribe offered himſelf a diſciple to his inſtitution; till Jeſus told him his condition to be worſe than *foxes and birds*, for whom an habitation is provided, but none for him, no *not a place where to bow his head* and find reſt. And what became of this forward profeſſor afterward we find not. Others that were probationers of this fellowſhip Jeſus bound to a ſpeedy profeſſion, not ſuffering one to go home to bid his friends farewel, nor another ſo much as to *bury his dead*.

14. BY the time Jeſus got to the ſhip it was late, and he, heavy to *ſleep*, *reſted on a pillow*, and ſlept ſoundly as wearineſs, meekneſs and innocence could make him; inſomuch that *a violent ſtorm*, the chiding of the winds and waters, which then happened, could not awake him; till the ſhip being almoſt covered with broken billows and the impetuous daſhings of the waters, the men already ſunk in their ſpirits, and the ſhip like enough to ſink too, the diſciples awaked him and called for help: *Maſter, careſt thou not that we periſh?* Jeſus ariſing reproved their infidelity, commanded the wind to be ſtill and the ſeas peaceable, *and* immediately *there was a great calm*; and they preſently arrived in the land of the Gergeſenes or Geraſenes.

15. IN the land of Gergeſites, or Gergeſenes, which was the remaining name of an extinct people, being one of the nations whom the ſons of Jacob drave from their inheritance, there were two cities; Gadara from the tribe of Gad, to whom it fell by lot in the diviſion of the land; (which, having been deſtroyed by the Jews, was rebuilt by Pompey at the requeſt of Demetrius Gadarenſis Pompey's freed man:) and near to it was Geraſa, as [a] Joſephus reports. Which diverſity of towns and names is the cauſe of the various recitation of this ſtory by the Evangeliſts. Near the city of Gadara there were many ſepulchres in the hollowneſſes of rocks, where the dead were buried, and where many ſuperſtitious perſons uſed *Memphitick* and *Theſſalick* rites, invocating evil ſpirits; inſomuch that at the inſtant of our Saviour's arrival in the country, *there met him two poſſeſſed with devils from theſe tombs, exceeding fierce*, and ſo had been long, *inſomuch that no man durſt paſs that way*.

16. JESUS commanded the devils out of the poſſeſſed perſon. But there were certain men feeding ſwine, which though extremely abominated by the Jewiſh religion, yet for the uſe of the Roman armies and quarterings of ſoldiers they were permitted, and divers privileges [b] granted to the maſters of ſuch herds; and becauſe Gadara was a Greek city, and the company mingled of Greeks, Syrians and Jews, theſe laſt in all likelihood not making the greateſt number. The Devils therefore beſought Jeſus, he would not ſend them into the Abyſs, but *permit them to enter into the ſwine*. He gave them leave: *and the ſwine ran violently down a ſteep place into the* hot baths, which were at the foot of the hill on which Gadara was built, which ſmaller congregation of waters the Jews uſed to call [[c] *ſea*,] or elſe, as others think, into the lake of *Geneſareth, and periſhed in the waters.* But this accident ſo troubled the inhabitants, that they came and *intreated Jeſus to depart out of their coaſts*. And he did ſo; leaving *Galilee of the Gentiles*, he came to the leſſer Galilee, and ſo again to the city of Capernaum.

17. BUT when he was come thither, he was met by divers *Scribes and Phariſees*, who came *from Jeruſalem*, and *doctors of the law from Galilee:* and while they were ſitting in a houſe, which was compaſſed with multitudes, that no buſineſs or neceſſity could be admitted to the door, a poor paralytick was brought to be ſcured, and they were fain to *uncover the tiles of the houſe, and let him down in his bed* with cords *in the midſt before Jeſus* ſitting in conference with the doctors. *When Jeſus ſaw their faith, he ſaid, Man, thy ſins be forgiven thee.* At which ſaying the

Phariſees

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[a] Joſeph. de bel. Jud. l. i. c. 5. & l. iii. c. 2. & l. v. c. 3. Epiph. contra Eb. hæreſ. 30.

[b] Cod. Theod. de Suariis. Joſeph. l. ii. de bel. Jud. c. 33.

[c] Ut mare æneum, vas templi ad aquarum receptionem.

BRITISH
5 AU [illegible]
MUSEUM

Pag. 175. XVIII

Clark & Pine Sc.

Jeſus *seeing their Faith, said unto the sick of the* Palſey, *Son be of good cheer; thy Sins are forgiven thee. St. Matt. Chap. 9th. Ver. 2d.*

Phariſees being troubled, thinking it to be blaſphemy, and that *none but God could forgive ſins*; Jeſus was put to verify his abſolution: which he did in a juſt ſatisfaction and proportion to their underſtandings. For the Jews did believe that all afflictions were puniſhments for ſin; (*Who ſinned, this man or his father, that he was born blind?*) and that removing of the puniſhment was forgiving of the ſin. And therefore Jeſus, to prove that his ſins were forgiven, removed that which they ſuppoſed to be the effect of his ſin, and by curing the palſy prevented their farther murmur about the pardon: *That ye might know the Son of man hath power on earth to forgive ſins,* (*he ſaith to the ſick of the palſy,*) *ariſe, take up thy bed and walk. And the man aroſe,* was healed, *and glorified God.*

18. A while after Jeſus went again towards the ſea; and on his way, *ſeeing Matthew* the publican *ſitting at the receipt of cuſtom,* he bade him *follow him.* Matthew firſt feaſted Jeſus, and then became his diſciple. But the Phariſees that were with him began to be troubled that he *ate with publicans and ſinners.* For the office of publican, though among the Romans it was honeſt and of great account, and "[a] the "flower of the Roman knights, the ornament of the city, the ſecurity of the com"monwealth was accounted to conſiſt in the ſociety of publicans;" yet amongſt both the [b] Jews and Greeks the name was odious, and the perſons were accurſed: not only becauſe they were ſtrangers that were the chief of them, who took in to them ſome of the nation where they were employed; but becauſe the Jews eſpecially ſtood upon the charter of their nation, and the privilege of their religion, that none of them ſhould pay tribute; and alſo becauſe they exerciſed great injuſtices and [c] oppreſſions, having a power unlimited, and a covetouſneſs wide as hell, and greedy as the fire or the grave. But Jeſus gave ſo fair an account concerning his converſe with theſe perſons, that the objection turned to be his apology. For therefore he converſed with them, becauſe they were ſinners; and it was as if a phyſician ſhould be reproved for having ſo much to do with ſick perſons: for therefore was he *ſent, not to call the righteous, but ſinners, to repentance,* to advance the reputation of mercy above the rites of ſacrifice.

19. But as the little bubbling, and gentle murmurs of the water, are preſages of a ſtorm, and are more troubleſome in their prediction than their violence: ſo were the arguings of the Phariſees ſymptoms of a ſecret diſpleaſure and an enſuing war; though at firſt repreſented in the civilities of queſtions and ſcholaſtical diſcourſes, yet they did but fore-run vigorous objections and bold calumnies, which were the fruits of the next ſummer. But as yet they diſcourſed fairly, asking him *why John's diſciples faſted often, but the diſciples of Jeſus did not faſt.* Jeſus told them, it was becauſe theſe were the days in which the *bridegroom* was come in perſon to eſpouſe the church unto himſelf; and therefore for *the children of the bride-chamber to faſt* then, was like the bringing of a dead corps to the joys of a bride, or the pomps of coronation: *the days ſhould come that the bridegroom ſhould retire* into his chamber, and draw the curtains; *and then they ſhould faſt in thoſe days.*

20. WHILE Jeſus was diſcourſing with the Phariſees, *Jairus a ruler of the ſynagogue, came to him,* deſiring he would help his daughter, who lay in the confines of death ready to depart. Whither as he was going, *a woman* met him *who had been diſeaſed with an iſſue of blood twelve years,* without hope of remedy from art or nature: and therefore ſhe runs to Jeſus, thinking, without precedent, upon the confident perſuaſions of a holy faith, *that if ſhe did but touch the hem of his garment, ſhe ſhould be whole.* She came *trembling,* and full of hope and reverence, and *touched his garment; and immediately the fountain of her* unnatural emanation *was ſtopped,* and reverted to its natural courſe and offices. St. Ambroſe ſays that this woman was Martha. But it is not likely that ſhe was a Jeweſs, but a Gentile, becauſe of that return which ſhe made in memory of her cure and honour of Jeſus according to the Gentile rites. For [d] Euſebius reports that himſelf ſaw at Cæſarea Philippi a ſtatue of braſs repreſenting a woman kneeling at the feet of a goodly perſonage, who held his hand out to her in a poſture of granting her requeſt, and doing favour to her; and the inhabitants ſaid it was erected by the care and coſt of this woman: adding, (whether out of truth or eaſineſs is not certain,) that at the pedeſtal of this ſtatue an uſual plant did

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[a] Cicero Ep. Famil. l. xiii. & in Orat. pro Plancio.

[b] Idem ad Quint. Fratrem de regimine præfecturæ Aſian.

[c] Vita publicanorum aperta eſt violentia, impunita rapina, negotiatio nulla ratione conſtans, inverecunda mercatura. Suidas. V. Publicanus, πάντες τελῶναι πάντες εἰσὶν ἅρπαγες.

Apud Hebræum textum D. Matthæi, Publicani dicti Pariſim, nomine proprio latronibus qui ſepes & maceriam dirimunt, licèt propriè dicti Gabaim; unde fortaſſe Gabella.

[d] Lib. vii. Hiſt. c. 14. Ἐπίσημον Χριστοῦ ἄγαλμα, & τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀνδριάντα apud Sozomen. l. v. c. 20. Johan. Damaſ. de Imagin. orat. iii. ex Chronico Johan.. Melalæ Antioch. Epiſc. ait, ſupplicem libellum oblatum Philippo, Tetrarchæ Trachonitidis regionis, ut liceret ſtatuas erigere in memoriam accepti beneficii.

grow, which when it was come up to that maturity and height as to arrive at the fringes of the braſs monument, it was medicinal in many dangerous diſeaſes. So far Euſebius. Concerning which ſtory I ſhall make no cenſure but this, that ſince St. Mark and St. Luke affirm that this woman, before her cure, [a] *had ſpent all her ſubſtance upon phyſicians,* it is not eaſily imaginable how ſhe ſhould become able to diſpend ſo great a ſum of money as would purchaſe two ſo great ſtatues of braſs. And if ſhe could, yet it is ſtill more unlikely that the Gentile princes and proconſuls, who ſearched all places, publick and private, and were curiouſly diligent to deſtroy all honorary monuments of Chriſtianity, ſhould let this alone: and that this ſhould eſcape not only the diligence of the perſecutors, but the fury of ſuch wars and changes as happened in Paleſtine, and that for three hundred years together it ſhould ſtand up in defiance of all violences and changeable fate of all things. However it be, it is certain that the book [b] againſt images, publiſhed by the command of Charles the Great 850 years ago, gave no credit to the ſtory. And if it had been true, it is more than probable that Juſtin Martyr, who was born and bred in Paleſtine, and Origen, who lived many years in Tyre, in the neighbourhood of the place where the ſtatue is ſaid to ſtand, and were highly diligent to heap together all things of advantage and reputation to the Chriſtian cauſe, would not have omitted ſo notable an inſtance. It is therefore likely that the ſtatues which Euſebius ſaw, and concerning which he heard ſuch ſtories, were firſt placed there upon the ſtock of a heathen ſtory or ceremony; and in proceſs of time, for the likeneſs of the figures, and its capacity to be tranſlated to the Chriſtian ſtory, were by the Chriſtians in after ages attributed by a fiction of fancy, and afterwards by credulity confidently applied, to the preſent narrative.

21. *WHEN Jeſus was come to the ruler's houſe,* he found the *minſtrels* making their funeral noiſes for the death of Jairus's daughter; and his ſervants had met him, and acquainted him of *the death of the child.* Yet *Jeſus turned out* the minſtrels, and *entered with the parents of the child into her chamber, and taking her by the hand called her,* and awakened her from her ſleep of death, and *commanded them to give her to eat,* and enjoined them *not to publiſh* the miracle. But as flames ſuppreſſed by violent detentions break out and rage with a more impetuous and rapid motion, ſo it happened to Jeſus, who endeavouring to make the noiſes and reports of him leſs popular, made them to be oecumenical. For not only we do that moſt greedily from which we are moſt reſtrained; but a great merit enamell'd with humility, and reſtrained with modeſty, grows more beauteous and florid, up to the heights of wonder and glories.

22. As he came from Jairus's houſe, he cured two blind men upon their petition, and confeſſion that they did believe in him, and caſt out a dumb Devil, ſo much to the wonder and amazement of the people, that the Phariſees could hold no longer, being ready to burſt with envy, but ſaid, *he caſt out Devils by help of the Devils:* Their malice being, as uſually it is, contradictory to its own deſign, by its being unreaſonable; nothing being more ſottiſh than for the Devil to divide his kingdom upon a plot, to ruin his certainties upon hopes future and contingent. But this was but the firſt eruption of their malice: all the year laſt paſt, which was the firſt year of Jeſus's preaching, all was quiet, neither the [c] Jews, nor the Samaritans, nor the Galileans did malign his doctrine or perſon, but he preached with much peace on all hands; for this was the year which the prophet Iſaiah called in his prediction *the acceptable year of the Lord.*

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[a] Mark v. 6. Luke viii. 43.

[b] Lib. i v. de Imagin. c. 15.

[c] Epiphan. in Pan. lib. ii. tom. i. hæreſ. 51.

And he took her by the Hand, and called, saying, Maid arise. St. Luke Chap. 8th. Ver. 54th.

And he took her by the Hand and called saying,
Maid arise. S.t Luke chap 8th Ver. 54th

BRITISH MUSEUM 8 AU 70

Ad SECT. XII.

Conſiderations upon the intercourſe happening between the Holy Jeſus and the Woman of Samaria.

1. WHEN the Holy Jeſus, perceiving it unſafe to be at Jeruſalem, returned to Galilee, where the largeſt ſcene of his prophetical office was to be repreſented, he journied on foot through Samaria; and being weary and faint, hungry and thirſty, he ſate down by a well, and begged water of a Samaritan woman that was a ſinner, who at firſt refuſed him with ſome incivility of language. But he, inſtead of returning anger and paſſion to her rudeneſs, which was commenced upon the intereſt of a miſtaken [a] religion, preached the coming of the Meſſias to her, unlock'd the ſecrets of her heart, and let in his grace, and made *a fountain of living water to ſpring up* in her ſoul, to extinguiſh the impure flames of luſt which had ſet her on fire, burning like hell ever ſince the death of her [b] fifth huſband, ſhe then becoming a concubine to the ſixth. Thus Jeſus tranſplanted nature into grace, his hunger and thirſt into religious appetites, the darkneſs of the Samaritan into a clear revelation, her ſin into repentance and charity, and ſo quenched his own thirſt by relieving her needs: and as *it was meat to him to do his father's will*, ſo it was drink to him to bring us to drink of *the fountain of living water*. For thus God declared it to be a delight to him to ſee us live, as if he were refreſhed by thoſe felicities which he gives to us as communications of his grace, and inſtances of mercy, and conſignations to Heaven. Upon which we can look with no eye but ſuch as ſees and admires the excellency of the divine charity; which being an emanation from the mercies and eſſential compaſſion of eternity, God cannot chooſe but rejoice in it, and love the works of his mercy, who was ſo well pleaſed in the works of his power. He that was delighted in the creation, was highly pleaſed in the nearer conveyance of himſelf, when he ſent the Holy Jeſus to bear his image, and his mercies, and his glories, and offer them to the uſe and benefit of man. For this was the chief of the works of God; and therefore the Bleſſed Maſter could not but be highlieſt pleaſed with it, in imitation of his Heavenly Father.

2. THE woman obſerving our Saviour to have come with his face from Jeruſalem, was angry at him upon the quarrel of the old ſchiſm. The Jews and the Samaritans had differing rites, and the zealous perſons upon each ſide did commonly diſpute themſelves into uncharitableneſs; and ſo have Chriſtians upon the ſame confidence, and zeal, and miſtake. For although *righteouſneſs hath no fellowſhip with unrighteouſneſs, nor Chriſt with Belial*; yet the conſideration of the crime of hereſy, which is a ſpiritual wickedneſs, is to be ſeparate from the perſon, who is material. That is, no ſpiritual communion is to be endured with heretical perſons, when it is certain they are ſuch, when they are convinced by competent authority and ſufficient argument: But the perſons of the men are to be pitied, to be reproved, to be redargued and convinced, to be wrought upon by fair compliances and the offices of civility, and invited to the family of faith by the beſt arguments of charity, and the inſtances of a holy life. [c] *Having your converſation honeſt among men, that they may, beholding your good works, glorify God in the day when he ſhall viſit them.* Indeed if there be danger, that is, a weak underſtanding may not ſafely converſe in civil ſociety with a ſubtil heretick; [d] in ſuch caſes they are to be avoided, not ſaluted. But as this is only when the danger is by reaſon of the unequal capacities and ſtrengths of the perſon; ſo it muſt be only when the article is certainly hereſy, and the perſon criminal, and intereſt is the ingredient in the perſuaſion, and a certain and a neceſſary truth deſtroyed by the opinion. We read that [e] St. John, ſpying Cerinthus in a bath, refuſed to waſh there where the enemy of God and his holy Son had been. This is a good precedent for us when the caſe is equal. St. John could diſcern the ſpirit of Cerinthus, and his hereſy was notorious, fundamental, and highly criminal, and the apoſtle a perſon aſſiſted up to infallibility. And poſſibly it was done by the whiſper of a prophetick ſpirit, and upon a miraculous deſign; for immediately upon his retreat the bath fell down, and cruſh'd

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[a] Apud ipſos fides obſtinata, miſericordia in promptu, adverſus omnes alios hoſtile odium. Tacit.

[b] Quæ nubit toties, non nubit, adultera lege eſt. Offendor mœchâ ſimpliciore minus. Martial. ep.

[c] 1 Pet. ii. 12.

[d] Tit. iii. 10. 2 Epiſt. John 10.

[e] Irenæ. l. iii. c. 3. Euſeb. l. iii. c. 13.

Cerinthus in the ruins. But ſuch acts of averſation as theſe are not eaſily by us to be drawn into example, unleſs in the ſame or the parallel concourſe of equally-concluding accidents. We muſt not quickly, nor upon ſlight grounds, nor unworthy inſtances, call heretick: there had need be a long proceſs, and a high conviction, and a competent judge, and a neceſſary article, that muſt be ingredients into ſo ſad and decretory definitions, and condemnation of a perſon or opinion. But if ſuch inſtances occur, come not near the danger nor the ſcandal. And this advice [a] St. Cyprian gave to the lay-people of his dioceſe: *Let them decline their diſcourſes, whoſe ſermons creep and corrode like a cancer; let there be no colloquies, no banquets, no commerce with ſuch who are excommunicate and juſtly driven from the communion of the church.* "For "ſuch perſons (as St. Leo [b] deſcants upon the apoſtle's expreſſion of heretical diſcourſes) "creep in humbly, and with ſmall and modeſt beginnings, they catch with flattery, they "bind gently, and kill privily." Let therefore all perſons who are in danger, ſecure their perſons and perſuaſions by removing far from the infection. And for the ſcandal, St. Herminigilda gave an heroick example, which in her perſuaſion, and the circumſtances of the age and action, deſerved the higheſt teſtimony of zeal, religious paſſion, and confident perſuaſion. For ſhe rather choſe to die by the mandate of her tyrant-father, [c] Leonigildus the Goth, than ſhe would at the paſchal ſolemnity receive the bleſſed ſacrament at the hand of an Arian biſhop.

3. But excepting theſe caſes, which are not to be judged with forwardneſs, nor raſhly taken meaſure of, we find that converſing charitably with perſons of differing perſuaſions hath been inſtrumental to their converſion and God's glory. *The believing wife may ſanctify the unbelieving husband:* and we find it verified in church-ſtory. St. Cecily converted her husband Valerianus; St. Theodora converted Siſinius; St. Monica converted Patricius, and Theodelinda Agilulphus; St. Clotilda perſuaded king Clodoveus to be a Chriſtian; and St. Natolia perſuaded Adrianus to be a martyr. For they, having their converſation honeſt and holy amongſt the unbelievers, ſhined like virgin-tapers in the midſt of an impure priſon, and amuſed the eyes of the ſons of darkneſs with the brightneſs of the flame. For the excellency of a holy life is the beſt argument of the inhabitation of God within the ſoul, and who will not offer up his underſtanding upon that altar, where a deity is placed as the preſident and author of religion? And this very intercourſe of the holy Jeſus with the woman is abundant argument, that it were well we were not ſo forward to refuſe communion with diſſenting perſons upon the eaſy and confident miſtakes of a too forward zeal. They that call heretick may themſelves be the miſtaken perſons; and by refuſing to communicate the civilities of hoſpitable entertainment, may ſhut their doors upon truth, and their windows againſt light, and refuſe to let ſalvation in. For ſometimes ignorance is the only parent of our perſuaſions; and many times intereſt hath made an impure commixture with it, and ſo produced the iſſue.

4. The holy Jeſus gently inſinuates his diſcourſes. *If thou hadſt known who it is that aſks thee water, thou wouldſt have aſked water of him.* Oftentimes we know not the perſon that ſpeaks, and we uſually chooſe our doctrine by our affections to the man: but then if we are uncivil upon the ſtock of prejudice, we do not know that it is Chriſt that calls our underſtandings to obedience, and our affections to duty and compliances. The woman little thought of the glories which ſtood right againſt her. He that ſate upon the well had a throne placed above the heads of cherubims. In his arms who there reſted himſelf was the ſanctuary of reſt and peace, where wearied ſouls were to lay their heads, and diſpoſe their cares, and there to turn them into joys, and to gild their thorns with glory. That holy tongue which was parched with heat, ſtreamed forth rivulets of holy doctrine, which were to water all the world, to turn our deſarts into Paradiſe. And though he begged water at Jacob's well, yet Jacob drank at his: For at his charge all Jacob's flocks and family were ſuſtained, and by him Jacob's poſterity were made honourable and redeemed. But becauſe this *well was deep*, and the woman *had nothing to draw water with*, and of herſelf could not fathom ſo great a depth, therefore ſhe refuſed him: juſt as we do, when we refuſe to give drink to a thirſty diſciple. Chriſt comes in that humble manner of addreſs, under the veil of poverty or contempt, and we cannot ſee Chriſt from under that robe, and we ſend him away without an alms: little conſidering, that when he begs an alms of us in the inſtance of any of his poor relatives, he aſks of us but to give him occaſion to give a bleſſing for an alms. Thus do the miniſters of religion aſk ſupport; but when the laws are not more juſt than many of the people are charitable, they ſhall fare as their

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[a] Lib. i. ep. 3.

[b] Serm. v. de Jejun. decimi menſis.

[c] Gregor. l. iii. dial. iii. 13.

maſter did: they ſhall preach, but unleſs they can draw water themſelves, they ſhall not drink. But, *ſi ſcirent*, if men did but know who it is that asks them, that it is Chriſt, either in his miniſters, or Chriſt in his poor ſervants, certainly they could not be ſo obſtructed in the iſſues of their juſtice and charity; but would remember, that no honour could be greater, no love more fortunate, than to meet with an opportunity to be expreſſed in ſo noble a manner, that God himſelf is pleaſed to call his own relief.

5. WHEN the diſciples had returned from the town, whither they went to buy proviſion, they *wondered to ſee* the maſter *talking* alone *with the woman.* They knew he never did ſo before, they had obſerved him to be of a reſerved deportment, and not only innocent, but ſecure from the dangers of malice and ſuſpicion, in the matter of incontinence. The Jews were a jealous and froward people: and as nothing will more blaſt the reputation of a prophet than effeminacy and wanton affections, ſo he knew no crime was ſooner objected or harder cleared than that. Of which, becauſe commonly it is acted in privacy, men look for no probation, but pregnant circumſtances and arguments of ſuſpect: ſo nothing can waſh it off, until a man can prove a negative: and if he could, yet he is guilty enough in the eſtimate of the vulgar for having been accuſed. But then, becauſe nothing is ſo deſtructive of the reputation of a governor, ſo contradictory to the authority and dignity of his perſon, as the low and baſer appetites of uncleanneſs, and the conſequent ſhame and ſcorn; (inſomuch that David, having fallen into it, prayed God to confirm or eſtabliſh him *ſpiritu principali*, with the ſpirit of a prince, the ſpirit of luſt being uningenuous and ſlaviſh;) the holy Jeſus, who was to eſtabliſh a new law in the authority of his perſon, was highly curious ſo to demean himſelf, that he might be a perſon uncapable of any ſuch ſuſpicions, and of a temper apt not only to anſwer the calumny, but alſo to prevent the jealouſy. But yet, now he had a great deſign in hand, he meant to reveal to the Samaritans the coming of the Meſſias; and to this his diſcourſe with the woman was inſtrumental. And in imitation of our great maſter, ſpiritual perſons, and the guides of others have been very prudent and reſerved in their ſocieties and intercourſe with women. Hereticks have ſerved their ends upon the impotency of the ſex, and having *led captive ſilly women*, led them about as triumphs of luſt; and knew no ſcandal greater than the ſcandal of hereſy, and therefore ſought not to decline any, but were infamous in their unwary and luſtful mixtures. Simon Magus had his Helena partner of his luſt and hereſy; the author of the ſect of the Nicolaitans (if St. Hierom was not miſinformed) had troops of women; Marcion ſent a woman as his emiſſary to Rome; Apelles had his Philomene; Montanus, Priſca and Maximilla; Donatus was ſerved by Lucilla; Elpidius by Agape, Priſcillian by Galla: and Arius ſpreads his nets by opportunity of his converſation with the prince's ſiſter, and firſt he corrupted her, then he ſeduced the world.

6. BUT holy perſons, preachers of true religion and holy doctrines, although they were careful by publick homilies to inſtruct the female diſciples, that they who are heirs together with us of the ſame hope, may be ſervants in the ſame diſcipline and inſtitution; yet they remitted them to *their*[a] *husbands* and guardians to be *taught at home.* And when any perſonal tranſactions concerning the needs of their ſpirit were of neceſſity to intervene between the prieſt and a woman, the action was done moſt commonly under publick teſt, or if in private, yet with much caution and obſervation of circumſtance, which might as well prevent ſuſpicion, as preſerve their innocence. Converſation and frequent and familiar addreſs does too much rifle the ligaments and reverence of ſpiritual authority, and amongſt the beſt perſons is matter of danger. When the cedars of Libanus have been obſerved to fall, when David and Solomon have been diſhonoured, he is a bold man that will venture farther than he is ſent in errand by neceſſity, or invited by charity, or warranted by prudence. I deny not but ſome perſons have made holy friendſhips with women; St. Athanaſius with a devout and religious virgin, St. Chryſoſtom with Olympia, St. Hierom with Paula Romana, St. John with the Elect Lady, St. Peter and St. Paul with [b] Petronilla and Thecla. And therefore it were a jealouſy beyond the ſuſpicion of monks and eunuchs, to think it impoſſible to have a chaſte converſation with a diſtinct ſex. 1. A pure and right intention, 2. an intercourſe not extended beyond neceſſity or holy ends, 3. a ſhort ſtay, 4. great modeſty, 5. and the buſineſs of religion, will by God's grace hollow the viſit, and preſerve the friendſhip in its being ſpiritual, that it may not degenerate into carnal affection. And yet theſe are only advices uſeful when there is danger in either of the perſons, or ſome ſcandal incident to the profeſſion, that to ſome perſons and in the conjunction of many circumſtances are oftentimes not conſiderable.

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[a] 1 Cor. xiv. 35.

[b] Quam B. Petri filiam naturalem non fuiſſe recte probat Baronius.

7. WHEN Jeſus had reſolved to reveal himſelf to the woman, he firſt gives her occaſion to reveal herſelf to him, fairly inſinuating an opportunity to confeſs her ſins, that, having purged herſelf from her impurity, ſhe might be apt to entertain the article of the revelation of the Meſſias. And indeed a crime in our manners is the greateſt indiſpoſition of our underſtanding to entertain the truth and doctrine of the goſpel: eſpecially when the revelation conteſts againſt the ſin, and profeſſes open hoſtility to the luſt. For faith being the gift of God and an illumination, the ſpirit of God will not give this light to them that prefer their darkneſs before it: either the will muſt open the windows, or the light of faith will not ſhine into the chamber of the ſoul. [a] *How can ye believe,* (ſaid our bleſſed Saviour) *that receive honour one of another?* Ambition and faith, believing God and ſeeking of our ſelves, are incompetent and totally incompoſſible. And therefore Serapion, biſhop of Thmuis ſpake like an angel, (ſaith Socrates) ſaying [b] "That the mind which feedeth upon ſpiritual knowledge muſt thoroughly " be cleanſed. The iraſcible faculty muſt firſt be cured with brotherly love and charity, " and the concupiſcible muſt be ſuppreſſed with continency and mortification." Then may the underſtanding apprehend the myſteriouſneſs of Chriſtianity. For ſince Chriſtianity is a holy doctrine, if there be any remanent affections to a ſin, there is in the ſoul a party diſaffected to the entertainment of the inſtitution, and we uſually believe what we have a mind to. [c] Our underſtandings, if a crime be lodged in the will, being like icterical eyes, tranſmitting the ſpecies to the ſoul with prejudice, diſaffection, and colours of their own framing. If a preacher ſhould diſcourſe that there ought to be a parity amongſt Chriſtians, and that their goods ought to be in common, all men will apprehend that not princes and rich perſons, but the poor and the ſervants, would ſooneſt become the diſciples, and believe the doctrines, becauſe they are the only perſons likely to get by them: and it concerns the other not to believe him, the doctrine being deſtructive of their intereſts. Juſt ſuch a perſuaſion is every perſevering love to a vicious habit; it having poſſeſſed the underſtanding with fair opinions of it, and ſurpriſed the will with paſſion and deſires, whatſoever doctrine is its enemy will with infinite difficulty be entertained. And we know a great experience of it in the article of the Meſſias dying on the croſs, which though infinitely true, yet becauſe *to the Jews it was a ſcandal, and to the Greeks fooliſhneſs,* it could not be believed, they remaining in that indiſpoſition; that is, unleſs the will were firſt ſet right, and they willing to believe any truth, though for it they muſt diſclaim their intereſt. Their underſtanding was blind, becauſe the heart was hardened and could not receive the impreſſion of the greateſt moral demonſtration in the world.

8. THE holy Jeſus asked water of the woman, unſatisfying water; but promiſed that himſelf, to them that ask him, would give waters of life, and ſatisfaction infinite: ſo diſtinguiſhing the pleaſures and appetites of this world from the deſires and complacencies ſpiritual. Here we labour, but receive no benefit; we ſow many times, and reap not; or reap, and do not gather in; or gather in, and do not poſſeſs; or poſſeſs, but do not enjoy; or if we enjoy, we are ſtill unſatiſfied, it is with anguiſh of ſpirit and circumſtances of vexation. A great heap of riches makes neither our cloaths warm, nor our meat more nutritive, nor our beverage more pleaſant; and it feeds the eye, but never fills it, but, like drink to an hydropick perſon, increaſes the thirſt, and promotes the torment. But the grace of God, though but like a grain of muſtard-ſeed, fills the furrows of the heart; and as the capacity increaſes, it ſelf grows up in equal degrees, and never ſuffers any emptineſs or diſſatisfaction, but carries content and fulneſs all the way: and the degrees of augmentation are not ſteps and near approaches to ſatisfaction, but increaſings of the capacity: the ſoul is ſatisfied all the way, and receives more, not becauſe it wanted any, but that it can now hold more, is more receptive of felicities. And in every minute of ſanctification there is ſo excellent a condition of joy and high ſatisfaction, that the very calamities, the afflictions and perſecutions of the world are turned into felicities by the activity of the prevailing ingredient: like a drop of water falling into a tun of wine, it is aſcribed into a new family, loſing its own nature by a converſion into the more noble. For now that all paſſionate deſires are dead, and there is nothing remanent that is vexatious, the peace, the ſerenity, the quiet ſleeps, the evenneſs of ſpirit, and contempt of things below, remove the ſoul from all neighbourhood of diſpleaſure, and place it at the foot of the throne, whither when it is aſcended, it is poſſeſſed of felicities eternal. Theſe were the

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[a] John v. 44.

[b] L. iv. Hiſt. c. xxiii.

[c] Lurida præterea fiunt quæcunque tuentur
Arquati ————
Multáque ſunt oculis in eorum denique miſta,
Quæ contage ſua palloribus omnia pingunt.
Lucret. lib. iv.

waters which were given to us to drink, when with the rod of God the rock Chriſt Jeſus was ſmitten. *The ſpirit* of God *moves* for ever *upon theſe waters*: and when the angel of the covenant hath ſtirred the pool, whoever deſcends hither ſhall find health and peace, joys ſpiritual, and the ſatisfactions of eternity.

The PRAYER.

O Holy Jeſus, fountain of eternal life, thou ſpring of joy and ſpiritual ſatisfactions, let the holy ſtream of blood and water iſſuing from thy ſacred ſide cool the thirſt, ſoften the hardneſs, and refreſh the barrenneſs of my deſart ſoul; that I thirſting after thee, as the wearied hart after the cool ſtream, may deſpiſe all the vainer complacencies of this world, refuſe all ſocieties but ſuch as are ſafe, pious and charitable, mortify all ſottiſh appetites, and may deſire nothing but thee, ſeek none but thee, and reſt in thee with intire dereliction of my own caitive inclinations; that the deſires of nature may paſs into deſires of grace, and my thirſt and my hunger may be ſpiritual, and my hopes placed in thee, and the expreſſes of my charity upon thy relatives, and all the parts of my life may ſpeak my love and obedience to thy commandments: that thou poſſeſſing my ſoul and all its faculties during my whole life, I may poſſeſs thy glories in the fruition of a bleſſed eternity; by the light of thy goſpel here and the ſtreams of thy grace being guided to thee the fountain of life and glory, there to be inebriated with the waters of Paradiſe, with joy, and love, and contemplation, adoring and admiring the beauties of the Lord for ever and ever. Amen.

Conſiderations upon Chriſt's firſt preaching, and the accidents happening about that time.

1. WHen *John was caſt into priſon*, then *began Jeſus to preach*: not only becauſe the miniſtry of John by order of divine deſignation was to precede the publication of Jeſus; but alſo upon prudent conſiderations and deſigns of providence, leſt two great perſonages at once upon the theatre of Paleſtine might have been occaſion of divided thoughts, and theſe have determined upon a ſchiſm, ſome profeſſing themſelves to be of Chriſt, ſome of John. For once an offer was made of a dividing queſtion by the ſpite of the Phariſees, *why do the diſciples of John faſt often, and thy diſciples faſt not?* But when John went off from the ſcene, then Jeſus appeared like the ſun in ſucceſſion to the morning-ſtar; and there were no divided intereſts upon miſtake, or the fond adherences of the followers. And although the holy Jeſus would certainly have cured all accidental inconveniences which might have happened in ſuch accidents, yet this may become a precedent to all prelates, to be prudent in avoiding all occaſions of a ſchiſm, and rather than divide a people, ſubmit and relinquiſh an opportunity of preaching to their inferiors, as knowing that God is better ſerved by charity than a homily; and if my modeſty made me reſign to my inferior, the advantages of honour to God by the ceſſions of humility are of greater conſideration than the ſmaller and accidental advantages of better-penned and more accurate diſcourſes. But our bleſſed Lord, deſigning to gather diſciples, did it in the manner of the more extraordinary perſons and doctors of the Jews, and particularly of the Baptiſt; he initiated them into the inſtitution by the ſolemnity of a baptiſm: but yet he was pleaſed not to miniſter it in his own perſon. His apoſtles were baptized in John's baptiſm, ſaid [a] Tertullian; or elſe, St. Peter only was baptized by his Lord, and he baptized the reſt. However, the Lord was pleaſed to depute the miniſtry of his ſervants, that ſo he might conſtitute a miniſtry; that he might reſerve it to himſelf as a ſpeciality to *baptize with the ſpirit*, as his ſervants did *with water*; that he might declare that the efficacy of the rite did not depend upon the dignity of the miniſter, but his own inſtitution, and the holy covenant; and laſtly, leſt they who were baptized by him in perſon might pleaſe themſelves above their brethren, whoſe needs were ſerved by a lower miniſtry.

[a] Lib. de Baptiſm.

2. THE holy Jeſus, the great phyſician of our ſouls, now entring upon his cure and the dioceſe of Paleſtine, which was afterwards enlarged to the pale of the catholick church, was curious to obſerve all advantages of prudence for the benefit of ſouls, by the choice of place; by quitting the place of his education, which, becauſe it had been poor and humble, was apt to procure contempt to his doctrine, and deſpite to his perſon, by fixing in Capernaum, which had the advantage of popularity, and the opportunity of extending the benefit, yet had not the honour and ambition of Jeruſalem: that the miniſters of religion might be taught to ſeek and deſire imployment in ſuch circumſtances which may ſerve the end of God, but not of ambition; to promote the intereſt of ſouls, but not the inordination of lower appetites. Jeſus quitted his natural and civil intereſts, when they were leſs conſiſtent with the end of God and his prophetical office; and conſidered not his mother's houſe and the vicinage in the accounts of religion, beyond thoſe other places in which he might better do his father's work. In which a forward piety might behold the inſinuation of a duty to ſuch perſons, who by rights of law and cuſtom were ſo far inſtrumental to the cure of ſouls, as to deſign the perſons: they might do but duty if they firſt conſidered the intereſts of ſouls before the advantages of their kindred and relatives. And although, if all things elſe be alike, they may in equal diſpoſitions prefer their own before ſtrangers, yet it were but reaſon that they ſhould firſt conſider ſadly if the men be equal, before they remember that they are of their kindred, and not let this conſideration be an ingredient into the former judgment. And another degree of liberty yet there is: if our kindred be perſons apt and holy, and without exceptions either of law, or prudence, or religion, we may do them advantages before others who have ſome degrees of learning and improvement beyond the other: or elſe no man might lawfully prefer his kindred, unleſs they were abſolutely the ableſt in a dioceſe or kingdom; which doctrine were a ſnare apt to produce ſcruples to the conſciences, rather than advantages to the cure. But then alſo patrons ſhould be careful that they do not account their clerks by an eſtimate taken from compariſon with unworthy candidates, ſet up on purpoſe, that when we chooſe our kindred, we may abuſe our conſciences, by ſaying, we have fulfilled our truſt, and made election of the more worthy. In theſe and the like caſes, let every man who is concerned deal with juſtice, nobleneſs and ſincerity, with the ſimplicity of a chriſtian, and the wiſdom of a man, without tricks and ſtratagems, to diſadvantage the church by doing temporal advantages to his friend or family.

3. THE bleſſed maſter began his office with a *ſermon of repentance*, as his deceſſour John the Baptiſt did in his miniſtration; to tell the world, that the *new covenant*, which was to be eſtabliſhed by the mediation and office of the holy Jeſus, was a covenant of grace and favour, not eſtabliſhed upon works, but upon promiſes, and remiſſion of right on God's part, and remiſſion of ſins on our part. The law was *a covenant of works*, and whoever prevaricated any of its ſanctions in a conſiderable degree, he ſtood ſentenced by it without any hopes of reſtitution ſupplyed by the law. And therefore it was the *covenant of works*, not becauſe good works were then required more than now, or becauſe they had more efficacy than now; but becauſe all our hopes did rely upon the perfection of works and innocence, without the ſuppletories of grace, pardon, and repentance. But the goſpel is therefore *a covenant of grace*, not that works are excluded from our duty, or from co-operating to Heaven; but that, becauſe there is in it ſo much mercy; the imperfections of the works are made up by the grace of Jeſus, and the defects of innocence are ſupplied by the ſubſtitution of repentance. Abatements are made for the infirmities and miſeries of humanity; and if we do our endeavour now after the manner of men, the faith of Jeſus Chriſt, that is conformity to his laws, and ſubmiſſion to his doctrine, entitles us to the grace he hath purchaſed for us, that is, our ſins for his ſake ſhall be pardoned. So that the law and the goſpel are not oppoſed barely upon the title of faith and works, but as the *covenant of faith* and the *covenant of works*. In the faith of a Chriſtian works are the great ingredient and the chief of the conſtitution; but the goſpel is not *a covenant of works*, that is, it is not an agreement upon the ſtock of innocence without allowances of repentance, requiring obedience in rigour and ſtricteſt eſtimate. But the goſpel requires the holineſs of a Chriſtian, and yet after the manner of a man: for, always provided that we do not allow to our ſelves a liberty, but endeavour with all our ſtrength, and love with all our ſoul, that which, if it were upon our allowance, would be required at our hands, now that it is againſt our will, and highly conteſted againſt, is put upon the ſtock of Chriſt, and allowed to us by God in the accounts of pardon by the merits of Jeſus, by the covenant of the goſpel. And this is the repentance and remiſſion of ſins which John firſt preached

upon the approximation of the kingdom, and Chriſt at the firſt manifeſtation of it, and the apoſtles afterward in the name of Jeſus.

4. JESUS now having begun his preaching, began alſo to gather his family; and firſt called Simon and Andrew, then James and John; at whoſe vocation he wrought a miracle, which was a ſignification of their office, and the ſucceſs of it; a draught of fiſhes ſo great and prodigious, that it convinced them that he was a perſon very extraordinary, whoſe voice the fiſhes heard, and came at his call: and ſince he deſigned them to become *fiſhers of men,* although themſelves were as unlikely inſtruments to perſuade men as the voice of the Son of man to command fiſhes, yet they ſhould prevail in ſo great numbers, that the whole world ſhould run after them, and upon their ſummons come into the net of the goſpel, becoming diſciples of the glorious Nazarene. St. Peter the firſt time that he threw his net, at the deſcent of the Holy Ghoſt in Pentecoſt, catched three thouſand men; and at one ſermon ſometimes the princes of a nation have been converted, and the whole land preſently baptized; and the multitudes ſo great, that the apoſtles were forced to deſign ſome men to the miniſtration of baptiſm by way of peculiar office: and it grew to be work enough, the eaſineſs of the miniſtry being made buſy and full of imployment where a whole nation became diſciples. And indeed the doctrine is ſo holy, the principle ſo divine, the inſtruments ſo ſupernatural, the promiſes ſo glorious, the revelations ſo admirable, the rites ſo myſterious, the whole fabrick of the diſcipline ſo full of wiſdom, perſuaſion, and energy, that the infinite numbers of the firſt converſions were not ſo great a wonder, as that there are ſo few now: every man calling himſelf Chriſtian, but few having that *power of Godlineſs* which diſtinguiſhes Chriſtian from a word and an empty name. And the word is now the ſame, and the arguments greater, (for ſome have been growing ever ſince, as the prophecies have been fulfilled,) and the ſermons more, and *the ſpirit the ſame*; and yet ſuch *diverſity of operations*, that we hear and read the ſermons and dictates evangelical, as we do a romance, but that it is with leſs paſſion, but altogether as much unconcerned as with a ſtory of Salmanaſar or Ibrahim Baſſa. For we do not leave one vice, nor reject one luſt, nor deny one impetuous temptation the more for the four goſpels ſake, and all St. Paul's epiſtles mingled in the argument. And yet all think themſelves fiſhes within Chriſt's net, and the prey of the goſpel. And it is true they are ſo; for *the kingdom is like unto a net, which incloſed fiſhes good and bad*: but this ſhall be of ſmall advantage when the net ſhall be drawn to the ſhore, and the ſeparation made.

5. WHEN Jeſus called thoſe diſciples, they had been *fiſhing all night and caught nothing*; but when Chriſt bad them *let down the net*, they took multitudes: to ſhew to us, that the ſucceſs of our endeavours is not in proportion to our labours, but the divine aſſiſtance and benediction. It is not the excellency of the inſtrument, but the capacity of the ſubject, nor yet this alone, but the aptneſs of the application, nor that without an influence from Heaven, can produce the fruits of a holy perſuaſion and converſion. *Paul may plant, and Apollos may water; but God gives the increaſe*. Indeed when we let down the nets at the divine appointment, the ſucceſs is the more probable, and certainly God will bring benefit to the place, or honour to himſelf, or ſalvation to them that will obey, or conviction to them that will not: but whatever the fruit be in reſpect of others, the reward ſhall be great to themſelves. And therefore St. Paul did not ſay he had profited, but, *he had laboured more than they all*, as knowing the divine acceptance would take its account in proportion to our endeavours and intendments; not by commenſuration to the effect, which being without us, depending upon God's bleſſing and the co-operation of the recipients, can be no ingredient into our account. But this alſo may help to ſupport the wearineſs of our hopes, and the protraction and deferring of our expectation, if a laborious prelate and an aſſiduous preacher have but few returns to his many cares and greater labours. A whole night a man may labour, (the longeſt life is no other,) and yet catch nothing; and then the Lord may viſit us with his ſpecial preſence, and more forward aſſiſtance, and the harveſt may grow up with the ſwiftneſs of a gourd, and the fruitfulneſs of olives, and the plaiſance of the vine, and the ſtrength of wheat; and whole troops of penitents may ariſe from the darkneſs of their graves at the call of one ſermon, even when he pleaſes: and till then we muſt be content that we do our duty, and lay the conſideration of the effect at the feet of Jeſus.

6. IN the days of the patriarchs, the governors of the Lord's people were called ſhepherds; ſo was Moſes, and ſo was David. In the days of the goſpel they are ſhepherds ſtill, but with the addition of a new appellative, for now they are called fiſhers.

Both the callings were honeſt, humble and laborious, watchful and full of trouble: but now that both the titles are conjunct, we may obſerve the ſymbol of an implicit and folded duty. There is much ſimplicity and care in the ſhepherd's trade; there is much craft and labour in the fiſher's: and a prelate is to be both full of piety to his flock, and careful of their welfare; and, becauſe in the political and ſpiritual ſenſe too *feeding* and *governing* are the ſame duty, it concerns them that have cure of ſouls to be diſcreet and wary, obſervant of advantages, laying ſuch baits for the people as may entice them into the nets of Jeſus's diſcipline. *But being crafty I caught you*, ſaith St. Paul, for he was a fiſher too. And ſo muſt ſpiritual perſons be fiſhers to all ſpiritual ſenſes of watchfulneſs, and care, and prudence: only they muſt not fiſh for preferment and ambitious purpoſes, but muſt ſay with the king of Sodom, "Date nobis animas, cætera vos tollite;" which St. Paul renders, *We ſeek not yours, but you.* And in order to ſuch acquiſt, the purchaſe of ſouls, let them have the diligence and the craft of the fiſhers, the watchfulneſs and care of ſhepherds, the prudence of politicks, the tenderneſs of parents, the ſpirit of government, the warineſs of obſervation, great knowledge of the diſpoſitions of their people, and experience of ſuch advantages by means of which they may ſerve the ends of God and of ſalvation upon their ſouls.

7. WHEN Peter had received the fruits of a rich miracle in the prodigious and proſperous draught of fiſhes, he inſtantly *falls down at the feet of Jeſus*, and confeſſes himſelf *a ſinner*, and unworthy of the preſence of Chriſt. In which confeſſion I not only conſider the conviction of his underſtanding by the teſtimony of the miracle, but the modeſty of his ſpirit, who in his exaltation, and the joy of a ſudden and happy ſucceſs, retired into humility and conſideration of his own unworthineſs; leſt, as it happens in ſudden joys, the laviſhneſs of his ſpirit ſhould tranſport him to intemperance, to looſer affections, to vanity and gariſhneſs, leſs becoming the ſeverity and government of a diſciple of ſo great a maſter. For in ſuch great and ſudden accidents, men uſually are diſſolved and melted into joy and inconſideration, and let fly all their ſevere principles and diſcipline of manners, till, as Peter here did, though to another purpoſe, they ſay to Chriſt, *Depart from me, O Lord:* as if ſuch excellencies of joys, like the leſſer ſtars, did diſappear at the preſence of him, who is the fountain of all joys regular and juſt. When the ſpirits of the body have been bound up by the cold winter air, the warmth of the ſpring makes ſo great an aperture of the paſſages, and by conſequence ſuch diſſolution of ſpirits, in the preſence of the ſun, that it becomes the occaſion of fevers and violent diſeaſes. Juſt ſuch a thing is a ſudden joy, in which the ſpirits leap out from their cells of auſterity and ſobriety, and are warmed into fevers and wildneſſes, and forfeiture of all judgment and vigorous underſtanding. In theſe accidents the beſt advice is, to temper and allay our joys with ſome inſtant conſideration of the vileſt of our ſins[a], the ſhamefulneſs of our diſgraces, the moſt dolorous accidents of our lives, the worſt of our fears, with meditation of death, or the terrors of doom's-day, or the unimaginable miſeries of damned and accurſed ſpirits. For ſuch conſiderations as theſe are good inſtruments of ſobriety, and are correctives to the malignity of exceſſive joys or temporal proſperities, which, like minerals, unleſs allayed by art, prey upon the ſpirits, and become the union of a contradiction, being turned into mortal medicines.

8. AT this time *Jeſus preached to the people from the ſhip*, which in the fancies and tropical diſcourſes of the old doctors ſignifies the church, and declares that the homilies of order and authority muſt be delivered from the oracle: they that preach muſt be ſent, and God hath appointed tutors and inſtructors of our conſciences by ſpecial deſignation and peculiar appointment. If they that preach do not make their ſermons from the ſhip, their diſcourſes either are the falſe murmurs of hereticks and falſe ſhepherds, or elſe of thieves and invaders of authority, or corrupters of diſcipline and order. For God, that loves to hear us in ſpecial places, will alſo be heard himſelf by ſpecial perſons: and ſince he ſent his angels miniſters to convey his purpoſes of old, then when [b]*the law was ordained by angels*, as *by the hands of a mediator*; now alſo he will ſend his ſervants the ſons of men, ſince the new law was ordained by the Son of man, who is the mediator between God and man in the new covenant. And therefore in the ſhip Jeſus preached, but he had firſt cauſed it *to put off from land*; to repreſent to us, that the ſhip in which we preach muſt be put off from the vulgar communities of men, [b] ſeparate from the people, by the deſignation of ſpecial appointment and of ſpecial holineſs:

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[a] Simul & quod gaudes & quod times contrahe. Seneca.

[b] Gal. iii. 19.

[c] Χωρεῖν γὰρ τὸ ὅμοιον πρὸς ὅμοιον· ὅθεν καὶ μόνος ἱερεὺς ὁ σοφὸς λέγεται, μόνος θεοφιλὴς, μόνος εἰδὼς εὔξασθαι· μόνος γὰρ οἶδε τιμᾷν, ὁ τὴν ἀξίαν μὴ συγχέων τῶν τιμωμένων, καὶ ὁ προηγουμένως ἱερεῖον ἑαυτὸν προσάγων. Hierocl. in Pythag.

neſs: that is, they neither muſt be common men, nor of common lives; but conſecrated by order, and hallowed by holy living; leſt the perſon want authority in deſtitution of a divine character, and his doctrine loſe its energy and power when the life is vulgar, and hath nothing in it holy and extraordinary.

9. The Holy Jeſus in the choice of his apoſtles was reſolute and determined to make election of perſons bold and confident; (for ſo the Galilæans were obſerved naturally to be, and Peter was the boldeſt of the twelve, and a good ſword-man, till the ſpirit of his maſter had faſtened his ſword within the ſcabbard, and charmed his ſpirit into quietneſs;) but he never choſe any of the Scribes and Phariſees, none of the doctors of the law, but perſons ignorant and unlearned. Which, in deſigns and inſtitutions whoſe divinity is not demonſtrated from other arguments, would ſeem an art of concealment and diſtruſt. But in this, which derives its rays from the fountain of wiſdom moſt openly and infallibly, it is a conteſtation againſt the powers of the world upon the intereſts of God, that he who does all the work might have all the glory, and in the productions in which he is fain to make the inſtruments themſelves, and give them capacity and activity, every part of the operation and cauſality and effect may give to God the ſame honour he had from the creation, for his being the only workman; with the addition of thoſe degrees of excellency, which, in the work of redemption of man, are beyond that of his creation and firſt being.

The PRAYER.

O Eternal Jeſu, lord of the creatures, and prince of the catholick church, to whom all creatures obey in acknowledgment of thy ſupreme dominion, and all according to thy diſpoſition co-operate to the advancement of thy kingdom, be pleaſed to order the affairs and accidents of the world, that all things in their capacity may do the work of the goſpel, and co-operate to the good of the elect, and retrench the growth of vice, and advance the intereſts of virtue. Make all the ſtates and orders of men diſciples of thy holy inſtitution: let princes worſhip thee and defend religion; let thy clergy do thee honour by perſonal zeal, and vigilancy over their flocks; let all the world ſubmit to thy ſcepter, and praiſe thy righteouſneſs, and adore thy judgments, and revere thy laws. And in the multitudes of thy people within the encloſure of thy nets, let me alſo communicate in the offices of a ſtrict and religious duty, that I may know thy voice, and obey thy call, and entertain thy holy ſpirit, and improve my talents; that I may alſo communicate in the bleſſings of the church; and when the nets ſhall be drawn to the ſhore, and the angels ſhall make ſeparation of the good fiſhes from the bad, I may not be rejected, or thrown into thoſe ſeas of fire which ſhall afflict the enemies of thy kingdom, but be admitted into the ſocieties of ſaints, and the everlaſting communion of thy bleſſings and glories, O Bleſſed and Eternal Jeſu. Amen.

DISCOURSE IX.

Of Repentance.

1. THE whole doctrine of the goſpel is comprehended by the Holy Ghoſt in theſe two ſummaries, [*] *faith* and *repentance*; that thoſe two potent and imperious faculties which command our lower powers, which are the fountain of actions, the occaſion and capacity of laws, and the title to reward or puniſhment, the will and the underſtanding, that is, the whole man conſidered in his ſuperior faculties, may become ſubjects of the kingdom, ſervants of Jeſus, and heirs of glory. Faith ſupplies our imperfect conceptions, and corrects our ignorance, making us to diſtinguiſh good from evil, not only by the proportions of reaſon, and cuſtom, and old laws, but by the new ſtandard of the goſpel; it teaches us all thoſe duties which were enjoyned us in order to a participation of mighty glories; it brings our underſtanding into ſubjection, making us apt to receive the ſpirit for our guide, Chriſt for our maſter, the goſpel for our rule, the laws of chriſtianity for our meaſure of good and evil: and it ſuppoſes us

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[*] Acts xx. 21.

naturally ignorant, and comes to ſupply thoſe defects which in our underſtandings were left after the ſpoils of innocence and wiſdom made in Paradiſe upon Adam's prevarication, and continued and encreaſed by our neglect, evil cuſtoms, voluntary deceptions, and infinite prejudices. And as faith preſuppoſes our ignorance, ſo repentance preſuppoſes our malice and iniquity. The whole deſign of Chriſt's coming and the doctrines of the goſpel being to recover us from a miſerable condition, from ignorance to ſpiritual wiſdom, by the conduct of faith; and from a vicious habitually-depraved life and ungodly manners to the purity of the ſons of God, by the inſtrument of repentance.

2. AND this is a loud publication of the excellency and glories of the goſpel, and the felicities of man over all the other inſtances of creation. The angels, who were more excellent ſpirits than human ſouls, were not comprehended and made ſafe within a covenant and proviſions of repentance. Their firſt act of volition was their whole capacity of a bliſsful or miſerable eternity: they made their own ſentence when they made their firſt election; and having ſuch excellent knowledge, and no weakneſſes to prejudge and trouble their choice, what they firſt did was not capable of repentance; becauſe they had at firſt in their intuition and ſight all which could afterwards bring them to repentance. But weak man, who knows firſt by elements, and after long ſtudy learns a ſyllable, and in good time gets a word, could not at firſt know all thoſe things which were ſufficient or apt to determine his choice, but as he grew to underſtand more, ſaw more reaſons to reſcind his firſt elections. The angels had a full peremptory will and a ſatisfied underſtanding at firſt, and therefore were not to mend their firſt act by a ſecond contradictory. But poor man hath a will always ſtrongeſt when his underſtanding is weakeſt, and chooſeth moſt when he is leaſt able to determine; and therefore is moſt paſſionate in his deſires, and follows his object with greateſt earneſtneſs, when he is blindeſt, and hath the leaſt reaſon ſo to do. And therefore God, pitying man, begins to reckon his choices to be criminal, juſt in the ſame degree as he gives him underſtanding. The violences and unreaſonable actions of childhood are no more remembred by God, than they are underſtood by the child. The levities and paſſions of youth are not aggravated by the imputation of malice, but are ſins of a lighter dye, becauſe reaſon is not yet impreſſed and marked upon them with characters and tincture in grain. But he who (when he may chooſe, becauſe he underſtands) ſhall chooſe the evil and reject the good, ſtands marked with a deep guilt, and hath no excuſe left to him, but as his degrees of ignorance left his choice the more imperfect. And becauſe every *ſinner*, in the ſtile of ſcripture, is a *fool*, and hath an election as imperfect as is the action, that is, as great a declenſion from prudence as it is from piety, and the man underſtands as imperfectly as he practiſes: therefore God ſent his Son to [a] *take upon him* (*not the nature of angels, but*) *the ſeed of Abraham*, and to propound ſalvation upon ſuch terms as were poſſible, that is, upon ſuch a piety which relies upon experience, and trial of good and evil; and hath given us leave, if we chooſe amiſs at firſt, to chooſe again, and chooſe better; Chriſt having undertaken to pay for the iſſues of our firſt follies, to make up the breach made by our firſt weakneſſes and abuſed underſtandings.

3. BUT as God gave us this mercy by Chriſt, ſo he alſo revealed it by him. He firſt uſed the authority of a lord, and a creator, and a law-giver: he required obedience indeed upon reaſonable terms, upon the inſtance of but a few commandments at firſt, which when he afterwards multiplied, he alſo appointed ways to expiate the ſmaller irregularities; but left them eternally bound without remedy who ſhould do any great violence or crime. But then he bound them but to a temporal death. Only this, as an eternal death was alſo tacitly implied, ſo alſo a remedy was ſecretly miniſtred, and repentance particularly preached by homilies diſtinct from the covenant of Moſes's law. The law allowed no repentance for greater crimes; [b] *he that was convicted of adultery was to die without mercy*: but God pitied the miſeries of man, and the inconveniences of the law, and ſent Chriſt to ſuffer for the one, and remedy the other. [c] *For ſo it behoved Chriſt to ſuffer, and to riſe from the dead, and that repentance and remiſſion of ſins ſhould be preached in his name among all nations.* And now this is the laſt and only hope of man, who in his natural condition is imperfect, in his cuſtoms vicious, in his habits impotent and criminal. Becauſe man did not remain innocent, it became neceſſary he ſhould be penitent, and that this penitence ſhould

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[a] Heb. ii. 16.

[b] Lev. xx. 10.

[c] Luke xxiv. 46, 47.

His Father saw him, and had Compaſsion, and ran, & fell on his Neck and kiſsed him; And the Son said unto him Father, I have sinned against Heaven, and in thy Sight, and am no more worthy to be called thy Son. S.t Luke, Chap. 15.th Ver. 20.th 21.st

BRITISH MUSEUM 5 AU 70

The Father saw him, and had Compassion, and ran, & fell on his Neck and kissed him. And the Son said unto him Father, I have sinned against Heaven, and in thy sight, and am no more worthy to be called thy Son. Luke 15. Ver. 20. 21.

ſhould[a] by ſome means be made acceptable, that is, become the inſtrument of his pardon, and reſtitution of his hope. Which becauſe it is an act of favour, and depends wholly upon the divine dignation, and was revealed to us by Jeſus Chriſt, who was made not only the prophet and preacher, but the mediator of this new covenant and mercy; it was neceſſary we ſhould become diſciples of the Holy Jeſus, and ſervants of his inſtitution; that is, run to him to be made partakers of the mercies of this new covenant, and accept of him ſuch conditions as he ſhould require of us.

4. THIS covenant is then conſigned to us when we firſt come to Chriſt, that is, when we firſt profeſs our ſelves his diſciples and his ſervants, diſciples of his doctrine, and ſervants of his inſtitution; that is, in baptiſm, in which Chriſt who died for our ſins makes us partakers of his death. For[b] *we are buried by baptiſm into his death,* ſaith St. Paul. Which was alſo repreſented in ceremony by the immerſion appointed to be the rite of that ſacrament. And then it is that God pours forth together with the ſacramental waters a ſalutary and holy fountain of grace, to waſh the ſoul from all its ſtains and impure adherences. And therefore this firſt acceſs to Chriſt is in the ſtile of ſcripture called[c] *regeneration,* the *new birth, redemption, renovation, expiation,* or *atonement with God,* and *juſtification.* And theſe words in the New Teſtament relate principally and properly to the abolition of ſins committed before baptiſm. For we are [d] *juſtified freely by his grace through the redemption that is in Jeſus Chriſt; whom God hath ſet forth to be a propitiation, to declare his righteouſneſs for the remiſſion of ſins that are paſt: to declare, I ſay, at this time his righteouſneſs.* And this is that which St. Paul calls[e] *juſtification by faith,* that[f] *boaſting might be excluded,* and the grace of God by Jeſus made exceeding glorious. For this being the proper work of Chriſt, the firſt entertainment of a diſciple, and manifeſtation of that ſtate which is firſt given him as a favour, and next intended as a duty, is a total abolition of the precedent guilt of ſin, and leaves nothing remaining that can condemn: we then freely receive the entire and perfect effect of that atonement which Chriſt made for us, we are put into a condition of innocence and favour. And this, I ſay, is done regularly in baptiſm; and St. Paul expreſſes it to this ſenſe: after he had enumerated a *ſeries* of vices ſubjected in many, he adds, *and ſuch were ſome of you;* [g] *but ye are waſhed, but ye are ſanctified.* There is nothing of the old guilt remanent; when *ye were waſhed, ye were ſanctified;* or, as the ſcripture calls it in another place, [h] *ye were redeemed from your vain converſation.*

5. FOR this grace was the formality of the covenant: [i] *Repent, and believe the goſpel.* [k] *Repent, and be converted,* (ſo it is in St. Peter's ſermon) *and your ſins ſhall be done away:* that was the covenant. But that Chriſt choſe baptiſm for its ſignature appears in the parallel; [l] *Repent, and be baptized, and waſh away your ſins.* [m] *For Chriſt loved his church, and gave himſelf for it; that he might ſanctify and cleanſe it with the waſhing of water by the word; that he might preſent it to himſelf a glorious church, not having ſpot or wrinkle, or any ſuch thing, but that it ſhould be holy, and without blemiſh.* The ſanctification is integral, the pardon is univerſal and immediate.

6. BUT here the proceſs is ſhort, no more at firſt but this, *Repent, and be baptized, and waſh away your ſins.* Which baptiſm becauſe it was ſpeedily adminiſtred, and yet not without the preparatives of faith and repentance, it is certain thoſe prediſpoſitions were but inſtruments of reception, actions of great facility, of ſmall employment, and ſuch as, ſuppoſing the[n] perſon not unapt, did confeſs the infiniteneſs of the divine mercy, and fullneſs of the redemption, and is called by the apoſtle, [o] *a being juſtified freely.*

7. UPON this ground it is that, by the doctrine of the church, heathen perſons, [p] *ſtrangers from the covenant of grace,* were invited to a confeſſion of faith, and dereliction of falſe religions, with a promiſe that at the very firſt reſignation of their perſons to the ſervice of Jeſus, they ſhould obtain full pardon. It was St. Cyprian's counſel to old

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[a] Parcus Deorum cultor & infrequens,
Inſanientis dum ſapientiæ
Conſultus erro, nunc retrorſum
Vela dare, atque iterare curſus
Cogor relictos.
Horat. l. i. c. xxxiv.

[b] Rom. vi. 4. [c] 1 Pet. iii. 21. Rom. v. 1. Tit. iii. 5, 7. Rom. iii. 26. Gal. ii. 16.

[d] Rom. iii. 24, 25, 26. [e] Verſe 28. [f] Verſe 27.

[g] 1 Cor. vi. 11. [h] 1 Pet. i. 18. [i] Mar. i. 15.

[k] Acts iii. 19. [l] Acts ii. 38. Mar. xvi. 16.

[m] Eph. v. 25, 26, 27.

[n] Φαίνεσθέ μοι οὐ κατ' ἄνθρωπον ζῶντες, ἀλλὰ κατὰ Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν τὸν δι' ἡμᾶς ἀποθανόντα, ἵνα πιστεύοντες εἰς τὸν θάνατον αὐτοῦ, διὰ τοῦ βαπτίσματος κοινωνοὶ τῆς ἀναστάσεως αὐτοῦ γίνησθε. Ignat. ad Trall. Εἶπον δὲ, δι' ὕδατος, καὶ πίστεως, καὶ ξύλου οἱ προπαρασκευαζόμενοι, καὶ μετανοοῦντες ἐφ' οἷς ἥμαρτον, ἐκφεύξονται τὴν μέλλουσαν ἐπέρχεσθαι τοῦ Θεοῦ κρίσιν. Juſtin. Mart. Dial. cum Tryph. Act. vii. 37. & x. 47. & xvi. 15, 33.

[o] Rom. iii. 24.

[p] Eadem eſt ratio laborantium in vinea quos Dominus in Parabola (Matth. xx) undecimâ demum horâ conduxerat, omnes æqualem ſortem promerebantur. Ratio autem eſt, quia antea vocati non erant. Nemo nos conduxerat, ver. 7. Θέλει δημιουργῆσαι ὁ λῃστὴς, ἀλλὰ προλαμβάνει ὁ θάνατος. Cui reſpondet Chriſtus, Οὐ τὸ ἔργον ἐπιζητῶ μόνον, ἀλλὰ τὴν πίστιν ἀπεδεξάμην, Cyril. Hieroſ.

old Demetrianus, "Now in the evening of thy days, when thy ſoul is almoſt expiring, "repent of thy ſins, believe in Jeſus, and turn Chriſtian; and although thou art almoſt "in the embraces of death, yet thou ſhalt be comprehended of immortality." "*Baptizatus ad horam ſecurus hinc exit*, ſaith Auſtin, a baptized perſon dying immediately ſhall live eternally and glorioufly." And this was the caſe of the thief upon the croſs.[a] He confeſſed Chriſt, and repented of his ſins, and begged pardon, and did acts enough to facilitate his firſt acceſs to Chriſt, and but to remove the hindrances of God's favour: then he was redeemed and reconciled to God by the death of Jeſus, that is, he was pardoned with a full, inſtantaneous, integral and clear pardon; with ſuch a pardon which declared the glory of God's mercies, and the infiniteneſs of Chriſt's merits, and ſuch as required a mere reception and entertainment on man's part.

8. BUT then we, having received ſo great a favour, enter into covenant to correſpond with a proportionable endeavour; the benefit of abſolute pardon, that is, ſalvation of our ſouls, being not to be received till[a] *the times of refreſhing ſhall come from the preſence of the Lord*; all the interval we have promiſed to live a holy life in obedience to the whole diſcipline of Jeſus. That is the condition on our part: and if we prevaricate that, the mercy ſhewn to the bleſſed thief is no argument of hope to us, becauſe he was ſaved by the mercies of the firſt acceſs, which correſponds to the remiſſion of ſins we receive in baptiſm; [b]and we ſhall periſh by breaking our own promiſes, and obligations which Chriſt paſſed upon us, when he made with us the covenant of an intire and gracious pardon.

9. FOR in the preciſe covenant there is nothing elſe deſcribed, but pardon ſo given and aſcertained upon an obedience perſevering to the end. And this is clear in all thoſe places of ſcripture which expreſs a holy and innocent life to have been the purpoſe and deſign of Chriſt's death for us, and redemption of us from the former eſtate. [c]*Chriſt bare our ſins in his own body on the tree, that we being dead unto ſin, ſhould live unto righteouſneſs; by whoſe ſtripes ye are healed.* [*Exinde*] from our being *healed*, from our *dying unto ſin*, from our being *buried with Chriſt*, from our being *baptized into his death*: the end of Chriſt's dying for us is, *that we ſhould live unto righteouſneſs*. Which was alſo highly and prophetically expreſſed by St. Zachary in his divine ecſtaſy: This was[d] *the oath which he ſware to our fore-father Abraham, that he would grant unto us, that we being delivered out of the hands of our enemies, might ſerve him without fear, in holineſs and righteouſneſs before him, all the days of our life*. And St. Paul diſcourſes to this purpoſe pertinently and largely: [e] *For the grace of God that bringeth ſalvation hath appeared to all men, teaching us, that denying ungodlineſs and worldly luſts*, [" *Hi ſunt angeli quibus in lavacro renunciavimus*, ſaith Tertullian, "Thoſe are the evil angels, the Devil and his works, which we deny or renounce in "baptiſm"] *we ſhould live ſoberly, righteouſly, and godly in this preſent world*, that is, lead a whole life in the purſuit of univerſal *holineſs*. [Sobriety, juſtice, and godlineſs, being the proper language to ſignify our religion and reſpects to God, to our neighbours, and to our ſelves.] And that this was the very end of our dying in baptiſm, and the deſign of Chriſt's manifeſtation of our redemption, he adds, [f] *Looking for that bleſſed hope and the glorious appearing of the great God and our Saviour Jeſus, who gave himſelf for us* to this very purpoſe, *that he might redeem us from all iniquity, and purify unto himſelf a peculiar people zealous of good works*. Purifying a people peculiar to himſelf is cleanſing it in the laver of regeneration, and appropriating it to himſelf in the rites of admiſſion and profeſſion. Which plainly deſigns the firſt conſignation of our redemption to be in baptiſm; and that Chriſt, there *cleanſing* his church *from every ſpot or wrinkle*, made a covenant with us, that we ſhould renounce all our ſins, and he ſhould cleanſe them all, and then that we ſhould abide in that ſtate. Which is alſo very explicitly ſet down by the ſame apoſtle in that divine and myſterious epiſtle to the Romans: [g] *How ſhall we that are dead to ſin, live any longer therein? Know ye not, that ſo many of us as were baptized into Jeſus Chriſt, were baptized into his death?* Well, what then? *Therefore we are buried with him by baptiſm into his death, that like as Chriſt was raiſed up from the dead by the glory of the Father, even ſo we alſo ſhould walk in newneſs*

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[a] Acts iii. 19.

[b] Licèt latro veniam meruiſſet in fine de omni ſuo crimine, non tamen dedit baptizatis peccandi & perſeverandi authoritatem. Tunc enim baptizatus eſt, qui tunc primùm Chriſtum in Cruce confeſſus eſt. Pœnitentia enim, ſi in extremo vitæ hiatu advenerit, ſanat & liberat in ablutione baptiſmi. Illi autem qui, cùm potuerunt, nunquam converti voluerunt, confitentes eùm jam peccare nequeunt, non ſic facilè acquirunt quod volunt. S. Aug. cap. Nullus de pœnit. diſt. 7.

[c] Vide Part iii. Conſid. of crucifix. of Jeſus, 1 Pet. ii. 4.

[d] Luke i. 73, &c.

[e] Tit. ii. 11, 12.

[f] Verſ. 13, 14.

[g] Rom. vi. 2, 3, 4.

of life. That is the end and myſteriouſneſs of baptiſm, it is a conſignation into the death of Chriſt, and we die with him that once, that is, die to ſin, that we may for ever after live the life of righteouſneſs. [a] *Knowing this, that our old man is crucified with him, that the body of ſin might be deſtroyed, that henceforth we ſhould not ſerve ſin;* that is, from the day of our baptiſm to the day of our death. And therefore God, who knows the weakneſſes on our part, and yet the ſtrictneſs and neceſſity of conſerving baptiſmal grace by the covenant evangelical, hath appointed the auxiliaries of the holy ſpirit to be miniſtred to all baptized people in the holy rite of confirmation, that it might be made poſſible to be done by divine aids, which is neceſſary to be done by the divine commandments.

10. And this might not be improperly ſaid to be the meaning of thoſe words of our Bleſſed Saviour, *He that ſpeaks a word againſt the Son of man, it ſhall be forgiven him; but he that ſpeaks a word againſt the Holy Ghoſt, it ſhall not be forgiven him:* that is, thoſe ſins which were committed in infidelity, before we became diſciples of the Holy Jeſus, are to be remitted in baptiſm and our firſt profeſſion of the religion; but the ſins committed after baptiſm and confirmation, in which we receive the Holy Ghoſt, and by which the holy ſpirit is grieved, are to be accounted for with more ſeverity. And therefore the [b] primitive church, underſtanding our obligations according to this diſcourſe, admitted not any to holy orders who had lapſed and fallen into any ſin of which ſhe could take cognizance, that is, ſuch who had not kept the integrity of their baptiſm; but ſins committed before baptiſm, were no impediments to the ſuſception of orders, becauſe they were abſolutely extinguiſhed in baptiſm. This is the nature of the covenant we made in baptiſm, that is, the grace of the goſpel, and the effect of faith and repentance; and it is expected we ſhould ſo remain. For it is no where expreſſed to be the mercy and intention of the covenant evangelical, that this redemption ſhould be any more than once; or that repentance, which is in order to it, can be renewed to the ſame or ſo great purpoſes and preſent effects.

11. But after we are once reconciled in baptiſm, [c] and put intirely into God's favour, when we have once been redeemed, if we then fall away into ſin, we muſt expect God's dealing with us in another manner and to other purpoſes. Never muſt we expect to be ſo again juſtified, and upon ſuch terms as formerly; the beſt days of our repentance are interrupted. Not that God will never forgive them that ſin after baptiſm, and recover by repentance; but that reſtitution by repentance after baptiſm is another thing than the firſt redemption. No ſuch intire, clear and integral, determinate and preſential effects of repentance; but an imperfect, little, growing, uncertain and hazardous reconciliation; a repentance that is always in production, a renovation by parts, a pardon that is revocable, a *ſalvation* to be *wrought by fear and trembling:* all our remanent life muſt be in bitterneſs, our hopes allayed with fears, our meat attempered with coloquintida, and *death is in the pot:* as our beſt actions are imperfect, ſo our greateſt graces are but poſſibilities and aptneſſes to a reconcilement, and all our life we are working our ſelves into that condition we had in baptiſm, and loſt by our relapſe. As the habit leſſens, ſo does the guilt; as our virtues are imperfect, ſo is the pardon: [d] and becauſe our piety may be interrupted, our ſtate is uncertain, till our poſſibilities of ſin are ceaſed, till our *fight is finiſhed,* and the victory therefore made ſure, becauſe there is no more fight. And it is remarkable, that St. Peter gives counſel to live holily in purſuance of our [e] *redemption,* of our *calling,* and of our *eſcaping from that corruption that is in the world through luſt,* leſt we loſe the benefit of our purgation, to which by way of antitheſis he oppoſes this. [f] *Wherefore the rather give diligence to make your calling and election ſure.* And, [g] *if ye do theſe things, ye ſhall never fall.* Meaning, by the perpetuating our ſtate of baptiſm and firſt repentance we ſhall never fall, but be in a ſure eſtate; *our calling and election ſhall be ſure.* But not, if we fall; [h] *if we forget we were purged from our old ſins:* if we forfeit our *calling,* we have alſo made our *election* unſure, movable, and diſputable.

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[a] Rom. vi. 6.

[b] Vitia Catechumeno non imputantur fideli, imò & Polygamia ante baptiſmum ſacerdotibus non ponebat obicem. S. Hieron. in fin. Apol. 1. contra Ruffin. S. Aug. de bono conjugali; de ſacramento enim agitur, non de peccato. Nam in baptiſmo omnia peccata dimittuntur. Can. Apoſt. 17. Concil. Eliber. c. 30, 31. Mundus poſt diluvium rurſus delinquens igni deſtinatur: ſicut & homo qui poſt baptiſmum delicta reſtaurat. Tertul. de Baptiſ.

[c] Nunc hic dies aliam vitam adfert, alios mores poſtulat.

[d] Ante obitum nemo ſupremáque funera felix.

[e] 2 Pet. i. 4.

[f] Verſe 10.

[g] Vide etiam Col. i. 21, 22, 23.

[h] 2 Pet. i. 9.

12. So that now the hopes of lapſed ſinners rely upon another bottom. And as in Moſes's law there was no revelation of repentance, but yet the Jews had hopes in God, and were taught the ſuccours of repentance by the homilies of the prophets and other acceſſory notices: ſo in the goſpel the covenant was eſtabliſhed upon faith and repentance, but it was conſigned in baptiſm, and was verifiable only in the integrity of a following holy life according to the meaſures of a man; not perfect, but ſincere; not faultleſs, but heartily endeavoured: but yet the mercy of God in pardoning ſinners lapſed after baptiſm was declared to us by collateral and indirect occaſions; by the ſermons of the apoſtles, and the commentaries of apoſtolical perſons, who underſtood the meaning of the ſpirit, and the purpoſes of the divine mercy, and thoſe other ſignifications of his will, which the bleſſed Jeſus left upon record in other parts of his Teſtament, as in codicils annexed, beſides the preciſe Teſtament it ſelf. And it is certain, if in the covenant of grace there be the ſame involution of an after-repentance, as there is of preſent pardon upon paſt repentance and future ſanctity, it is impoſſible to juſtify that a holy life and a perſevering ſanctity is enjoyned by the covenant of the goſpel: if, I ſay, in its firſt intention it be declared that we may as well and upon the ſame terms, hope for pardon upon a recovery hereafter, as upon the perſeverance in the preſent condition.

13. FROM theſe premiſes, we may ſoon underſtand what is the duty of a Chriſtian in all his life, even to purſue his own undertaking made in baptiſm, or his firſt acceſs to Chriſt, and redemption of his perſon from the guilt and puniſhment of ſins. The ſtate of a Chriſtian is called in ſcripture *regeneration, ſpiritual life, walking after the ſpirit, walking in newneſs of life*, that is, *a bringing forth fruits meet for repentance.* That repentance which tied up in the ſame ligament with faith was the diſpoſition of a Chriſtian to his regeneration and atonement, muſt have holy life in perpetual ſucceſſion: for that is the apt and proper fruit of the firſt repentance, which John the Baptiſt preached as an introduction to Chriſtianity, and as an entertaining the redemption by the blood of the covenant. And all that is ſpoken in the New Teſtament is nothing but a calling upon us to do what we promiſed in our regeneration, to perform that which was the deſign of Chriſt, who therefore redeemed us, and *bare our ſins in his own body, that we might die unto ſin, and live unto righteouſneſs.*

14. THIS is that ſaying of St. Paul, [a] *Follow peace with all men, and holineſs, without which no man ſhall ſee the lord: looking diligently, leſt any man fail of the grace of God, leſt any root of bitterneſs ſpringing up trouble you.* Plainly ſaying, that unleſs we purſue the ſtate of holineſs and Chriſtian communion into which we were baptized when we received the [b] *grace of God,* we ſhall *fail* of the ſtate of grace, and never come to ſee the glories of the Lord. And a little before; *Let us draw near with a true heart, in full aſſurance of faith, having our hearts ſprinkled from an evil conſcience, and our bodies waſhed with pure water.* That's the firſt ſtate of our redemption, that's [c] *the covenant God made with us, to remember our ſins no more, and to put his laws in our hearts and minds.* And this was done, *when our bodies were waſhed with water, and our hearts ſprinkled from an evil conſcience,* that is, in baptiſm. It remains then that we perſiſt in the condition, that we may continue our title to the covenant; for ſo it follows, [d] *Let us hold faſt the profeſſion of our faith without wavering: for if we ſin wilfully after the profeſſion, there remains no more ſacrifice:* that is, if we hold not faſt the profeſſion of our faith, and continue not the condition of the covenant, but fall into a contrary ſtate, we have forfeited the mercies of the covenant. So that all our hopes of bleſſedneſs, relying upon the covenant made with God in Chriſt Jeſus, are aſcertained upon us, by *holding faſt that profeſſion,* by retaining *our hearts* ſtill *ſprinkled from an evil conſcience,* by *following peace with all men and holineſs*: for by not *failing of the grace of God,* we ſhall not fail of our hopes, *the mighty price of our high calling*; but without all this we ſhall never ſee the face of God.

15. To the ſame purpoſe are all thoſe places of ſcripture, which intitle us to Chriſt and *the ſpirit* upon no other condition but a holy life, and a prevailing habitual, victorious grace. [e] *Know you not your own ſelves,* brethren, *how that Jeſus Chriſt is in you, except ye be reprobates?* There are but two ſtates of being in order to eternity, either a ſtate of the inhabitation of Chriſt, or the ſtate of reprobation: either *Chriſt is in us,* or *we are reprobates.* But what does that ſignify, to have *Chriſt dwelling in us?* That alſo we learn at the feet of the ſame doctor; [f] *If Chriſt be in you, the body is dead by reaſon of ſin; but the ſpirit is life becauſe of righteouſneſs.* The body of ſin is mortified, and the life of grace is active, buſy and ſpiritual, in all them who are not in the

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[a] Heb. xii. 14, 15. [b] Heb. x. 22. [c] Verſ. 16, 17. [d] Heb. x. 23, 26. [e] 2 Cor. xiii. 5. [f] Rom. viii. 10.

ſtate of reprobation. The parallel with that other expreſſion of his, [a] *They that are Chriſt's have crucified the fleſh with the affections and luſts.* If ſin be vigorous, if it be habitual, if it be beloved, if it be not dead or dying in us, we are not of Chriſt's portion, we belong not to him, nor he to us. [b] *For whoever is born of God doth not commit ſin, for his ſeed remaineth in him; and he cannot ſin, becauſe he is born of God:* that is, every regenerate perſon is in a condition whoſe very being is a contradiction and an oppoſite deſign to ſin. When he was regenerate and *born* anew *of water and the ſpirit, the ſeed of God,* the original of piety, was put into him, and bidden to *increaſe and multiply. The ſeed of God* (in St. John) is the ſame with *the word* of God (in St. James) [c] *by which he begat us*; and as long as this remains, a regenerate perſon cannot be given up to ſin: for when he is, he quits his baptiſm, he renounces the covenant, he alters his relation to God in the ſame degree as he enters into a ſtate of ſin.

16. AND yet this diſcourſe is no otherwiſe to be underſtood than according to the deſign of the thing it ſelf and the purpoſe of God, that is, that it be a deep engagement and an effectual conſideration for the neceſſity of a holy life: but at no hand let it be made an inſtrument of deſpair, nor an argument to leſſen the influences of the divine mercy. For although the nicety and limits of the covenant being conſigned in baptiſm, are fixed upon the condition of a holy and perſevering uninterrupted ſanctity; and our redemption is wrought but once, compleated but once, we are but once abſolutely, intirely and preſentially forgiven, and reconciled to God, this reconciliation being in virtue of the ſacrifice, and this ſacrifice applied in baptiſm is one, as *baptiſm is one,* and as the ſacrifice is one: yet the mercy of God beſides this great feaſt hath fragments, which the apoſtles and miniſters ſpiritual are to gather up in baskets, and miniſter to the after-needs of indigent and neceſſitous diſciples.

17. AND this we gather, as fragments are gathered, by reſperſed ſayings, inſtances and examples of the divine mercy recorded in holy ſcripture. The Holy Jeſus commands us to *forgive our brother ſeventy times ſeven times,* when he asks our pardon and implores our mercy. And ſince the divine mercy is the pattern of ours, and is alſo procured by ours, the one being made the meaſure of the other by way of precedent and by way of reward, God will certainly forgive us, as we forgive our brother. And it cannot be imagined God ſhould oblige us to give pardon oftner than he will give it himſelf, eſpecially ſince he hath expreſſed ours to be a title of a proportionable reception of his; and hath alſo commanded us to ask pardon all days of our life, even in our daily offices, and to beg it in the meaſure and rule of our own charity and forgiveneſs to our brother. And therefore God in his infinite wiſdom foreſeeing our frequent relapſes, and conſidering our infinite infirmities, appointed in his church an ordinary miniſtry of pardon, deſigning the miniſter to pray for ſinners, and promiſing to accept him in that his advocation, or that he would open or ſhut heaven reſpectively to his act on earth; that is, he would hear his prayers, and verify his miniſtry, to whom he hath *committed the word of reconciliation.* This became a duty to Chriſtian miniſters, ſpiritual perſons, that they ſhould [d] *reſtore a perſon overtaken in a fault,* that is, reduce him to the condition he begins to loſe: that they ſhould [e] *pray over ſick perſons,* who are alſo commanded to *confeſs their ſins*; and God hath promiſed that *the ſins they have committed ſhall be forgiven them.* [f] Thus St. Paul abſolved the inceſtuous excommunicate Corinthian; in the perſon of Chriſt he forgave him. And this alſo is the confidence St. John taught the *Chriſtian church* upon the ſtock of the excellent mercy of God and propitiation of Jeſus: [g] *If we confeſs our ſins, he is faithful and juſt to forgive us our ſins, and to cleanſe us from all unrighteouſneſs.* Which diſcourſe he directs to them who were Chriſtians already initiated into the inſtitution of Jeſus. And the epiſtles which the ſpirit ſent to the ſeven Aſian churches, and were particularly addreſſed to the biſhops, the angels of thoſe churches, are exhortations, ſome to perſeverance, ſome to repentance, that [h] *they may return from whence they are fallen.* And the caſe is ſo with us, that it is impoſſible we ſhould be actually and perpetually free from ſin in the long ſucceſſion of a buſy, and impotent, and a tempted converſation. And without theſe reſerves of the divine grace and after-emanations from the mercy-ſeat, no man could be ſaved; and the death of Chriſt would become inconſiderable to moſt of his greateſt purpoſes: for none ſhould have received advantages but newly-baptized perſons, whoſe albs of baptiſm ſerved them alſo for a winding-ſheet. And therefore our baptiſm, although

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[a] Gal. v. 24. [b] 1 John iii. 9. [c] Jam. i. 18.

[d] Gal. vi. 1. [e] James v. 14.

[f] Εἴ τις ἐπίσκοπος ἢ πρεσβύτερος τὸν ἐπιστρέφοντα ἀπὸ ἁμαρτίας οὐ προσδέχεται, ἀλλὰ ἀποβάλλεται, καθαιρείσθω, ὅτι λυπεῖ Χριστὸν τὸν εἰπόντα, Χαρὰ γίνεται ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ ἐπὶ ἑνὶ ἁμαρτωλῷ μετανοοῦντι. Can. Apost. li.

Ὁ πιστευθεὶς παρὰ Θεοῦ λύειν καὶ δεσμεῖν, εἰ, φιλανθρωπότερος γένοιτο οὐκ ἔσται καταγνώσεως ἄξιος. S. Baſil. Can. pœnit.

[g] 1 John i. 9. [h] Apocal. ii. 5.

although it does conſign the work of God preſently to the baptized perſon in great, certain and entire effect in order to the remiſſion of what is paſt, in caſe the catechumen be rightly diſpoſed or hinders not; yet it hath alſo influence upon the following periods of our life, and hath admitted us into a laſting ſtate of pardon, to be renewed and actually applied by the ſacrament of the Lord's-ſupper, [a] and all other miniſtries evangelical, and ſo long as our repentance is timely, active, and affective.

18. **BUT** now, although it is infinitely certain that the gates of mercy ſtand open to ſinners after baptiſm; yet it is with ſome variety, and greater difficulty. He that renounces Chriſtanity, and becomes apoſtate from his religion, not by a ſeeming abjuration under a ſtorm, but by a voluntary and hearty dereliction, he ſeems to have quitted all that grace which he had received when he was illuminated, and to have loſt the benefits of his redemption and former expiation. And I conceive this is the full meaning of thoſe words of St. Paul, which are of higheſt difficulty and latent ſenſe; [b] *For it is impoſſible for thoſe who were once enlightned*, &c. *if they ſhall fall away, to renew them again unto repentance.* The reaſon is there ſubjoined, and more clearly explicated a little after: [c] *For if we ſin wilfully after we have received the knowledge of the truth, there remains no more ſacrifice for ſins:* For *he hath counted the blood of the covenant, wherewith he was ſanctified, an unholy thing, and hath done deſpite to the ſpirit of grace.* The meaning is divers, according to the degrees of apoſtaſy or relapſe. They who fall away after they were once enlightened in baptiſm, and felt all thoſe bleſſed effects of the ſanctification and the emanations of the ſpirit, if it be into a contradictory ſtate of ſin and mancipation, and obſtinate purpoſes to ſerve Chriſt's enemies; then [d] *there remains nothing but a fearful expectation of judgment:* but if the backſliding be but the interruption of the firſt ſanctity by a ſingle act, or an unconformed, unreſolved, unmalicious habit; then alſo *it is impoſſible to renew them unto repentance, viz.* as formerly, that is, they can never be reconciled as before, integrally, fully, and at once, during this life. For that redemption and expiation was by baptiſm into Chriſt's death, and there are no more deaths of Chriſt, nor any more ſuch ſacramental conſignations of the benefit of it; *there is no more ſacrifice for ſins*, but the redemption is one, as the ſacrifice is one in whoſe virtue the redemption does operate. And therefore the Novatians, who were zealous men, denied to the firſt ſort of perſons the peace of the church, and remitted them to the divine judgment. The [e] church her ſelf was ſometimes almoſt as zealous againſt the ſecond ſort of perſons lapſed into capital crimes, granting to them repentance but once: by ſuch diſciplines conſigning this truth, that every receſſion from the ſtate of grace, in which by baptiſm we were eſtabliſhed and conſigned, is a farther ſtep from the poſſibilities of Heaven, and ſo near a ruin, that the church thought them perſons fit to be tranſmitted to a judicature immediately divine; as ſuppoſing either her power to be too little, or the others malice too great, or elſe the danger too violent, or the ſcandal inſupportable. For concerning ſuch perſons, who once were pious, holy, and forgiven, (for ſo is every man and woman worthily and aptly baptized,) and afterwards fell into diſſolution of manners, *extinguiſhing the Holy Ghoſt, doing deſpite to the ſpirit of grace, crucifying again the Lord of life*, that is, returning to ſuch a condition from which they were once recovered, and could not otherwiſe be ſo but by the death of our deareſt Lord; I ſay, concerning ſuch perſons the ſcripture ſpeaks very ſuſpiciouſly, and to the ſenſe and ſignification of an infinite danger. For if the *ſpeaking* a word *againſt the Holy Ghoſt* be *not to be pardoned here nor hereafter*, what can we imagine to be the end of ſuch an impiety which *crucifies the Lord of life, and puts him to an open ſhame*, which *quenches the ſpirit, doing deſpite to the ſpirit of grace?* Certainly that is worſe than ſpeaking againſt him. And ſuch is every perſon who falls into wilful apoſtaſy from the faith, or does that violence to holineſs which the other does to faith; that is, extinguiſhes the ſparks of illumination, *quenches the ſpirit*, and is habitually and obſtinately criminal in any kind. For the ſame thing that atheiſm was in the firſt period of the world, and idolatry in the ſecond, the ſame is apoſtaſy in the laſt; it is a ſtate wholly contradictory to all our religious relation to God, according to the nature and manner of the preſent communication. Only this laſt,

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[a] See Diſcourſe vi. of Baptiſm.

[b] Heb. vi. 4, 6.

[c] Heb. x. 26, 29.

[d] Quid igitur? rejecta eſt pœnitentia? Haudquaquam: ſed renovatio per novum baptiſma rejecta eſt. Renovatio namque ſolius lavacri eſt: ex hac cauſa ab apoſtolo dicitur lavacrum regenerationis & renovationis ſpiritus ſancti. Theophyl. in hunc locum. Idem aiunt S. Chryſ. Ambroſ. Anſelm. in 10 Heb.

[e] Collocavit in veſtibulo pœnitentiam ſecundam, quæ pulſantibus patefaciat, ſed jam ſemel quia jam ſecundo; ſed ampliùs nunquam quia proxime fruſtrá. Tertul. lib. de Pœnit. c. 7. Hujus igitur pœnitentiæ ſecundæ & unius, &c. c. 9.

becauſe it is more malicious, and a declenſion from a greater grace, is ſomething like the fall of angels. And of this the emperor Julian was a ſad example.

19. BUT as theſe are degrees immediately next, and a little leſs; ſo the hopes of pardon are the more viſible. Simon Magus ſpake a word, or at leaſt thought, againſt the Holy Ghoſt; he [a] *thought he was to be bought for money*. Concerning him St. Peter pronounced, *Thou art in the gall of bitterneſs and in the bond of iniquity: yet repent, and pray God, if perhaps the thought of thine heart may be forgiven thee.* Here the matter was of great difficulty; but yet there was a poſſibility left, at leaſt no impoſſibility of recovery declared. And therefore St. Jude bids us, [b] *of ſome to have compaſſion, making a difference; and others ſave with fear, pulling them out of the fire:* meaning that their condition is only not deſperate. And ſtill in deſcent, retaining the ſame proportion, every leſſer ſin is eaſier pardoned, as better conſiſting with the ſtate of grace: the whole ſpirit is not deſtroyed, and the body of ſin is not introduced; Chriſt is not quite ejected out of poſſeſſion, but like an oppreſſed prince, ſtill continues his claim; and ſuch is his mercy that he will ſtill do ſo, till all be loſt, or that he is provoked by too much violence, or that Antichriſt is put in ſubſtitution, and *ſin reigns in our mortal body*. So that I may uſe the words of St. John, [c] *Theſe things I write unto you, that you ſin not. But if any man ſin, we have an advocate with the father, Jeſus Chriſt the righteous. And he is a propitiation for our ſins; and not for ours only, but for the ſins of the whole world.* That is plainly, although the deſign of the goſpel be, that we ſhould erect a throne for Chriſt to reign in our ſpirits, and this doctrine of innocence be therefore preached that we ſin not; yet if one be overtaken in a fault, deſpair not, Chriſt is our *advocate*, and he is the *propitiation:* he did propitiate *the Father* by his death, and the benefit of that we receive at our firſt acceſs to him; but then he is our *advocate* too, and prays perpetually for our perſeverance or reſtitution reſpectively. But his purpoſe is, and he is able ſo to do, *to keep you from falling, and to preſent you faultleſs before the preſence of his glory.*

20. THIS conſideration I intend ſhould relate to all Chriſtians of the world. And although, by the preſent cuſtom of the church, we are baptized in our infancy, and do not actually reap that fruit of preſent pardon which perſons of a mature age in the primitive church did: (for we yet need it not, as we ſhall when we have paſt the calentures of youth, which was the time which the wiſeſt of our fathers in Chriſt choſe for their baptiſm, as appears in the inſtance of St. Ambroſe, St. Auſtin, and divers others: yet we muſt remember, that there is a baptiſm of the ſpirit as well as of water. And whenever this happens, whether it be together with the baptiſm of water, as uſually it was when only men and women of years of diſcretion were baptized; or whether it be miniſtred in the rite of confirmation, which is an admirable ſuppletory of an early baptiſm, and intended by the Holy Ghoſt for a corroborative of baptiſmal grace, and a defenſative againſt danger; or that laſtly, it be performed by an internal and merely ſpiritual miniſtry, when we by acts of our own election verify the promiſe made in baptiſm, and ſo bring back the rite by receiving the effect of baptiſm; that is, whenever the *filth of our fleſh is waſht away*, and that we have *the anſwer of a pure conſcience towards God*, which St. Peter affirms to be the true baptiſm, and which by the purpoſe and deſign of God it is expected we ſhould not defer longer than a great reaſon or a great neceſſity enforces; when our ſins are firſt expiated, and the ſacrifice and death of Chriſt is made ours, and we made God's by a more immediate title, (which at ſome time or other happens to all Chriſtians, that pretend to any hopes of Heaven:) then let us look to our ſtanding, and *take heed leſt we fall. When we once have taſted of the heavenly gift, and are made partakers of the Holy Ghoſt, and have taſted the good word of God, and the powers of the world to come*, that is, when we are redeemed by an actual mercy and preſential application, which every Chriſtian that belongs to God is at ſome time or other of his life; then a fall into a deadly crime is highly dangerous, but a relapſe into a contrary eſtate is next to deſperate.

21. I repreſent this ſad, but moſt true, doctrine in the words of St. Peter: [d] *If after they have eſcaped the pollutions of the world through the knowledge of the Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, they are again entangled therein, and overcome; the latter end is worſe with them than the beginning. For it had been better for them not to have known the way of righteouſneſs, than after they have known it, to turn from the holy*

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[a] Act. viii. 20, 22, 23. [b] Verſ. 22, 23. [c] 1 John i. 1, 2.
[d] 2 Pet. ii. 20, 21.

—— Neque amiſſos colores
Lana refert medicata fugo:
Nec vera virtus, cum ſemel excidit,
Curat reponi deterioribus. Hor. l. iii. Od. 5.

holy commandment delivered unto them. So that a relapſe after a ſtate of grace into a ſtate of ſin, into confirmed habits, is to us a great ſign, and poſſibly in it ſelf it is more than a ſign, even a ſtate, of reprobation and final abſciſſion.

22. THE ſum of all is this. There are two ſtates of like oppoſite terms. Firſt, *Chriſt redeems us from our vain converſation,* and reconciles us to God, putting us into an intire condition of pardon, favour, innocence and acceptance, and becomes our Lord and King, his ſpirit dwelling and reigning in us. The oppoſite ſtate to this is that which in ſcripture is called a *crucifying the Lord of life*, a *doing deſpite to the ſpirit of grace*, a *being entangled in the pollutions of the world*, the *apoſtacy* or *falling away*, an impotency or diſability to do good, *viz.* of ſuch [a] *who cannot ceaſe from ſin*, who are ſlaves of ſin, and in whom *ſin reigns in their bodies.* This condition is a full and integral deletery of the firſt: it is ſuch a condition, which as it hath no holineſs or remanent affections to virtue, ſo it hath no hope or revelation of a mercy, becauſe all that benefit is loſt which they received by the death of Chriſt, and the firſt being loſt, *there remains no more ſacrifice for ſins, but a certain fearful expectation of judgment.* But between theſe two ſtates ſtand all thoſe imperfections and ſingle delinquencies, thoſe ſlips and falls, thoſe parts of receſſion and apoſtacy, thoſe grievings of the ſpirit: and ſo long as any thing of the firſt ſtate is left, ſo long we are within the covenant of grace, ſo long we are within the ordinary limits of mercy and the divine compaſſion, we are in poſſibilities of recovery, and the ſame ſacrifice of Chriſt hath its power over us; Chriſt is in his poſſeſſion, though he be diſturbed. But then our reſtitution conſiſts upon the only condition of a renovation of our integrity: as are the degrees of our innocence, ſo are our degrees of confidence.

23. Now becauſe the intermedial ſtate is diviſible, various, ſucceſſive, and alterable; ſo alſo is our condition of pardon. Our fleſh ſhall no more return as that of a little child, our wounds ſhall never be perfectly cured; but a ſcar, and pain, and danger of a relapſe ſhall for ever afflict us. Our ſins ſhall be pardoned by parts and degrees, to uncertain purpoſes, but with certain danger of being re-called again: and the pardon ſhall never be conſummate till that day in which all things have their conſummation.

24. AND this is evident to have been God's uſual dealing with all thoſe upon whom his name is called. God pardoned David's ſins of adultery and murder: but the pardon was but to a certain degree, and in a limitted expreſſion. [b] *God hath taken away thy ſin, thou ſhalt not die:* but this pardon was as imperfect as his condition was, *nevertheleſs the child that is born unto thee*, that *ſhall die.* Thus God pardoned the Iſraelites at the importunity of Moſes, and yet threatned to viſit that ſin upon them in the day of viſitation. And ſo it is in Chriſtianity: when once we have broke and diſcompoſed the golden chain of vocation, election and juſtification, which are intire links and methodical periods of our happineſs when we firſt give up our names to Chriſt, for ever after our condition is imperfect; we have broken our covenant, and we muſt be ſaved by the excreſcencies and overflowings of mercy. Our whole endeavour muſt be to be reduced to the ſtate of our baptiſmal innocence and integrity, becauſe in that the covenant was eſtabliſhed. And ſince our life is full of defailances, and all our endeavours can never make us ſuch as Chriſt made us, and yet upon that condition our hopes of happineſs were eſtabliſhed, I mean, of remaining ſuch as he had made us; as are the [c] degrees of our reſtitution and acceſs to the firſt federal condition, ſo alſo are the degrees of our pardon: but as it is always in imperfection during this life, and ſubject to change and defailance; ſo alſo are the hopes of our felicity, never certain till we are taken from all danger, never perfect till all that is imperfect in us is done away.

25. AND therefore in the preſent condition of things our pardon was properly expreſſed by David and St. Paul, by [d] *a covering*, and *a not imputing*. For becauſe the body of ſin dies diviſibly, and fights perpetually, and diſputes with hopes of victory, and may alſo prevail, all this life is a condition of ſuſpenſe; our ſin is rather covered, than properly pardoned; God's wrath is ſuſpended, not ſatisfied; the ſin is not to all purpoſes of anger imputed, but yet is in ſome ſenſe remanent, or at leaſt lies ready at the door. Our condition is a ſtate of imperfection; and every degree of imperfection brings a degree of receſſion from the ſtate Chriſt puts us in; and every receſſion from our innocence is alſo an abatement of our confidence: the anger of God hovers over our head, and breaks out into temporal judgments; and he retracts them again, and

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[a] 2 Pet. ii. 14.

[b] 2 Sam. xii. 13, 14.

[c] Μήπω μέγαν εἴπῃς πρὶν τελευτήσαντ' ἴδῃς. Sophocl.

[d] Pſal. xxxii. 1, 2. Rom. iv. 7.

threatens worſe, according as we approach to, or retire from that firſt innocence, which was the firſt entertainment of a Chriſtian, and the crown of the evangelical covenant. Upon that we entertained the mercies of redemption; and God eſtabliſhed it upon ſuch an obedience which is a conſtant, perpetual and univerſal ſincerity and endeavour. And as we perform our part, ſo God verifies his; and not only gives a great aſſiſtance by the perpetual influences of his holy ſpirit, by which we are conſigned to the day of redemption; but alſo takes an account of obedience, not according to the ſtandard of the law and an exact ſcrutiny, but by an evangelical proportion: in which we are on one ſide looked upon as perſons already redeemed and aſſiſted, and therefore highly engaged; and on the other ſide as compaſſed about with infirmities and enemies, and therefore much pitied. So that as at firſt our *calling and election* is preſently good, and ſhall remain ſo, if we *make* it *ſure:* ſo if we once prevaricate it, we are rendered then full of hazard, difficulty and uncertainty, and we muſt with pains and ſedulity *work out our ſalvation with fear and trembling*; firſt by preventing a fall, or afterwards by returning to that excellent condition from whence we have departed.

26. BUT although the pardon of ſins after baptiſm be, during this life, difficult, imperfect, and revokable: yet becauſe it is to great effects for the preſent, and in order to a compleat pardon in the day of judgment, we are next to enquire, what are the parts of duty to which we are obliged after ſuch prevarications which uſually interrupt the ſtate of baptiſmal innocence, and the life of the ſpirit. St. John gives this account; [a] *If we ſay we have fellowſhip with God, and walk in darkneſs, we lye, and do not the truth. But if we walk in the light, as he is in the light, we have communion one with another, and the blood of Jeſus cleanſeth us from all ſin.* [b] This ſtate of duty St. Paul calls *a caſting off the works of darkneſs, a putting on the armour of light, a walking honeſtly, a putting on the Lord Jeſus Chriſt.* And to it he confronts, *making proviſion for the fleſh, to fulfil the luſts thereof.* St. Peter, deſcribing the duty of a Chriſtian, relates the proportion of it as high as the firſt precedent, even God himſelf. [c] *As he which hath called you is holy, ſo be ye holy in all manner of converſation: not faſhioning your ſelves according to your former luſts.* And again, [d] *Seeing then that all theſe things ſhall be diſſolved, what manner of perſons ought we to be in all holy converſation and godlineſs?* And St. John, with the ſame ſeverity and perfection, [e] *Every one that hath this hope* (that is, every one who either does not, or hath no reaſon to deſpair) *purifieth himſelf, even as God is pure;* meaning, that he is pure by a divine purity, which God hath preſcribed as an imitation of his holineſs according to our capacities and poſſibilities. That purity muſt needs be a [f] *laying aſide all malice and guile, and hypocriſies, and envies, and evil ſpeakings*; ſo St. Peter expreſſes it: [g] a *laying aſide every weight, and the ſin that does ſo eaſily beſet us*; ſo St. Paul: This is to [h] *walk in the light, as he is in the light, for in him is no darkneſs at all:* which we have then imitated, when we have *eſcaped the corruption that is in the world through luſts*, that is, ſo as we are *not held by them*, that we take them for our enemies, for the object and party of our conteſtation and ſpiritual fight; when we *contend earneſtly* againſt them, and *reſiſt them unto blood*, if need be; that is being *pure as he is pure.* But beſides this poſitive rejection of all evil, and perpetually conteſting againſt ſin, we muſt purſue the intereſts of virtue and an active religion.

27. AND [i] *beſides this*, ſaith St. Peter, *giving all diligence, add to your faith virtue, to your virtue knowledge, and to knowledge temperance, and to temperance patience, and to patience godlineſs, and to godlineſs brotherly kindneſs, and to brotherly kindneſs charity.* All this is an evident proſecution of the firſt deſign, the holineſs and righteouſneſs of a whole life, the being clear from all ſpots and blemiſhes, a being pure, and ſo preſented unto Chriſt: for upon this the covenant being founded, to this all induſtries muſt endeavour, and arrive in their proportions. [k] *For if theſe things be in you and abound, they ſhall make that you be neither barren nor unfruitful in the knowledge of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt. But he that lacketh theſe things is blind, and hath forgotten he was purged from his old ſins*; that is, he hath loſt his baptiſmal grace, and is put from the firſt ſtate of his redemption towards that ſtate which is contradictory and deſtructive of it.

28. Now becauſe all theſe things are in latitude, diſtance and diviſibility, and only injoin a ſedulity and great endeavour, all that we can dwell upon is this, that he who endeavours moſt is moſt ſecure, and every degree of negligence is a degree of danger:

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[a] 1 John i. 6, 7. [b] Rom. xiii. 11, 13, 14.
[c] 1 Pet. i. 14, 15. [d] 2 Pet. iii. 11. [e] 1 John iii. 3.
[f] 1 Pet. ii. i. [g] Heb. xii. 1. [h] 1 John i. 7, 8.
2 Peter i. 4.

[i] Ibid. v. 5, &c. Veri boni aviditas tuta eſt. Quid ſit iſtud, interrogas? aut unde ſubeat? dicam: ex bona conſcientia, ex honeſtis conſiliis, ex rectis actionibus, ex contemptu fortuitorum, ex placido vitæ & continuo tenore unam prementis viam. Sen. ep. 23.

[k] 2 Pet. i. 8, 9.

and although in the intermedial condition between the two ſtates of Chriſtianity and a full impiety, there is a ſtate of recovery and poſſibility; yet there is danger in every part of it, and it increaſes according as the deflexion and irregularity comes to its height, poſition, ſtate and finality. So that we muſt *give all diligence* to *work out our ſalvation*, and it would ever be *with fear and trembling*: *with fear*, that we do not loſe our innocence; and *with trembling*, if we have loſt it, for fear we never recover, or never be accepted. But holineſs of life and uninterrupted ſanctity being the condition of our ſalvation, the ingredient of the covenant, we muſt proportion our degrees of hope and confidence of Heaven according as we have obtained degrees of innocence, or perſeverance, or reſtitution. Only this: as it is certain he is in a ſtate of reprobation who lives unto ſin, that is, whoſe actions are habitually criminal, who gives more of his conſent to wickedneſs than to virtue: ſo it is alſo certain he is not in the ſtate of God's favour and ſanctification, unleſs he lives unto righteouſneſs; that is, unleſs his deſires, and purpoſes, and endeavours, and actions, and cuſtoms are ſpiritual, holy, ſanctified, and obedient. When ſin is dead, and the ſpirit is life; when the luſts of the fleſh are mortified, and the heart is purged from an evil conſcience, and we abound in a whole ſyſtem of Chriſtian virtues; when our hearts are right to God, and with our affections and our wills we love God and keep his commandments; when we do not only *cry, Lord, Lord,* but alſo *do his will*; then *Chriſt dwells in us*, and we in Chriſt. Now let all this be taken in the loweſt ſenſe that can be imagined, all, I ſay, which out of ſcripture I have tranſcribed; [*caſting away every weight, laying aſide all malice, mortifying the deeds of the fleſh, crucifying the old man with all his affections and luſts*, and then *having eſcaped the corruption that is in the world through luſt*, beſides this, *adding virtue to virtue* till *all righteouſneſs be fulfilled in us, walking in the light, putting on the Lord Jeſus, purifying our ſelves as God is pure, following peace with all men, and holineſs, reſiſting unto blood, living in the ſpirit, being holy in all manner of converſation as he is holy, being careful and excellent in all converſation and Godlineſs*;] all this, being a purſuit of the firſt deſign of Chriſt's death and our reconcilement, can mean no leſs but that, 1. We ſhould have in us no affection to a ſin; of which we can beſt judge when we never chooſe it, and never fall under it but by ſurpriſe, and never lie under it at all, but inſtantly recover, judging our ſelves ſeverely: and, 2. That we ſhould chooſe virtue with great freedom of ſpirit and alacrity, and purſue it earneſtly, [a] integrally, and make it the buſineſs of our [b] lives: and, 3. That the effect of this be, that ſin be crucified in us, and the deſires to it dead, flat and uſeleſs; and that our deſires of ſerving Chriſt be quick-ſpirited, active and effective, inquiſitive for opportunities, apprehenſive of the offer, chearful in the action, and perſevering in the employment.

29. Now let a prudent perſon imagine what infirmities and overſights can conſiſt with a ſtate thus deſcribed, and all that does no violence to the covenant: God pities us, and calls us not to an account for what [c] morally cannot, or certainly will not with great induſtry be prevented. But whatſoever is inconſiſtent with this condition, is an abatement from our hopes, as it is a retiring from our duty; and is with greater or leſs difficulty cured, as are the degrees of its diſtance from that condition which Chriſt ſtipulated with us when we became his diſciples. For we are juſt ſo reſtored to our ſtate of grace and favour, as we are reſtored to our ſtate of purity and holineſs. Now this redintegration or renewing of us into the firſt condition is alſo called *repentance*, and is permitted to all perſons who ſtill remain within the powers and poſſibilities of the covenant, that is, who are not in a ſtate contradictory to the ſtate and portion of grace; but with a difficulty increaſed by all circumſtances, and incidences of the crime and perſon. And this I ſhall beſt repreſent in repeating theſe conſiderations. 1. Some ſins are paſt hopes of pardon in this life. 2. All that are pardoned are pardoned by parts, revocably and imperfectly during this life, not quickly, nor yet manifeſtly. 3. Repentance contains in it many operations, parts and imployments, its terms and purpoſe being to redintegrate our loſt condition, that is, in a ſecond and leſs perfect ſenſe; but as much as in ſuch circumſtances we can, to verify our firſt obligations of innocence and holineſs in all manner of converſation and godlineſs.

30. CONCERNING the firſt, it is too ſad a conſideration to be too dogmatical and concluſive in it; and therefore I ſhall only recal thoſe expreſſes of ſcripture which may

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[a] Bonum ex integra cauſa, malum ex quolibet defectu peculiari.

[b] Χρόνος δίκαιον ἄνδρα δείκνυσιν μόνος· κακὸν δὲ κἂν ἐν ἡμέρᾳ γνοίης μιᾷ. Sophocl. Oed. Tyr.

[c] Illud enim eſſet, (quod apud Diodorum Siculum) Τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης ϗ κοινῆς ἀσθενείας ἐπιλανθάνεσθαι. Ἕως ἂν τις ἀναμαρτήτως κολάζῃ, τὸ μέτρον ὑπερβαίνει τῆς κατὰ φύσιν ἐπανορθώσεως. Sopater dixit diſſimulanda τὰ μικρὰ ϗ συνήθη τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων. Malè hoc; niſi in quantum vitari non poſſunt.

without envy decree the article. Such as thoſe of St. Paul, that there is a certain ſort of men, whom he twice deſcribes, whom *it is impoſſible to renew again unto repentance*; or thoſe of St. Peter, ſuch whoſe *latter end is worſe than the beginning, becauſe after they once had eſcaped the pollutions of the world, they are intangled therein*; ſuch who, as our Bleſſed Saviour threatens, *ſhall never be forgiven in this world, nor in the world to come*. For there is an unpardonable eſtate, by reaſon of its malice and oppoſition to the covenant of grace; and there is a ſtate unpardonable, becauſe the time of repentance is paſt. There are days and periods of grace. *If thou hadſt known, at leaſt in this thy day*, ſaid the weeping Saviour of the world to foreknown and determined Jeruſalem. When God's decrees are gone out, they are not always revocable. And therefore it was a great caution of the apoſtle, that we ſhould [a] *follow peace and holineſs*, and *look diligently that we fall not from the grace of God; leſt any* of us become *like Eſau*, to whoſe *repentance* there was *no place* left, *though he ſought it carefully with tears:* meaning that we alſo may put our ſelves into a condition when it ſhall be impoſſible we ſhould be renewed unto repentance. And thoſe are they [b] *who ſin a ſin unto death, for whom* we have from the apoſtle no encouragement *to pray*. And theſe are in ſo general and concluſive terms deſcribed in ſcripture, that every perſevering ſinner hath great reaſon to ſuſpect himſelf to be in the number. If he endeavours, as ſoon as he thinks of it, to recover, it is the beſt ſign he was not arrived ſo far: but he that liveth long in a violent and habitual courſe of ſin, is at the margin and brim of that ſtate of final reprobation; and ſome men are in it before they be aware; and to ſome God reckons their days ſwifter, and their periods ſhorter. The uſe I make of this conſideration is, that if any man hath reaſon to ſuſpect, or to be certain, that his time of repentance is paſt, it is moſt likely to be a death-bed penitent after a vicious life, a life contrary to the mercies and grace of the evangelical covenant. For he hath provoked God as long as he could, and rejected the offers of grace as long as he lived, and refuſed virtue till he could not entertain her, and hath done all thoſe things which a perſon rejected from hopes of repentance can eaſily be imagined to have done. And if there be any time of rejection, although it may be earlier, yet it is alſo certainly the laſt.

31. Concerning the ſecond, I ſhall add this to the former diſcourſe of it, that perfect pardon of ſins is not in this world at all after the firſt emiſſion and great efflux of it in our firſt regeneration. During this life we are in imperfection, minority, and under conditions which we have prevaricated, and our recovery is in perpetual flux, in heightnings and declenſions; and we are highly uncertain of our acceptation, becauſe we are not certain of our reſtitution and innocence; we know not whether we have done all that is ſufficient to repair the breach made in the firſt ſtate of favour and baptiſmal grace. But [c] *he that is dead*, ſaith St. Paul, *is juſtified from ſin*; not till then. And therefore in the doctrine of the moſt learned Jews it is affirmed; "He that is guilty of the profanation of the name of God, he ſhall not interrupt the apparent malignity of it by his preſent repentance, nor make atonement in the day of expiation, nor waſh the ſtains away by chaſtiſing of himſelf; but during his life it remains wholly in ſuſpence, and before death is not extinguiſhed; according to the ſaying of the prophet Eſay, [d] *This iniquity ſhall not be blotted out till ye die, ſaith the Lord of Hoſts.*" And ſome wiſe perſons have affirmed, that Jacob related to this in his expreſſion and appellatives of God, whom he called [e] *the God of Abraham, and the fear of his father Iſaac:* becauſe (as the doctors of the Jews tell us) Abraham being dead was aſcribed into the final condition of God's family; but Iſaac, being living, had apprehenſions of God not only of a pious, but alſo of a tremulous fear: he was not ſure of his own condition, much leſs of the degrees of his reconciliation, how far God had forgiven his ſins, and how far he had retained them. And it is certain, that if every degree of the divine favour be not aſſured by a holy life, thoſe ſins of whoſe pardon we were moſt hopeful, return in as full vigour and clamorous importunity as ever, and are made more vocal by the appendent ingratitude, and other accidental degrees. And this Chriſt taught us by a parable: For as the lord made his uncharitable ſervant pay all that debt which he had formerly forgiven him; even [f] *ſo will God do to us, if we from our hearts forgive not one another their treſpaſſes.* [g] *Behold the goodneſs, and ſeverity of God*, ſaith St. Paul: *on them which fell ſeverity;* [h] *but on thee goodneſs, if thou continue in that goodneſs; otherwiſe thou ſhalt be cut off. For this is my covenant which I ſhall make with them, when I ſhall take away their ſins.* And if this be true in thoſe ſins which God certainly hath forgotten, ſuch as were all thoſe which were committed before our illumination; much rather is it true in thoſe

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[a] Heb. xii. 14, 15, 16, 17.

[b] 1 John v. 16.

[c] Rom. vi. 7.

[d] Eſay xxii. 14.

[e] Gen. xxxi. 42.

[f] Matth. xviii. 35.

[g] Rom. xi. 22.

[h] Verſe 27.

which we committed after, concerning whoſe actual and full pardon we cannot be certain without a revelation. So that our pardon of ſins, when it is granted after the breach of our covenant, is juſt ſo ſecure as our perſeverance is: concerning which becauſe we muſt aſcertain it as well as we can, but ever with fear and trembling, ſo alſo is the eſtate of our pardon, hazardous, conditional, revocable, and uncertain. And therefore the beſt of men do all their lives ask pardon even of thoſe ſins for which they have wept bitterly, and done the ſharpeſt and ſevereſt penance. And if it be neceſſary, we pray that we may not enter into temptation, becauſe temptation is full of danger, and the danger may bring a ſin, and the ſin may ruin us: it is alſo neceſſary that we underſtand the condition of our pardon to be, as is the condition of our perſon, variable as will, ſudden as affections, alterable as our purpoſes, revocable as our own good intentions, and then made as ineffective as our inclinations to good actions. And there is no way to ſecure our confidence and our hope but by being perfect, and holy, and pure, as our heavenly Father is; that is, in the ſenſe of human capacity, free from the habits of all ſin, and active and induſtrious and continuing in the ways of godlineſs. For upon this only the promiſe is built, and by our proportion to this ſtate we muſt proportion our confidence; we have no other revelation. Chriſt reconciled us to his Father upon no other conditions, and made the covenant upon no other articles, but of a holy life, in obedience univerſal and perpetual: and the abatements of the rigorous ſenſe of the words, as they are ſuch as may infinitely teſtify and prove his mercy, ſo they are ſuch as muſt ſecure our duty and habitual graces; an induſtry, manly, conſtant and Chriſtian. And becauſe theſe have ſo great latitude, (and to what degrees God will accept our returns he hath no where punctually deſcribed,) he that is moſt ſevere in his determination does beſt ſecure himſelf, and by exacting the ſtricteſt account of himſelf, ſhall obtain the eaſier ſcrutiny at the hands of God. The uſe I make of this conſideration is to the ſame purpoſe with the former. For if every day of ſin, and every criminal act is a degree of receſs from the poſſibilities of Heaven, it would be conſidered at how great diſtance a death-bed penitent after a vicious life may apprehend himſelf to ſtand for mercy and pardon: and ſince the terms of reſtitution muſt in labour and in extenſion of time, or intenſion of degrees, be of value great enough to reſtore him to ſome proportion or equivalence with that ſtate of grace from whence he is fallen, and upon which the covenant was made with him; how impoſſible, or how near to impoſſible, it will appear to him to go ſo far, and do ſo much in that ſtate, and in thoſe circumſtances of diſability.

32. CONCERNING the third particular, I conſider that repentance, as it is deſcribed in ſcripture, is a ſyſtem of holy duties, not of one kind, not properly conſiſting of parts, as if it were a ſingle grace; but it is the reparation of that eſtate into which Chriſt firſt put us, *a renewing us in the ſpirit of our mind*, ſo the apoſtle calls it: and the Holy Ghoſt hath taught this truth to us by the implication of many appellatives, and alſo by expreſs diſcourſes. For there is in ſcripture, [a] *a repentance to be repented of*, and [b] *a repentance never to be repented of*. The firſt is mere ſorrow for what is paſt, an ineffective trouble producing nothing good: ſuch as was the repentance of Judas, *he repented, and hanged himſelf*; and ſuch was that of Eſau, when it was too late; and ſo was the repentance of the five fooliſh virgins: which examples tell us alſo when ours is an impertinent and ineffectual repentance. To this repentance pardon is no where promiſed in ſcripture. But there is a repentance which is called *converſion*, or *amendment of life*, a repentance productive of holy fruits, ſuch as the Baptiſt and our Bleſſed Saviour preached, ſuch as himſelf alſo propounded in the example of the [c] Ninevites; they *repented at the preaching of Jonah*, that is, [d] *they faſted, they covered them in ſackcloth, they cried mightily unto God, yea, they turned every one from his evil way, and from the violence that was in their hands*. And this was it that appeaſed God in that inſtance. *God ſaw their works, that they turned from their evil way: and God repented of the evil, and did it not.*

33. THE ſame character of repentance we find in the prophet Ezekiel: [e] *When the wicked man turneth away from his wickedneſs that he hath committed, and doth that which is lawful and right*; [f] *If the wicked reſtore the pledge, give again that he had robbed, walk in the ſtatutes of life without committing iniquity; he hath done that which is lawful and right, he ſhall ſurely live, he ſhall not die.* And in the goſpel

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[a] Μεταμέλεια.

[b] Μετάνοια. Μεταμεληθεὶς ἐπέστρεψε, cui in Act. Apoſt. opponitur μετανοήσατε οὖν καὶ ἐπιστρέψατε, Act. iii. 19. Huic enim promittitur peccatorum remiſſio in ſeq. εἰς τὸ ἐξαλειφθῆναι ὑμῶν τὰς ἁμαρτίας.

[c] Mat. xii. 4.

[d] Jonah iii. 7, 8. Verſ. 10.

[e] Ezek. xviii. 27.

[f] Ezek. xxxiii. 15.

repentance is deſcribed with as full and intire comprehenſions as in the old prophets. For faith and repentance are the whole duty of the goſpel. Faith when it is in conjunction with a practical grace ſignifies an intellectual. Faith ſignifies the ſubmiſſion of the underſtanding to the inſtitution; and repentance includes all that whole practice which is the intire duty of a Chriſtian after he hath been overtaken in a fault. And therefore [a] repentance firſt includes a renunciation and abolition of all evil, and then alſo enjoins a purſuit of every virtue; and that till they arrive at an habitual confirmation.

34. OF the firſt ſenſe are all thoſe expreſſions of ſcripture which imply repentance to be the deletery of ſins. [b] *Repentance from dead works*, St. Paul affirms to be the prime fundamental of religion, that is, converſion or returning from dead works: for unleſs repentance be ſo conſtrued, it is not good ſenſe. And this is therefore highly verified, becauſe repentance is intended to ſet us into the condition of our firſt undertaking, and articles covenanted with God. And therefore it is *a redemption of the time*, that is, a recovering what we loſt, and making it up by our doubled induſtry. *Remember* [c] *whence thou art fallen, repent*, that is, return, *and do thy firſt works*, ſaid the ſpirit to the angel of the church of Epheſus: or elſe *I will remove thy candleſtick, except thou repent*. It is a reſtitution; [d] *if a man be overtaken in a fault, reſtore ſuch a one*, that is, put him where he was. And then, that repentance alſo implies a doing all good, is certain by the ſermon of the Baptiſt, [e] *Bring forth fruits meet for repentance. Do thy firſt works*, was the ſermon of the ſpirit. *Laying aſide every weight, and the ſin that eaſily encircles us, let us run with patience the race that is ſet before us*; ſo St. Paul taught. And St. Peter gives charge, that when we [f] *have eſcaped the corruptions of the world* and *of luſt*, beſides this, we *give all diligence* to acquire the roſary and conjugation of Chriſtian virtues. And they are proper effects, or rather conſtituent parts, of a holy repentance. [g] *For godly ſorrow worketh repentance* (ſaith St. Paul) *not to be repented of*: and that ye may know what is ſignified by repentance, behold, the product was *carefulneſs, clearing themſelves, indignation, fear, vehement deſires, zeal and revenge*; to which if we add the epithet of *holy*, (for theſe were the reſults of a godly ſorrow, and the members of a repentance not to be repented of,) we are taught that repentance, beſides the purging out the malice of iniquity, is alſo a ſanctification of the whole man, a turning nature into grace, paſſions into reaſon, and the fleſh into ſpirit.

35. To this purpoſe I reckon thoſe phraſes of ſcripture, calling it a [h] *renewing of our minds*; a [i] *renewing of the Holy Ghoſt*; a [k] *cleanſing of our hands and purifying our hearts*, that is, a becoming holy in our affections and righteous in our actions; a [l] *tranſformation* or utter change; a *crucifying the fleſh with the affections and luſts*; a [m] *mortified* ſtate; a [n] *purging out the old leaven, and becoming a new conſperſion*; a [o] *waking out of ſleep, and* [p] *walking honeſtly as in the day*; a [q] *being born again*, and being *born from above*; a *new life*. And [r] I conſider that theſe preparative actions of repentance, ſuch as are ſorrow, and confeſſion of ſins, and faſting, and exterior mortifications and ſeverities, are but fore-runners of repentance, ſome of the retinue, and they are of the family; but they no more complete the duty of repentance than the harbingers are the whole court, or than the fingers are all the body. There *is more joy in Heaven*, ſaid our Bleſſed Saviour, *over one ſinner that repenteth, than over ninety-nine juſt perſons who need no repentance*. There is no man but needs a tear and a ſorrow even for his daily weakneſſes, and poſſibly they are the inſtrumental expiations of our ſudden and frequent and leſſer ſurpriſes of imperfection: but the *juſt perſons need no repentance*, that is, need no inverſion of ſtate, no transformation from condition to condition, but from the leſs to the more perfect the beſt man hath. And therefore thoſe are vain perſons who, when they *owe* God a *hundred*, will write *fourſcore*; or a *thouſand*, will write *fifty*. It was the ſaying of an excellent perſon, that “ Repentance [s] is the beginning of philoſophy, a flight and renunciation of evil works

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[a] Διόπερ οὐκ ἀποστατέον οὐδενὸς τῶν χρησίμων διὰ τὰς προφαινομένας δυσχερείας· προσακτέον δὲ τὴν ἕξιν, ᾗ πάντα τὰ καλὰ γίνεται θηρατέα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις. Polybius. Vide etiam Clem. Alex. Strom. l. ii. ubi ad eundem ſenſum definit pœnitentiam.

[b] Μετάνοια ἀπὸ τῶν νεκρῶν ἔργων. Heb. vi. 1.

[c] Apocal. ii. 5. [d] Gal. vi. 1. [e] Matth. iii. 8.

[f] 2 Pet. i. 4, 5.

[g] 2 Cor. vii. 10. [h] Rom. xii. 2. [i] Tit. iii. 5.

[k] Jam. iv. 8. [l] Gal. v. 24. [m] Col. iii. 5.

[n] 1 Cor. v. 7. [o] Eph. v. 14. Rom. xiii. 11.

[p] Rom. xiii. 13. [q] John iii. 3.

[r] ——— Scelerum ſi bene pœnitet,
Eradenda cupidinis
  Pravi ſunt elementa; & teneræ nimis
Mentes aſperioribus
  Formandæ ſtudiis ——— Hor. l. iii. od. 24.

[s] Ἡ δὲ μετάνοια αὕτη φιλοσοφίας ἀρχὴ γίνεται, καὶ τῶν ἀνοήτων ἔργων τε καὶ λόγων φυγή, καὶ τῆς ἀμεταμελήτου ζωῆς ἡ πρώτη παρασκευή—διὸ οὔτε προσδοκίαις τῶν λεγομένων ἀγαθῶν τὸ ὄντως ἀγαθὸν ἂν παρίδῃ, οὔτε φόβῳ τῶν ἐναντίων τὴν τοῦ κακοῦ πρᾶξιν αἱρήσεται· ἰσώσῃ δὲ τῇ γνώμῃ πρὸς τοὺς θείους κανόνας τὸν ἑαυτοῦ βίον ἀπευθύνει. Hierocl. in Pythag.

“ and words, and the firſt preparation and entrance into a life which is never to be “ repented of. And therefore a penitent is not taken with umbrages and appearances, “ nor quits a real good for an imaginary, nor chooſes evil for fear of enemies and ad- “ verſe accidents; but peremptorily conforms his ſentence to the divine laws, and “ ſubmits his whole life in a conformity with them.” He that ſaid thoſe excellent words, had not been taught the Chriſtian inſtitution, but it was admirable reaſon and deep philoſophy, and moſt conſonant to the reaſonableneſs of virtue, and the proportions and deſigns of repentance, and no other than the doctrine of Chriſtian philoſophy.

36. And it is conſiderable, ſince in ſcripture there is a repentance mentioned which is impertinent and ineffectual as to the obtaining pardon, a *repentance* implied which is to be repented of, and another expreſſed which is *never to be repented of*, and this is deſcribed to be a new ſtate of life, a whole converſion and transformation of the man; it follows, that whatſoever in any ſenſe can be called repentance, and yet is leſs than this new life, muſt be that ineffective repentance. A ſorrow is a repentance, and all the acts of dolorous expreſſion are but the ſame ſorrow in other characters; and they are good when they are parts or inſtruments of the true repentance: but when they are the whole repentance, that repentance is no better than that of Judas, nor more proſperous than that of Eſau. Every ſorrow is not a *godly ſorrow*; and that which is, is but inſtrumental and in order to *repentance: godly ſorrow worketh repentance*, ſaith St. Paul; that is, it does its ſhare towards it, as every grace does towards the pardon, as every degree of pardon does toward Heaven. By *godly ſorrow* it is probable St. Paul means the ſame thing, which the ſchool hath ſince called contrition; a grief proceeding from a holy principle, from our love of God, and anger that we have offended him: and yet this is a great way off from that repentance, without the performance of which we ſhall certainly periſh. But no contrition alone is remiſſive of ſins, but as it co-operates towards the integrity of our duty. *Cum converſus ingemuerit*, in the prophet's expreſſion; when a man *mourns and* [a] *turns from all his evil way*, that is *a godly ſorrow*, and that is repentance too. But the tears of a dolorous perſon, though running over with great effuſions, and ſhed in great bitterneſs, and expreſſed in actions of punitive juſtice, all being but the ſame ſenſe in louder language, being nothing but the expreſſions of ſorrow, are good only as they tend farther; and if they do, they may by degrees bring us to repentance, and that repentance will bring us to Heaven: but of themſelves they may as well make the ſea ſwell beyond its margin, or water and refreſh the ſun-burnt earth, as move God to mercy, and pierce the Heavens. But then to this conſideration we may add, that a ſorrow upon a death-bed after a vicious life is ſuch as cannot eaſily be underſtood to be ordinarily ſo much as the beginning of virtue, or the firſt inſtance towards a holy life. For he that till then retained his ſins, and now when he is certain and believes he ſhall die, or is fearful leſt he ſhould, is ſorrowful that he hath ſinned, is only ſorrowful becauſe he is like to periſh: and ſuch a ſorrow may perfectly conſiſt with as great an affection to ſin as ever the man had in the higheſt careſſes and invitation of his luſt. For even then in certain circumſtances he would have refuſed to have acted his greateſt temptation. The boldeſt and moſt pungent luſt would refuſe to be ſatisfied in the market-place, or with a dagger at his heart; and the greateſt intemperance would refuſe a pleaſant meal, if he believed the meat to be mixt with poiſon: and yet this reſtraint of appetite is no abatement of the affection, any more than the violent fears which, by being incumbent upon the death-bed penitent, make him grieve for the evil conſequents more than to hate the malice and irregularity. He that does not grieve till his greateſt fear preſſes him hard, and damnation treads upon his heels, feels indeed the effects of fear, but can have no preſent benefit of his ſorrow; becauſe it had no natural principle, but a violent, unnatural and intolerable cauſe, inconſiſtent with a free, placid and moral election. But this I ſpeak only by way of caution: for God's mercy is infinite, and can if he pleaſe, make it otherwiſe. But it is not good to venture, unleſs you have a promiſe.

37. The ſame alſo I conſider concerning the purpoſe of a new life; which that any man ſhould judge to be repentance, that duty which reſtores us, is more unreaſonable than to think ſorrow will do it. For as a man may ſorrow, and yet never be reſtored: (and he may ſorrow ſo much the more, becauſe he ſhall never be reſtored, as Eſau did,

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[a] Μετανοήσατε ϗ ἐπιστρέψατε, Acts iii. 19. οἱ γὰρ ἔχοντες δίκην τὸ λυπεῖσθαι ἐπὶ τοῖς πεποιημένοις, παύονται τῆς ὀργῆς, Ariſt. ii. Rhetor. —— Ἀγαθοὶ ἀριδάκρυες ἄνδρες, Hom. Ὁ μετανοῶν ἐν φόβῳ τῶν ἐναντίων τὴν τοῦ κακοῦ πρᾶξιν αἱρήσεται. Hierocl.

as the five fooliſh virgins did, and as many more do:) ſo he [a] that purpoſes to lead a new life hath convinced himſelf that the duty is undone, and therefore his pardon not granted, nor his condition reſtored. As a letter is not a word, nor a word an action; as an embryo is not a man, nor the ſeed the fruit: ſo is a purpoſe of obedience but the element of repentance, the firſt imaginations of it differing from the grace it ſelf, as a diſpoſition from a habit, or (becauſe it ſelf will beſt expreſs it ſelf) as the purpoſe does from the act. For either a holy life is neceſſary, or it is not neceſſary. If it be not, why does any man hope to *eſcape the wrath to come* by reſolving to do an unneceſſary thing? or if he does not purpoſe it, when he pretends he does, that is a mocking of God, and that is a great way from being an inſtrument of his reſtitution. But if a holy life be neceſſary, as it is certain by infinite teſtimonies of ſcriptures, it is the *unum neceſſarium*, the one great neceſſary; it cannot reaſonably be thought that any thing leſs than doing it ſhall ſerve our turns. That which is only in purpoſe, is not yet done, and yet it is neceſſary it ſhould be done, becauſe it is neceſſary we ſhould purpoſe it. And in this we are ſufficiently concluded by that ingeminate expreſſion uſed by St. Paul: [b] *In Jeſus Chriſt nothing can avail but a new creature*; nothing but *faith working by charity*; nothing but *a keeping the commandments of God.* [c] *And as many as walk according to this rule, peace be on them, and mercy*; *they are the Iſrael of God.*

38. THIS conſideration I intended to oppoſe againſt the carnal ſecurity of death-bed penitents, who have (it is to be feared) ſpent a vicious life; who have therefore mocked themſelves, becauſe they meant to mock God, they would reap what they ſowed not. But [d] *be not deceived*, ſaith the apoſtle, *he that ſoweth to the fleſh, ſhall of the fleſh reap corruption*; *but he that ſoweth to the ſpirit, ſhall of the ſpirit reap life everlaſting.* Only this, [e] *Let us not be weary of well-doing*; *for in due ſeaſon we ſhall reap, if we faint not.* Meaning that by a perſevering induſtry, and a long work, and a ſucceſſion of religious times, we muſt ſow to the ſpirit; a work of ſuch length, that the greateſt danger is of fainting and interciſion; but he that ſows to the ſpirit, not being weary of well-doing, not fainting in the long proceſs, he, and he only, ſhall reap life everlaſting. [f] But a purpoſe is none of all this. If it comes to act, and be productive of a holy life, then it is uſeful, and it was like the eve of a holiday, feſtival in the midſt of its abſtinence and vigils, it was the beginnings of repentance. But if it never come to act, it was to no purpoſe, a mocking of God, an act of direct hypocriſy, a provocation of God and a deceiving our own ſelves. You are unhappy you began not early, or that your earlier days return not together with your good purpoſes.

39. AND neither can this have any other ſentence, though the purpoſe be made upon our death-bed. For God hath made no covenant with us on our death-bed diſtinct from that he made with us in our life and health. And ſince in our life and preſent abilities, good purpoſes and reſolutions and vows (for they are but the ſame thing in differing degrees) did ſignify nothing till they came to act, and no man was reconciled to God by good intentions, but by doing the will of God; can we imagine that ſuch purpoſes can more prevail at the end of a wicked life than at the beginning? that leſs piety will ſerve our turns after 50 or 60 years of impiety, than after but 5 or 10? that a wicked and ſinful life ſhould by leſs pains be expiated than an unhappy year? For it is not in the ſtate of grace, as in other exterior actions of religion or charity, where God will accept the will for the deed, when the external act is inculpably out of our powers, and may alſo be ſupplied by the internal: as bendings of the body, by the proſtration of the ſoul; alms, by charity; preaching by praying for converſion. Theſe things are neceſſary, becauſe they are precepts, and obligatory only in certain circumſtances, which may fail, and we be innocent and diſobliged. [g] But it is otherwiſe in the eſſential parts of our duty, which God hath made the immediate and next condition of our ſalvation, ſuch which are never out of our power but by our own fault. Such are charity, forgiveneſs, repentance, and faith; ſuch to which we are aſſiſted by God, ſuch which are always

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[a] Nam illi qui ex aliis propoſitis in alia tranſiliunt, aut ne tranſiliunt quidem, ſed caſu quodam tranſmittuntur, quomodo habere quicquam certum manſurúmve poſſunt, ſuſpenſi & vagi? Senec. Ep. xxiii.

[b] Gal. vi. 15. & v. 6. 1 Cor. vii. 19.

[c] Gal. vi. 16. [d] Gal. vi. 7, 8. [e] Verſ. 9.

[f] Mutatus ——

Dices, Heu! (quoties te in ſpeculo videris alterum)
Quæ mens eſt hodie, cur eadem non puero fuit?
Vel cur his animis incolumes non redeunt genæ?
Hor. lib. iv. Od. 10.

[g] Εἰς ποῖον ἔτι χρόνον ἀναβάλλῃ τὸ τῶν βελτίστων ἀξιοῦν σεαυτὸν, ϗ ἐν μηδενὶ παραβαίνειν τὸν διαιροῦντα λόγον; παρείληφας τὰ θεωρήματα οἷς ἔδει σε συμβάλλειν, ϗ συμβέβληκας· ποῖον οὖν ἔτι διδάσκαλον προσδοκᾷς ἵνα εἰς ἐκεῖνον ὑπερθῇς τὴν ἐπανόρθωσιν ποιῆσαι τὴν σεαυτοῦ; οὐκ ἔτι εἶ μειράκιον, ἀλλ' ἀνὴρ ἤδη τέλειος· ἂν τοίνυν ἀμελήσῃς, ϗ ῥᾳθυμήσῃς, ϗ ἀεὶ ὑπερθέσεις ἐξ ὑπερθέσεων ποιῇς, προθέσεις ἐκ προθέσεων, ϗ ἡμέρας ἄλλας ἐπ' ἄλλαις ὁρίζῃς, μεθ' ἃς προσέξεις σεαυτῷ; λήσεις σεαυτὸν οὐ προκόψας, ἀλλ' ἰδιώτης διατελέσεις ϗ ζῶν ϗ ἀποθνήσκων. Epict. c. lxxv.

put by God's grace into our power, therefore becauſe God indiſpenſably demands them. In theſe caſes as there is no revelation God will accept the will for the deed, the purpoſe for the act, ſo it is unreaſonable to expect it; becauſe God did once put it into our powers: and if we put it out, we muſt not complain of want of fire which our ſelves have quenched, nor complain we cannot ſee when we have put our own lights out; and hope God will accept the will for the deed, ſince we had no will to it when God put it into our powers. Theſe are but fig-leaves to cover our nakedneſs, which our ſin hath introduced.

40. FOR either the reducing ſuch vows and purpoſes to act is the duty, without which the purpoſe is ineffectual; or elſe that practiſe is but the ſign and teſtimony of a ſincere intention, and that very ſincere intention was of it ſelf accepted by God in the firſt ſpring. If it was nothing but a ſign, then the covenant which God made with man in Jeſus Chriſt was faith and good meaning, not faith and repentance; and a man is juſtified as ſoon as ever he purpoſes well, before any endeavours are commenced, or any act produced, or habit ratified; and the duties of a holy life are but ſhadows and ſignifications of a grace, no part of the covenant, not ſo much as ſmoke is of fire, but a mere ſign of a perſon juſtified as ſoon as he made his vow. But then alſo a man may be juſtified five hundred times in a year, as often as he makes a new vow and confident reſolution; which is then done moſt heartily, when the luſt is newly ſatisfied, and the pleaſure diſappears for the inſtant, though the purpoſe diſbands upon the next temptation. Yea, but unleſs it be a ſincere purpoſe, it will do no good; and although we cannot diſcern it, nor the man himſelf, yet God knows the heart; and if he ſees it would have been reduced to act, then he accepts it. And this is the hopes of a dying man; but faint they are and dying, as the man himſelf.

41. FOR it is impoſſible for us to know but that what a man intends (as himſelf thinks) heartily, is ſincerely meant; and if that may be inſincere, and is to be judged only by a never-following event, (in caſe the man dies,) it cannot become to any man the ground of hope: nay, even to thoſe perſons who do mean ſincerely, it is ſtill an inſtrument of diſtruſt and fears infinite, ſince his own ſincere meaning hath nothing in the nature of the thing, no diſtinct formality, no principle, no ſign to diſtinguiſh it from the unſincere vows of ſorrowful, but not truly penitent, perſons. 2. A purpoſe acted and not acted differ not in the principle, but in the effect, which is extrinſecal and accidental to the purpoſe, and each might be without the other: a man might live holily, though he had not made that vow; and when he hath made the vow, he may fail of living holily. [a] And as we ſhould think it hard meaſure to have a damnation encreaſed upon us for thoſe ſins which we would have committed if we had lived: ſo it cannot be reaſonable to build our hopes of Heaven upon an imaginary piety, which we never did, and, if we had lived, God knows whether we would or not. 3. God takes away the godly, leſt malice ſhould corrupt their underſtandings; and *for the elects ſake thoſe days are ſhortned, which if they ſhould continue, no fleſh ſhould eſcape.* But now ſhall all that be laid upon their ſcore which, if God had not ſo prevented by their death, God knows they would have done? And God deals with the wicked in a proportionable manner, to the contrary purpoſe, he ſhortens their days, and takes away their poſſibilities and opportunities, when the time of repentance is paſt, becauſe he will not do violence to their wills; and this [c] *leſt they ſhould return, and be converted, and I ſhould heal them.* So that it is evident, ſome perſons are by ſome acts of God, after a vicious life and the frequent rejection of the divine grace, at laſt prevented from mercy, who, without ſuch courſes, and in contrary circumſtances might poſſibly do acts of repentance, and *return, and* then *God would heal them.* 4. Let their purpoſes and vows be never ſo ſincere in the principle, yet ſince a man who is in the ſtate of grace may again fail of it, and *forget he was purged from his old ſins,* (and every dying ſinner did ſo, if ever he was waſhed in the laver of regeneration and ſanctified in his ſpirit;) then much more may ſuch a ſincere purpoſe fail: and then it would be known to what diſtance of time or ſtate from his purpoſe God will give his final ſentence. Whether will he quit him, becauſe in the firſt ſtage he will correſpond with his intention, and act his purpoſes; or condemn him, becauſe

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[a] Et quis tandem eſt noſtrûm qui, quod ad ſeſe attinet, æquum cenſeat quenquam pœnas dare ob eam rem quod arguatur malè facere voluiſſe? Nemo opinor ——— Sed ſi honorem non æquum eſt habere ob eam rem, quòd bene facere voluiſſe quis dicet, neque fecit tamen; Rhodienſibus tale erit, non quòd male fecerunt, ſed quia voluiſſe dicuntur facere. Orat. M. Catonis pro Rhodienſ. apud A. Gellium. l. vii. c. 3.

[b] Nunquam creſcit ex poſt facto præteriti æſtimatio. D. de reg. Jur.

[c] Mat. xiii. 15. ex Iſ. vi. 9, 10. Mark iv. 12. Luke viii. 10. John xii. 40. Acts xxviii. 27. Rom. xi. 8.

in his ſecond ſtage he would prevaricate? And when a man does fail, it is not becauſe his firſt principle was not good; for the holy ſpirit, which is certainly the beſt principle of ſpiritual actions, may be extinguiſhed in a man, and a ſincere or hearty purpoſe may be loſt, or it may again be recovered, and be loſt again. So that it is as unreaſonable as it is unrevealed, that a ſincere purpoſe on a death-bed ſhall obtain pardon, or paſs for a new ſtate of life. Few men are at thoſe inſtants and in ſuch preſſures hypocritical and vain: and yet to perform ſuch purpoſes is a new work and a new labour; it comes in upon a new ſtock differing from that principle, and will meet with temptations, difficulties and impediments; and an honeſt heart is not ſure to remain ſo, but may ſplit upon a rock of a violent invitation. A promiſe is made to be faithful *ex poſt facto* by the event; but it was ſincere or inſincere in the principle, only if the perſon promiſing did or did not reſpectively at that time mean what he ſaid. A ſincere promiſe many times is not truly performed.

42. Concerning all the other acts which it is to be ſuppoſed a dying perſon can do, I have only this conſideration: If they can make up a new creature, become a new ſtate, be in any ſenſe a holy life, a keeping the commandments of God, a following of peace and holineſs, a becoming holy in all converſation: if they can arrive to the loweſt ſenſe of that excellent condition Chriſt intended to all his diſciples, when he made *keeping the commandments* to be the condition of *entring into life*, and not *crying, Lord, Lord, but doing the will of God*; if he that hath ſerved the luſts of the fleſh, and taken pay under all God's enemies during a long and malicious life, can, for any thing a dying perſon can do, be ſaid in any ſenſe to have lived holily: then his hopes are fairly built. If not, they rely upon a *ſand*, and *the ſtorm* of death and the divine diſpleaſure will *beat* too *violently upon* them. There are no ſuppletories of the evangelical covenant. If we *walk according to the rule*, then *ſhall peace and righteouſneſs kiſs each other*: if we have ſinned and prevaricated the rule, repentance muſt bring us into the ways of righteouſneſs, and then we muſt go on upon the old ſtock: but *the deeds of the fleſh* muſt be *mortified*, and Chriſt muſt *dwell in us*, and *the ſpirit* muſt *reign in us*, and virtue muſt be habitual, and the habits muſt be confirmed. And this as we do by the ſpirit of Chriſt, ſo it is hallowed and accepted by the grace of God, and we put into a condition of favour, and redeemed from ſin, and reconciled to God. But this will not be put off with ſingle acts, nor divided parts, nor newly commenced purpoſes, nor fruitleſs ſorrow. It is a great folly to venture eternity upon dreams. So that now let me repreſent the condition of a dying perſon after a vicious life.

43. First, [a]He that conſiders the frailty of human bodies, their incidences and aptneſs to ſickneſs, caſualties, death ſudden or expected, the condition of ſeveral diſeaſes, that ſome are of too quick a ſenſe and are intolerable, ſome are dull, ſtupid and lethargical; then adds the prodigious judgments which fall upon many ſinners in the act of ſin, and are marks of our dangers and God's eſſential juſtice and ſeverity; and that ſecurity which poſſeſſes ſuch perſons whoſe lives are vicious, and that habitual careleſneſs, and groundleſs confidence, or an abſolute inconſideration, which is generally the condition and conſtitution of ſuch minds, [b]every one whereof is likely enough to confound a perſevering ſinner in miſeries eternal, will ſoon apprehend the danger of a delayed repentance to be infinite and unmeaſurable.

44. Secondly, But ſuppoſe ſuch a perſon, having eſcaped the antecedent circumſtances of the danger, is ſet fairly upon his death-bed with the juſt apprehenſion of his ſins about him and his addreſſes to repentance: conſider then the ſtrength of his luſts, that the ſins he is to mortify are inveterate, habitual and confirmed, having had the growth and ſtability of a whole life; that the liberty of his will is impaired; (the ſcripture ſaying of ſuch perſons, [c]*whoſe eyes are full of luſt, and that cannot ceaſe from ſin*; and that *his ſervants they are whom they obey*; that they are ſlaves to ſin, and ſo not *ſui juris*, not at their own diſpoſe;) that his underſtanding is blinded, his appetite is mutinous, and of a long time uſed to rebel and prevail; that all the inferior faculties are in diſorder; that he wants the helps of grace proportionable to his neceſſities: (for the longer he hath continued in ſin, the weaker the grace of God is in him; ſo that in effect, at that time, the more need he hath, the leſs he ſhall receive, it being God's rule to *give to him that hath, and from him that hath not, to take even what he hath*:) then add the innumerable parts and great burthens of repentance, that it is not a ſorrow, nor a

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[a] Audies pleroſque dicentes, a quinquageſimo in otium ſecedam; ſexageſimus annus ab officiis me dimittet. Et quem tandem longioris vitæ prædem accipis? Senec.

[b] Παρῄνει δὲ τοῖς συνοῦσι μὴ ἀναβάλλεσθαι τὸ ἀγαθὸν, ὥσπερ τοὺς πολλοὺς ποιεῖν προθεσμίας ὁριζομένους ἑορτὰς ἢ πανηγύρεις, ὡς ἀπ' ἐκείνων ἀρξομένους τοῦ μὴ ψεύσασθαι, καὶ τοῦ τὰ δέοντα ποιεῖν. Lucian. Nigrin.

[c] 2 Pet. ii. 14.

purpoſe, becauſe both theſe ſuppoſe that to be undone which is the only neceſſary ſupport of all our hopes in Chriſt when it is done; the innumerable difficult caſes of conſcience that may occur, particularly in the point of reſtitution; (which, among many other neceſſary parts of repentance, is indiſpenſably required of all perſons that are able, and in every degree in which they are able;) the many temptations of the Devil, [a] the ſtrength of paſſions, the impotency of the fleſh, the illuſions of the ſpirits of darkneſs, the tremblings of the heart, the incogitancy of the mind, the implication and intanglings of ten thouſand thoughts, and the impertinencies of a diſturbed fancy, and the great [b] hindrances of a ſick body and a ſad and weary ſpirit: all theſe repreſent a death-bed to be but an ill ſtation for a penitent. If the perſon be ſuddenly ſnatched away, he is not left ſo much as to diſpute: [c] if he be permitted to languiſh in his ſickneſs, he is either ſtupid, and apprehends nothing, or elſe miſerable, and hath reaſon to apprehend too much. However, all theſe difficulties are to be paſſed and overcome before the man be put into a ſavable condition. From this conſideration (though perhaps it may infer more, yet) we cannot but conclude this difficulty to be as great as the former danger, that is, vaſt, and ponderous, and inſupportable.

45. THIRDLY, Suppoſe the clinick or death-bed penitent to be as forward in theſe employments, and as ſucceſsful in the maſtering many of the objections, as reaſonably can be thought: yet it is conſiderable, that there is a repentance which is to be repented of, and that is a repentance which is not productive of fruits of amendment of life; that there is a period ſet down by God in his judgment, and that many, who have been profane as Eſau was, are reduced into the condition of Eſau, and *there is no place left for their repentance, though they ſeek it carefully with tears*; that they who have long refuſed to hear God calling them to repentance, [d] God will refuſe to hear them calling for grace and mercy; that *he will laugh* at ſome men *when their calamity comes*; that the five fooliſh virgins addreſſed themſelves at the noiſe of the bridegroom's coming, and begged oil, and went out to buy oil, and yet for want of ſome more time and an early diligence, came too late, and were ſhut out for ever; that it is no-where revealed that ſuch late endeavours and imperfect practices ſhall be accepted; that God hath made but one covenant with us in Jeſus Chriſt, which is faith and repentance conſigned in baptiſm; and the ſignification of them and the purpoſe of Chriſt is, *that we ſhould henceforth no more ſerve ſin*, but mortify and kill him perpetually, and deſtroy his kingdom, and extinguiſh as much as in us lies his very title; that we ſhould *live holily, juſtly and ſoberly in this preſent world, in all holy converſation and godlineſs*; and that either we muſt be continued in, or reduced to this ſtate of holy living and habitual ſanctity, or we have no title to the promiſes; that every degree of receſſion from the ſtate Chriſt firſt put us in, is a receſſion from our hopes, and an inſecuring our condition, and we add to our confidence only as our obedience is reſtored. All this is but a ſad ſtory to a dying perſon, who *ſold himſelf to work wickedneſs* in an habitual iniquity, and averſation from the conditions of the holy covenant in which he was ſanctified.

46. AND certainly it is unreaſonable to plant all our hopes of Heaven upon a doctrine that is deſtructive of all piety, which ſuppoſes us in ſuch a condition that God hath been offended at us all our life long, and yet that we can never return our duties to him unleſs he will unravel the purpoſes of his predeſtination, or call back time again and begin a new computation of years for us; and if he did, it would be ſtill as uncertain. For what hope is there to that man who hath fulfilled all iniquity, and hath not fulfilled righteouſneſs? Can a man live to the Devil, and die to God? *ſow to the fleſh*, and *reap to the ſpirit?* hope God will in mercy reward him who hath ſerved his enemy? Sure it is, the doctrine of the avail of a death-bed repentance cannot eaſily be reconciled with God's purpoſes and intentions to have us live a good life: for it would reconcile us to the hopes of Heaven for a few thoughts, or words, or ſingle actions, when our life is done; it takes away the benefit of many graces, and the uſe of more, and the neceſſity of all.

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[a] Ἐπειδὰν τις ἐγγὺς ᾖ τοῦ οἴεσθαι τελευτήσειν, εἰσέρχεται αὐτῷ φόβος ϗ φροντὶς περὶ ὧν ἐν τῷ ἔμπροσθεν οὐκ εἰσῄει. Plato de Repub.

[b] Nequit ſanè fieri ut homo intelligat aut cognoſcat quicquam ex cognitione creatoris, ſi adverſâ valetudine contabeſcat. Maimon. Can. Eth. cap. iv.

[c] Ante ſenectutem curandum eſt ut homo bene vivat; in ſenectute autem, ut bene moriatur. Senec.

[d] O ſi compunctas humana ſuperbia mentes
Ante obitum mutare, nec expectare ſuprema
Fata velit ———————
Pœnitet ambiguè quem ſerò pœnitet; ergò
Præſentis ſpatium nobis dum creditur ævi,
Dum patulam cunctis Chriſti clementia ſeſe
Præbet, præteritæ plangamus crimina vitæ,
Dum licet, & ſano ingenuóque animo valeamus.
Alcimus Avit.

Bis jam penè tibi conſul trigeſimus inſtat,
Et numerat paucos vix tua vita dies.
Mart. l. i. ep. xvi.

Vide S. Ambroſ. l. ii. de Pœnit. c. i. & xi. S. Aug. in l. Homil. hom. xli. S. Baſil. orat. iv. S. Bernard. in parvis Serm. ſer. xxxviii.

47. For let it be ſeriouſly weighed, to what purpoſe is the variety of God's grace? what uſe is there of preventing, reſtraining, concomitant, ſubſequent, and perſevering grace, unleſs it be in order to a religious converſation? And by deferring repentance to the laſt we deſpoil our ſouls, and rob the Holy Ghoſt of the glory of many rays and holy influences with which the church is watered and refreſhed, that it may *grow from grace to grace*, till it be conſummate in glory. It takes away the very being of chaſtity and temperance; no ſuch virtues, according to this doctrine, need to be named among Chriſtians. For the dying perſon is not in capacity to exerciſe theſe: and then either they are troubleſome, without which we may do well enough; or elſe the condition of the unchaſt and intemperate clinick is ſad and deplorable. For how can he eject thoſe Devils of luſts and drunkenneſs and gluttony, from whom the diſeaſe hath taken all powers of election and variety of choice; unleſs it be poſſible to root out long contracted habits in a moment, or acquire the habits of chaſtity, ſobriety and temperance, thoſe ſelf-denying and laborious graces, without doing a ſingle act of the reſpective virtues in order to obtaining of habits; unleſs it be ſo that God will infuſe habits into us more immediately than he creates our reaſonable ſouls, in an inſtant, and without the co-operation of the ſuſcipient, without *the working out our ſalvation with fear*, and without *giving all diligence*, and *running with patience*, and *reſiſting unto blood*, and *ſtriving to the laſt*, and *enduring unto the end* in a long fight and a long race? If God infuſes ſuch habits, why have we laws given, and are commanded to work, and to do our duty with ſuch a ſucceſſion and laſting diligence, as if the habits were to be acquired, to which indeed God promiſes and miniſters his aids, ſtill leaving us the perſons obliged to the law and the labour, as we are capable of the reward? I need not inſtance any more. But this doctrine of a death-bed repentance is inconſiſtent with the duties of mortification, with all the vindictive and punitive parts of repentance in exterior inſtances, with the precepts of *waiting* and *watchfulneſs* and *preparation*, and ſtanding in *a readineſs* againſt *the coming of the bridegroom*, with *the patience of well-doing*, with exemplary living, with the imitation of the life of Chriſt, and conformities to his paſſion, with the kingdom, and dominion, and growth of grace. And laſtly, it goes about to defeat one of God's great purpoſes. For God therefore [a] concealed the time of our death, that we might always ſtand upon our guard; the Holy Jeſus told us ſo, *Watch, for ye know not what hour the Lord will come*: but this makes men ſeem more crafty in their late-begun piety, than God was provident and myſterious in concealing the time of our diſſolution.

48. And now if it be demanded, how long time muſt our repentance and holy living take up? what is the laſt period of commencement of our piety, after which it will be unaccepted or effectual? will a month, or a year, or three years, or ſeven ſuffice? For ſince every man fails of his firſt condition, and makes violent receſſions from the ſtate of his redemption and his baptiſmal grace, [b] how long may he lie in that ſtate of receſſion with hopes of ſalvation? To this I anſwer, he cannot lie in ſin a moment without hazarding his eternity; every inſtant is a danger, and all the parts of its duration do increaſe it: and there is no anſwer to be given antecedently, and by way of rule, but all the hopes of our reſtitution depend upon the event. It is juſt as if we ſhould aſk, How long will it be before an infant comes to the perfect uſe of reaſon, or before a fool will become wiſe, or an ignorant perſon become excellently learned? The anſwer to ſuch queſtions muſt be given according to the capacity of the man, to the induſtry of his perſon, to his opportunities or hindrances, to his life and health, and to God's bleſſing upon him. Only this; every day of deferring it leſſens our hopes, and increaſes the difficulty: and when this increaſing, diviſible difficulty comes to the laſt period of impoſſibility, God only knows, becauſe he meaſures the thoughts of man, and comprehends his powers in a ſpan, and himſelf only can tell how he will correſpond in thoſe aſſiſtances without which we can never be reſtored. [c] *Agree with thy adverſary quickly, while thou art in the way: quickly.* And therefore the ſcripture ſets down no other time than *to day*; *while it is yet called to day.* But becauſe it will every day be called to day, we muſt remember that our duty is ſuch as requires a time,

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[a] Prudens futuri temporis exitum
Caliginoſâ nocte premit Deus.
Horat. l. iii. od. xxix.

Vita data eſt utenda, data eſt ſine fœnore nobis
Mutua, nec certâ perſolüenda die.

Quæris quod ſit longiſſimum vitæ ſpatium? Uſque ad ſapientiam pervenire. Qui ad illam pervenit, attigit non longiſſimum finem, ſed maximum. Senec.

[b] Malè vivunt qui ſemper vivere incipiunt. Non poteſt ſtare paratus ad mortem, qui modò incipit vivere. Quidam vivere tunc incipiunt cùm deſinendum eſt; quidam antè vivere deſiêrunt quàm inciperent. Senec. ep. xxiii.

[c] Hic eſt locus ſolvendi æris alieni. Senec. ibid.

Mortem venientem nemo hilaris excipit, niſi qui ſe ad eam diu compoſuerat. Idem ep. xxx.

——— Qui peccatum moriens dimittit, & ipſa
In ſerum tempus differt admiſſa fateri,
Non tam dimittit, quàm dimittatur ab illis.
Alcim. Avitus.

a duration. It is a courſe, *a race that is ſet before us*, a duty requiring patience, and longanimity, and perſeverance, and great care and diligence, *that we faint not.* And ſuppoſing we could gather probably by circumſtances when the laſt period of our hopes begins; yet he that ſtands out as long as he can, gives probation that he came not in of good-will or choice, that he loves not the preſent ſervice, that his body is preſent, but his heart is eſtranged from the yoke of his preſent employment: and then all that he can do is odious to God, being a ſacrifice without a heart, an offertory of ſhells and husks, while the Devil and the man's luſts have devoured the kernels.

49. So that this queſtion is not to be asked before-hand; but after a man hath done much of the work, and in ſome ſenſe lived holily, then he may enquire into his condition, whether if he perſevere in that, he may hope for the mercies of Jeſus. But he that enquires before-hand, as commonly he means ill, ſo he can be anſwered by none but God; becauſe the ſatisfaction of ſuch a vain queſtion depends upon future contingencies, and accidents depending upon God's ſecret pleaſure and predeſtination. He that repents but to day, repents late enough, that he put it off from yeſterday. It may be that ſome may begin to day, and find mercy, and to another perſon it may be too late: but no man is ſafe or wiſe that puts it off till to-morrow. And that it may appear how neceſſary it is to begin early, and that the work is of difficulty and continuance, and that time ſtill increaſes the objections; it is certain that all the time that is loſt muſt be redeemed by ſomething in the ſequel equivalent, or fit to make up the breach, and to cure the wounds long ſince made, and long feſtering. And this muſt be done by doing the firſt works, by ſomething that God hath declared he will accept inſtead of them: the intention of the following actions and the frequent repetition muſt make up the defect in the extenſion and co-exiſtence with a longer time. It was an act of an heroical repentance and great deteſtation of the crime, which Thomas Cantipratanus relates of a young gentleman condemned to die for robberies, who endeavouring to teſtify his repentance, and as far as was then permitted him to expiate the crime, begged of the judge that tormentors might be appointed him, that he might be long a dying, and be cut in ſmall pieces; that the ſeverity of the execution might be proportionable to the immenſity of his ſorrow and greatneſs of the iniquity. Such great acts do facilitate our pardon, and haſten the reſtitution, and a few days compriſe the elapſed duty of many months. But to rely upon ſuch acts is the laſt remedy, and like unlikely phyſick to a deſpairing perſon: if it does well, it is well; if it happen otherwiſe, he muſt thank himſelf, it is but what in reaſon he could expect. The Romans ſacrificed a dog to Mana Geneta, and prayed, *Nè quis domi natorum bonus fiat*, [a] that none of their domeſticks might be good; that is, that they might not die, (ſaith Plutarch) becauſe dead people are called good. But if they be ſo only when they die, they will hardly find the reward of goodneſs in the reckonings of eternity, when to kill and to make good is all one: (as Ariſtotle obſerved it to be in the Spartan covenant with the Tegeatæ, and as it is in the caſe of penitents never mending their lives till their lives be done:) that goodneſs is fatal, and the prologue of an eternal death.

50. I conclude this point with the words of St. Paul; God [b] *will render to every man according to his deeds: to them who by patient continuance in well-doing ſeek for glory and honour and immortality*; [to them] *eternal life. But to them that are contentious, and do not obey the truth, but obey unrighteouſneſs*; [to them] *indignation and wrath: tribulation and anguiſh upon every ſoul of man that doth evil.*

51. Having now diſcourſed of repentance upon diſtinct principles, I ſhall not need to conſider upon thoſe particulars which are uſually reckoned parts or inſtances of repentance; ſuch as are contrition, confeſſion, and ſatisfaction. Repentance is the fulfilling all righteouſneſs, and includes in it whatſoever is matter of Chriſtian duty and expreſly commanded; ſuch as is contrition or godly ſorrow, and confeſſion to God, both which are declared in ſcripture to be in order to pardon and purgation of our ſins.

A

Non poteſt ſtare paratus ad mortem qui modo incipit vivere. Id agendum eſt, ut ſatis vixerimus. Quidam vivere tunc incipiunt cùm deſinendum eſt. Si hoc judicas mirum, adjiciam quòd magis admireris: Quidam antè vivere deſierunt quàm inciperent.

Senec. ep. xxiii.

Cras te victurum, cras dicis, Poſthume, ſemper.
Dic mihi, cras iſtud, Poſthume, quando venit?
Cras vives? hodie jam vivere, Poſthume, ſerum eſt:
Ille ſapit quiſquis, Poſthume, vixit heri.

Martial. l. v. ep. 59.

Non bene diſtuleris videas quæ poſſe negari;
Et ſolum hoc ducas, quod fuit, eſſe tuum.
Non eſt, crede mihi, ſapientis dicere, vivam.
Sera nimis vita eſt craſtina; vive hodie.

l. i. ep. 16.

[a] Τελευτῶντες χρηστοί. Ῥωμαϊκ. κεφ. νβ'. Μηδένα χρηστὸν ποιεῖν, i. e. ἀποκτιννύναι. Plutarch. ibid. ex Ariſtotele.

[b] Rom. ii. 6, 7, 8, 9.

A contrite and a broken heart, O God, thou wilt not deſpiſe; and, *If we confeſs our ſins, God is juſt and righteous to forgive us our ſins, and to cleanſe us from all iniquity.* To which add concerning ſatisfaction, that it is a judging and puniſhing of our ſelves; that it alſo is an inſtrument of repentance, and a fruit of godly ſorrow, and of good advantage for obtaining mercy of God. For *indignation and revenge* are reckoned by St. Paul effects of *a godly ſorrow*, and the bleſſing which encourages its practice is inſtanced by the ſame Saint: [a] *When we are judged, we are chaſtened of the Lord*; but, *If we would judge our ſelves, we ſhould not be judged:* where he expounds *judged* by *chaſtened*; if we were ſeverer to our ſelves, God would be gentle and remiſs. And there are only theſe two cautions to be annexed, and then the direction is ſufficient. 1. That when promiſe of pardon is annexed to any of theſe or another grace, or any good action, it is not to be underſtood as if alone it were effectual either to the abolition or pardon of ſins, but the promiſe is made to it as to a member of the whole body of piety. In the coadunation and conjunction of parts the title is firm, but not at all in diſtinction and ſeparation. For it is certain, if we fail in one, we are guilty of all; and therefore cannot be repaired by any one grace, or one action, or one habit. And therefore [b] *charity hides a multitude of ſins* with men and God too; *Alms deliver from death*; *humility pierceth the clouds*, and will not depart before its anſwer be gracious; and *hope purifieth, and makes not aſhamed*; and patience, and faith, and piety to parents, and prayer, and the eight beatitudes, *have promiſes of this life, and of that which is to come* reſpectively: and yet nothing will obtain theſe promiſes but the harmony and uniting of theſe graces in a holy and habitual confederation. And when we conſider the promiſe as ſingularly relating to that one grace, it is to be underſtood comparatively; that is, ſuch perſons are happy if compared with thoſe who have contrary diſpoſitions. For ſuch a capacity does its portion of the work towards compleat felicity, from which the contrary quality does eſtrange and diſintitle us. 2. The ſpecial and minute actions and inſtances of theſe three preparatives of repentance are not under any command in the particulars, but are to be diſpoſed of by Chriſtian prudence in order to thoſe ends to which they are moſt aptly inſtrumental and deſigned. Such as are faſting, and corporal ſeverities in ſatisfaction, or the punitive parts of repentance: they are either vindictive of what is paſt, and ſo are proper acts or effects of contrition and godly ſorrow; or elſe they relate to the preſent and future ſtate, and are intended for correction or emendation, and ſo are of good uſe as they are medicinal, and in that proportion not to be omitted. And ſo is confeſſion to a ſpiritual perſon an excellent inſtrument of diſcipline, a bridle of intemperate paſſions, an opportunity of reſtitution. [c] *Ye which are ſpiritual, reſtore ſuch a perſon overtaken in a fault* (ſaith the Apoſtle). It is the application of a remedy, the conſulting with the guide, and the beſt ſecurity to a weak or lapſed or an ignorant perſon; in all which caſes he is unfit to judge his own queſtions, and in theſe he is alſo committed to the care and conduct of another. But theſe ſpecial inſtances of repentance are capable of ſuppletories, and are like the corporal works of mercy neceſſary only in time and place, and in accidental obligations. He that relieves the poor, or viſits the ſick, chooſing it for the inſtance of his charity, though he do not redeem captives, is charitable, and hath done his alms. [d] And he that cures his ſin by any inſtruments, by external, or interior and ſpiritual remedies, is penitent, though his diet be not aſcetick and afflictive, or his lodging hard, or his ſorrow burſting out into tears, or his expreſſions paſſionate and dolorous. I only add this, that acts of *publick* repentance muſt be by uſing the inſtruments of the church, ſuch as ſhe hath appointed; of *private*, ſuch as by experience, or by reaſon, or by the counſel we can get, we ſhall learn to be moſt effective of our penitential purpoſes. And yet it is a great argument that the exterior expreſſions of corporal ſeverities are of good benefit, becauſe in all ages wiſe men and ſevere penitents have choſen them for their inſtruments.

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[a] Τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἀρνουμένους καὶ ἀντιλέγοντας μᾶλλον κολάζομεν· πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ὁμολογοῦντας δικαίως κολάζεσθαι θυμούμενοι. Ariſt. Rhet. 2.

[b] James v. 20. Tob. iv. 10. 1 John iii. 3. Rom. v. 5. 1 Tim. iv. 8.

[c] Gal. vi. 1.

[d] Vide Diſc. of Mortification. Part I. and Diſc. of Faſting. Part II.

The PRAYER.

O Eternal God, who wert pleaſed in mercy to look upon us when we were in our blood, to reconcile us when we were enemies, to forgive us in the midſt of our provocations of thy infinite and eternal Majeſty, finding out a remedy for us which mankind could never aſk, even making an atonement for us by the death of thy ſon, ſanctifying us by the blood of the everlaſting covenant, and thy all-hallowing and divine ſpirit; let thy graces ſo perpetually aſſiſt and encourage my endeavours, conduct my will, and fortifie my intentions, that I may perſevere in that holy condition which thou haſt put me in by the grace of the covenant, and the mercies of the Holy Jeſus. O let me never fall into thoſe ſins, and retire to that vain converſation, from which the eternal and merciful Saviour of the world hath redeemed me: but let me grow in grace, adding virtue to virtue, reducing my purpoſes to act, and increaſing my acts till they grow into habits, and my habits till they be confirmed, and ſtill confirming them till they be conſummate in a bleſſed and holy perſeverance. Let thy preventing grace daſh all temptations in their approach; let thy concomitant grace enable me to reſiſt them in the aſſault, and overcome them in the fight: that my hopes be never diſcompoſed, nor my faith weakened, nor my confidence made remiſs, nor my title and portion in the covenant be leſſened. Or if thou permitteſt me at any time to fall, (which, Holy Jeſu, avert for thy mercy and compaſſion ſake,) yet let me not ſleep in ſin, but recall me inſtantly by the clamours of a nice and tender conſcience, and the quickning ſermons of the ſpirit, that I may never paſs from ſin to ſin, from one degree to another; leſt ſin ſhould get the dominion over me, leſt thou be angry with me and reject me from the covenant, and I periſh. Purifie me from all uncleanneſs, ſanctifie my ſpirit, that I may be holy as thou art: and let me never provoke thy jealouſy, nor preſume upon thy goodneſs, nor diſtruſt thy mercies, nor defer my repentance, nor rely upon vain confidence; but let me by a conſtant, ſedulous and timely endeavour make my calling and election ſure, living to thee and dying to thee; that having ſowed to the ſpirit, I may from thy mercies reap in the ſpirit bliſs, and eternal ſanctity, and everlaſting life, through Jeſus Chriſt our Saviour, our hope, and our mighty and ever-glorious Redeemer. Amen.

Upon Chriſt's Sermon on the Mount, and of the Eight Beatitudes.

1. THE Holy Jeſus being entred upon his prophetical office, in the firſt ſolemn ſermon gave teſtimony that he was not only an interpreter of laws then in being, but alſo a law-giver, and an angel of the new and everlaſting covenant: which becauſe God meant to eſtabliſh with mankind by the mediation of his Son, by his Son alſo he now began to publiſh the conditions of it. And that the publication of the Chriſtian law might retain ſome proportion at leaſt and analogy of circumſtance with the promulgation of the law of Moſes, Chriſt went up into a mountain, and from thence gave the oracle. And here he taught all the diſciples: for what he was now to ſpeak was to become a law, a part of the condition on which he eſtabliſhed the covenant, and founded our hopes of heaven. Our excellent and gracious law-giver, knowing that the great argument in all practical diſciplines is the propoſal of the end, which is their crown and their reward, begins his ſermon, as David began his moſt divine collection of hymns, with bleſſedneſs. And having enumerated eight duties, which are the rule of the ſpirits of Chriſtians, he begins every duty with a beatitude, and concludes it with a reward; to manifeſt the reaſonableneſs, and to invite and determine our choice to ſuch graces which are circumſcribed with felicities, which have bleſſedneſs in preſent poſſeſſion, and glory in the conſequence; which in the midſt of the moſt paſſive and afflictive of them tells us that we are bleſſed: which is indeed a felicity, as a hope is good, or as a rich heir is rich, who in the midſt of his diſcipline and the ſeverity of tutors and governors, knows he is deſigned to, and certain of, a great inheritance.

Pag. 208.

XX

And seeing the Multitudes, he *went up into a Mountain and when* he *was set,* his *Disciples came unto* him. *And* he *opened* his *Mouth and taught them.* *St. Matt. Chap. 5th. Ver. 1st. 2d.*

And seeing the Multitudes, he went up into a Mountain; and when he was set, his Disciples came unto him: & he opened his Mouth and taught them. St. Matthew Ch. v. 1, 2.

BRITISH MUSEUM 5 AU 70

2. THE eight beatitudes, which are the duty of a Chriſtian, and the rule of our ſpirit, and the ſpecial diſcipline of Chriſt, ſeem like ſo many paradoxes and impoſſibilities reduced to reaſon; and are indeed virtues made excellent by rewards, by the ſublimity of grace, and the mercies of God, hallowing and crowning thoſe habits which are deſpiſed by the world, and are eſteemed the conditions of lower and leſs conſiderable people. But God *ſees not as man ſees*, and his rules of eſtimate and judgment are not borrowed from the exterior ſplendor, which is apt to ſeduce children, and cozen fools, and pleaſe the appetites of ſenſe and abuſed fancy; but they are ſuch as he makes himſelf, excellencies which by abſtractions and ſeparations from things below, land us upon celeſtial appetites. And they are ſtates of ſuffering rather than ſtates of life. For the great employment of a Chriſtian being to bear the croſs, Chriſt laid the pedeſtal ſo low, that the rewards were like rich mines interred in the deeps and inacceſſible retirements, and did chooſe to build our felicities upon the torrents and violences of affliction and ſorrow. Without theſe graces we cannot get Heaven; and without ſorrow and ſad accidents we cannot excerciſe theſe graces. Such are,

3. FIRST, [a]*Bleſſed are the poor in ſpirit, for theirs is the kingdom of Heaven.* Poverty of ſpirit is in reſpect of ſecular affluence and abundance, or in reſpect of great opinion and high thoughts: either of which have divers acts and offices. That the firſt is one of the meanings of this text is certain, becauſe St. Luke, repeating this beatitude, delivers it plainly, [b] *Bleſſed are the poor;* and to it he oppoſes *riches.* And our Bleſſed Saviour ſpeaks ſo ſuſpiciouſly of riches and rich men, that he repreſents the condition to be full of danger and temptation: and [c] St. James calls it full of ſin, deſcribing rich men to be *oppreſſors*, litigious, proud, ſpiteful, and contentious. Which ſayings, like all others of that nature, are to be underſtood in common and moſt frequent accidents, not regularly, but very improbable to be otherwiſe. For if we conſider our vocation, St. Paul informs us, that *not many mighty, not many noble are called;* but *God hath choſen the poor of this world, rich in faith.* And how *hard it is for a rich man to enter into Heaven*, our great maſter hath taught us, by ſaying, [d] *it is more eaſy for a camel to paſs through a needle's eye.* And the reaſon is, becauſe of the infinite temptation which riches miniſter to our ſpirits; it being ſuch an opportunity of vices, that nothing remains to countermand the act but a ſtrong, reſolute, unaltered and habitual purpoſe, and pure love of vertue: riches in the mean time offering to us occaſions of luſt, fuel for revenge, inſtruments of pride, entertainment of our deſires, engaging them in low, worldly and ſottiſh appetites; inviting us to ſhew our power in oppreſſion, our greatneſs in vanities, our wealth in prodigal expences, and to anſwer the importunity of our luſts, not by a denial, but by a correſpondence and ſatisfaction, till they become our miſtreſſes, imperious, arrogant, tyrannical, and vain. But poverty is the ſiſter of a good mind, it miniſters aid to wiſdom, induſtry to our ſpirit, ſeverity to our thoughts, ſoberneſs to our counſels, modeſty to our deſires; it reſtrains extravagancy and diſſolution of appetites: the next thing above our preſent condition, which is commonly the object of our wiſhes, being temperate and little, proportionable enough to nature, not wandering beyond the limits of neceſſity or a moderate conveniency, or at fartheſt but to a free refreſhment and recreation. And the cares of poverty are ſingle and mean, rather a fit imployment to correct our levities, than a buſineſs to impede our better thoughts: ſince a little thing ſupplies the needs of nature, and [e] the earth and the fountain with little trouble miniſter food to us, and God's common providence and daily diſpenſation eaſes the cares, and makes them portable. But the cares and buſineſs of rich men are violences to our whole man; they are loads of memory, buſineſs for the underſtanding, work for two or three arts and ſciences, imployment for many ſervants to aſſiſt in, increaſe the appetite and heighten the thirſt; and by making their dropſy bigger, and their capacities large, they deſtroy all thoſe opportunities and poſſibilities of charity in which only riches can be uſeful.

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[a] Προκοπὴ ψυχῆς, προκοπὴ ταπεινώσεως.

[b] Luke vi. 20, 24.

[c] James ii. 6. v. 1. &c.

[d] Nulli fortunæ minùs bene quàm optimæ creditur. Aliâ felicitate ad tuendam felicitatem eſt opus. Sen.

Ὤφελες, ὦ τυφλὲ Πλοῦτε, μήτ' ἐν γῇ, μήτ' ἐν θαλάττῃ, μήτ' ἐν ἠπείρῳ φανῆναι, ἀλλὰ Τάρταρόν τε ναίειν καὶ Ἀχέροντα· διὰ σὲ γὰρ πάντα ἐν ἀνθρώποις κακά. Timocr. Lyr.

Vel nos in mare proximum
 Gemmas & lapides, aurum & inutile,
Summi materiam mali,
 Mittamus. Hor. lib. iii. od. 24.

Ὁ δὲ πλοῦτος ἡμᾶς, καθάπερ ἰατρὸς κακὸς, τυφλοὺς (βλέποντας παραλαβὼν) πάντας ποιεῖ. Antiphanes.

Δοῦλος Ἐπίκτητος γενόμην, καὶ σώματι πηρὸς,
 Καὶ πενίην Ἶρος, καὶ φίλος ἀθανάτοις.

Γαλακτοφάγων ἀβίων τε, δικαιοτάτων ἀνθρώπων, dixit Homerus de Myſis & Hippomolgis, l. 13. Il. Juſtiſſimos & longævos dixit qui veſcebantur lacte & cibo modeſto.

[e] —— Satis eſt fluviuſque Cereſque. Lucan.

Ἐπεὶ τί δεῖ βροτοῖσι πλὴν δυοῖν μόνον,
Δήμητρος ἀκτῆς, πώματός θ' ὑδρηχόου,
Ἅπερ πάρεστι, καὶ πέφυχ' ἡμᾶς τρέφειν. Eurip.

4. BUT it is not a mere poverty of poſſeſſion which intitles us to the bleſſing, but a poverty of ſpirit; that is, a contentedneſs in every ſtate, an aptneſs to renounce all when we are obliged in duty, a refuſing to continue a poſſeſſion when we for it muſt quit a vertue or a noble action, a divorce of our affections from thoſe gilded vanities, a generous contempt of the world; and at no hand heaping riches, either with injuſtice or with avarice, either with wrong or impotency, of action or affection. Not like [a] Laberius deſcribed by the poet, who thought nothing ſo criminal as poverty, and every ſpending of a ſeſterce was the loſs of a moral virtue, and every gaining of a talent was an action glorious and heroical. But poverty of ſpirit accounts riches to be the ſervants of God firſt, and then of our ſelves; being ſent by God, and to return when he pleaſes, and all the while they are with us, to do his buſineſs. It is a looking upon riches and things of the earth, as they do who look upon it from Heaven, to whom it appears little and unprofitable. And becauſe the reſidence of this bleſſed poverty is in the mind, it follows that it be here underſtood, that all that exinanition and renunciation, abjection and humility of mind, which depauperates the ſpirit, making it leſs worldly and more ſpiritual, is the duty here enjoined. For if a man throws away his gold, as did Crates the Theban, or the proud philoſopher Diogenes, and yet leaves a ſpirit high, airy, phantaſtical and vain, pleaſing himſelf, and with complacency reflecting upon his own act; his poverty is but a circumſtance of pride, and the opportunity of an imaginary and a ſecular greatneſs. Ananias and Sapphira renounced the world by ſelling their poſſeſſions: but becauſe they were not *poor in ſpirit*, but ſtill retained the affections to the world, therefore they *kept back part of the price*, and loſt their hopes. [b] The church of Laodicea was poſſeſſed with a ſpirit of pride, and flattered themſelves in imaginary riches: they were not poor in ſpirit, but they were poor in poſſeſſion and condition. Theſe wanted humility, the other wanted a generous contempt of worldly things; and both were deſtitute of this grace.

5. THE acts of this grace are, 1. To caſt off all inordinate affection to [c] riches. 2. In heart and ſpirit, that is, preparation of mind, to quit the poſſeſſion of all riches; and actually ſo to do when God requires it, that is, when the retaining riches loſes a virtue. 3. To be well pleaſed with the whole œconomy of God, his providence and diſpenſation of all things, being contented in all eſtates. [d] 4. To employ that wealth God hath given us in actions of juſtice and religion. 5. To be thankful to God in all temporal loſſes. 6. Not to diſtruſt God, or to be ſolicitous and fearful of want in the future. 7. To put off the ſpirit of vanity, pride and phantaſtick complacency in our ſelves, thinking lowly or meanly of whatſoever we are to do. 8. To prefer others before our ſelves, doing honour and prelation to them; and either contentedly receiving affronts done to us, or modeſtly undervaluing our ſelves. 9. Not to praiſe our ſelves, but when God's glory and the edification of our neighbour is concerned in it; nor willingly to hear others praiſe us. 10. To deſpoil our ſelves of all interior propriety, denying our own will in all inſtances of ſubordination to our ſuperiors, and our own judgment in matters of difficulty and queſtions; permitting our ſelves and our affairs to the advice of wiſer men, and the deciſion of thoſe who are truſted with the cure of ſouls. 11. Emptying our ſelves of our ſelves, and throwing our ſelves wholly upon God, relying upon his providence, truſting his promiſes, craving his grace, and depending upon his ſtrength for all our actions, and deliverances, and duties.

6. THE reward promiſed is *the Kingdom of Heaven. Fear not little flock, it is your Father's pleaſure to give you a kingdom.* [e] To be little in our own eyes is to be great in God's: the poverty of the ſpirit ſhall be rewarded with the riches of the kingdoms, of both kingdoms: that of Heaven is expreſſed. poverty is the high-way of eternity. But therefore the kingdom of grace is taken in the way, the way to our country: [f] and it being the fore-runner of glory, and nothing elſe but an antedated eternity, is part of the reward as well as of our duty. And therefore whatſoever is ſignified by *kingdom* in the appropriate evangelical ſenſe, is there intended as a recompence. For the kingdom of the goſpel is a congregation and ſociety of Chriſt's poor, of his *little ones:*

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[a] ——— Quod vixit, credidit ingens
Pauperiem vitium, & cavit nil acriùs; ut ſi
Fortè minùs locuples uno quadrante periret,
Ipſe videretur nequior ſibi——— Horat.

[b] Apocal. iii. 17.

[c] Ἐγὼ δὲ Ἀμαλθείης βουλοίμην κέρας, οὔτ' ἔτεα πεντήκοντα ἑκατὸν Ταρτήσσου βασιλεῦσαι, Anacreon.

[d] Non poſſidentem multa vocaveris
Rectè beatum: rectius occupat
Nomen beati, qui Deorum
Muneribus ſapienter uti,
Duramque callet pauperiem pati.
Pejúſque letho flagitium timet, &c. Hor. lib. iv. od. 9.

[e] Latius regnes avidum domando
Spiritum, quam ſi Libyam remotis
Gadibus jungas, & uterque Pœnus
Serviat uni. Hor. l. ii. od. 2.
Serviet æternum, qui parvo neſciet uti. Hor.

[f] Matth. xi. 11. & xviii. 4.

ones: they are the communion of ſaints, and their preſent entertainment is knowledge of the truth, remiſſion of ſins, the gift of the Holy Ghoſt, and what elſe in ſcripture is ſignified to be a part or grace or condition of the kingdom. [a] For *to the poor the goſpel is preached:* that is, to the poor the kingdom is promiſed and miniſtred.

7. SECONDLY, *Bleſſed are they that mourn; for they ſhall be comforted.* This duty of Chriſtian mourning is commanded, not for it ſelf, but in order to many good ends. It is in order to patience: [b] *tribulation worketh patience;* and therefore *we glory in them,* (ſaith St. Paul;) and St. James, [c] *My brethren, count it all joy when ye enter into divers temptations, knowing that the trial of your faith* (*viz.* by afflictions) *worketh patience.* 2. It is in order to repentance: [d] *Godly ſorrow worketh repentance.* 3. By conſequence it is in order to pardon; for *a contrite heart God will not reject.* 4. And after all this it leads to joy. And therefore St. [e] James preached a homily of ſorrow: *Be afflicted, and mourn, and weep,* that is, in penitential mourning; for he adds, *Humble your ſelves in the ſight of the Lord, and he ſhall lift you up.* The acts of this duty are, 1. To bewail our own ſins. 2. To lament our infirmities, as they are principles of ſin, and receſſions from our firſt ſtate. 3. To weep for our own evils and ſad accidents, as they are iſſues of the divine anger. 4. To be ſad for the miſeries and calamities of the church, or of any member of it, and indeed to *weep with every one that weeps;* that is, not to rejoice in his evil, but to be compaſſionate, and pitiful, and apt to bear another's burthen. 5. To avoid all looſe and immoderate laughter, all diſſolution of ſpirit and manners, uncomely jeſtings, free revellings, carnavals and balls, which are the perdition of precious hours, (allowed us for repentance and poſſibilities of Heaven,) which are the inſtruments of infinite vanity, idle talking, impertinency and luſt, and very much below the ſeverity and retiredneſs of a Chriſtian ſpirit. Of this Chriſt became to us the great example; for St. Baſil reports a tradition of him, that he never laughed, but wept often. And if we mourn with him, we ſhall alſo rejoice in the joys of eternity.

8. THIRDLY, *Bleſſed are the meek; for they ſhall poſſeſs the earth:* that is, the gentle and ſofter ſpirits, perſons not turbulent or unquiet, not clamorous or impatient, not over bold or impudent, not querulous or diſcontented, not brawlers or contentious, not nice or curious; but men who ſubmit to God, and know no choice of fortune or employment or ſucceſs but what God chooſes for them, having peace at home, becauſe nothing from without does diſcompoſe their ſpirit. [f] In ſumm, meekneſs is an indifferency to any exterior accident, a being reconciled to all conditions and inſtances of providence, a reducing our ſelves to ſuch an evenneſs and interior ſatisfaction, that there is the ſame conformity of ſpirit and fortune by complying with my fortune, as if my fortune did comply with my ſpirit. And therefore in the order of beatitudes, meekneſs is ſet between mourning and deſire, that it might balance and attemper thoſe actions by indifferency, which by reaſon of their abode are apt to the tranſportation of paſſion. [g] The reward expreſſed is a *poſſeſſion of the Earth,* that is, a poſſeſſion of all which is excellent here below, to conſign him to a future glory, as Canaan was a type of Heaven. For meekneſs is the beſt cement and combining of friendſhips, it is a great endearment of us to our company. It is an [h] *ornament* to have *a meek and quiet ſpirit,* [i] a prevention of quarrels, and pacifier of wrath; it purchaſeth peace, and is it ſelf a quietneſs of ſpirit. It is the greateſt affront to all injuries in the world; for it returns them upon the injurious, and makes them uſeleſs, ineffective, and innocent: and is an antidote againſt all the evil conſequents of anger and adverſity, and tramples upon the uſurping paſſions of the iraſcible faculty.

9. BUT the greateſt part of this paiſage and landtſchap is ſky: and as a man in all countries can ſee more of Heaven than of the Earth he dwells on; ſo alſo he may in this promiſe. For although the Chriſtian hears the promiſe of *the inheritance of the Earth;*

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[a] Matth. xi. 5. [b] Rom. v. 3. Gaudet patientia duris.

[c] James i. 2, 3. [d] 2 Cor. vii. 10.

[e] James iv. 9, 10.

Sic enim per oculos cùm notas turpes trahat,
Rurſus per ipſos lacrymas fundit pias,
Egreſſione ut eluat quæ ingreſſa ſunt.
Dum dolemus admiſſa, admittenda excludimus;
Et fit quædam de condemnatione culpæ diſciplina innocentiæ. S. Ambroſ.

[f] Πραεῖς εἰσιν οἱ κατεςαλμένοι τὰ ἤθη, ϗ παντὸς πάθους ἀπηλλαγμένοι, ὡς μηδεμίαν ἔχειν ταραχὴν ἐνοικοῦσαν αὐτῶν ταῖς ψυχαῖς. S. Baſil. in Pſal. 33.

[g] Manſuetus & æquus ſecundum Ariſtot. eſt εὐτυχῶν μέτριος, & ἀτυχῶν μεγαλόψυχος.

Ὅσσα τε δαιμονίῃσι τύχαις βροτοὶ ἄλγε' ἔχωσιν,
Ὧν ἂν μοῖραν ἔχῃς, πρᾴως φέρε, μηδ' ἀγανάκτει.
Pythag. Carm. aur.

Æquam memento rebus in arduis
Servare mentem; non ſecùs in bonis
Ab inſolenti temperatam
Lætitia, moriture Deli. Hor. Carm. l. ii. od. 3.
Quem res plùs nimio delectavere ſecundæ,
Mutatæ quatient———————ad Fuſc.

[h] 1 Pet. iii. 4.

[i] Ὁ θυμὸς φίλων αἰτίαν, συμφορᾶς σύμμαχον, βλάβης συνεργὸν ϗ ἀτιμίας, χρημάτων ἀπώλειαν, ἔτι δὲ ϗ φθορᾶς ἀρχηγόν. Ariſtot.

Earth; yet he muſt place his eye and fix his heart upon Heaven, which by looking downward alſo upon this promiſe, as in a veſſel of limpid water, he may ſee by reflexion, without looking upwards by a direct intuition. It is Heaven that is deſigned by this promiſe as well as by any of the reſt; though this grace takes in alſo the refreſhments of the earth by equivalence and a ſuppletory deſign. But *here we have no abiding city*, and therefore no *inheritance*; this is not our country, and therefore here cannot be our portion; unleſs we chooſe, as did the prodigal, to go into a ſtrange country, and ſpend our portion with riotous and beaſtly living, and forfeit our Father's bleſſing. The Devil carrying our Bleſſed Saviour to a high mountain ſhewed him all the kingdoms of the world; but, beſides that they were offered upon ill conditions, they were not eligible by him upon any. And neither are they to be choſen by us for our inheritance and portion evangelical: for the goſpel is founded upon *better promiſes*, and therefore the hopes of a Chriſtian ought not to determine upon any thing leſs than Heaven. Indeed our Bleſſed Saviour choſe to deſcribe this beatitude in the words of the Pſalmiſt, ſo inviting his diſciples to an excellent precept by the inſinuation of thoſe ſcriptures which themſelves admitted. But as the Earth which was promiſed to the meek man in David's pſalm, was no other earth but the *terra promiſſionis*, the land of Canaan; if we ſhall remember that this land of promiſe was but a tranſition and an allegory to a greater and more noble, that it was but a type of Heaven, we ſhall not ſee cauſe to wonder why the Holy Jeſus, intending Heaven for the reward of this grace alſo, together with the reſt, did call it *the inheritance of the Earth*. For now is revealed to us *a new Heaven and a new Earth, an habitation made without hands, eternal in the Heavens*. And he underſtands nothing of the excellency of Chriſtian religion, whoſe affections dwell below, and are ſatisfied with a portion of dirt and corruption. *If we be riſen with Chriſt, let us ſeek thoſe things that are above, where Chriſt ſitteth at the right hand of God*. But if a Chriſtian deſires to take poſſeſſion of this Earth in his way as his inheritance or portion, he hath reaſon to fear it will be his all. We have but one inheritance, one country, and here we are *ſtrangers and pilgrims*. *Abraham* told Dives that he had *enjoyed his good things here*; he had *the inheritance of the Earth*, in the craſs material ſenſe: and therefore he had no other portion but what the Devils have. And when we remember that perſecution is the lot of the church, and that poverty is her portion, and her *quantum* is but *food and raiment* at the beſt, and that patience is her ſupport, and hope her refreſhment, and ſelf-denial her ſecurity, and meekneſs is all her poſſeſſion and title to a ſubſiſtence; it will appear certain, that as *Chriſt's kingdom was not of this world*, ſo neither ſhall his ſaints have their portion in that which is not his kingdom. They are miſerable if they do not reign with him, and he never reigned here; but *if we ſuffer with him, we ſhall alſo reign with him* hereafter. True it is, Chriſt promiſed to him that ſhould loſe any intereſt for his ſake, the reſtitution of an *hundred-fold in this world*. But as the ſenſe of that cannot be literal; for he cannot receive a hundred mothers or a hundred wives; ſo whatſoever that be, it is to be enjoyed *with perſecution*. And then ſuch a portion of the Earth as Chriſt hath expreſſed in figure, and ſhall by way of recompence reſtore us, and ſuch a recompence as we can enjoy with perſecution, and ſuch an enjoyment as is conſiſtent with our having loſt all our temporals, and ſuch an acquiſt and purchaſe of it as is not deſtructive of the grace of meekneſs; all that we may enter into our account as part of our lot, and the emanation from the holy promiſe. But in the foot of this account we ſhall not find any great affluence of temporal accruements. However it be, although, when a meek man hath earthly poſſeſſions, by his grace he is taught how to uſe them and how to part with them; yet if he hath them not by the virtue here commanded, he is not ſuffered to uſe any thing violent towards the acquiring them, not ſo much as a violent paſſion or a ſtormy imagination: for then he loſes his meekneſs, and what-ever he gets can be none of the reward of this grace. He that fights for temporals, (unleſs by ſome other appendent duty he be obliged,) loſes his title by ſtriving incompetently for the reward; he cuts off that hand by which alone he can receive it. For unleſs he be indeed meek, he hath no right to what he calls *the inheritance of the Earth*; and he that is not content to want the inheritance of the Earth when God requires him, is not meek. So that if this beatitude be underſtood in a temporal ſenſe, it is an offer of a reward upon a condition we ſhall be without it, and be content too. For, in every ſenſe of the word, meekneſs implies a juſt ſatiſfaction of the ſpirit, and acquieſcence in every eſtate or contingency whatſoever, though we have no poſſeſſions but of a good conſcience, no *bread* but that *of carefulneſs*, no ſupport but from the Holy Spirit, and a providence miniſtring to our natural neceſſities by an extemporary proviſion. And certain it is, the meekeſt of Chriſt's ſervants, the Apoſtles and the primitive Chriſtians, had no other verification of his promiſe but this, that *rejoicing in tribulation*, and *knowing how to want as well as how to abound, through many tribulations they entered into the Kingdom of Heaven:* For that is the country in which they are co-heirs with Jeſus. But if we will certainly underſtand what this reward is, we may beſt know it by underſtanding the duty; and this we may beſt learn from him that gave it in commandment. *Learn of me, for I am meek*, (ſaid the Holy Jeſus:) and to him was promiſed that *the uttermoſt ends of the Earth* ſhould *be his inheritance*. And yet he died firſt, and went to Heaven before it was verified to him in any ſenſe, but only of content, and deſire, and joy in ſuffering, and in all variety of accident. And thus alſo if we be meek, we may receive the inheritance of the Earth.

10. The acts of this grace are, 1.[a] To ſubmit to all the inſtances of divine providence, not repining at any accident which God hath choſen for us, and given us as part of our lot, or a puniſhment of our deſerving, or an inſtrument of virtue; not envying the gifts, graces, or proſperities of our neighbours. 2. To purſue the intereſt and imployment of our calling in which we are placed, not deſpiſing the meanneſs of any work, though never ſo diſproportionable to our abilities. 3. To correct all malice, wrath, evil-ſpeaking, and inordination of anger, whether in reſpect of the object or the degree. 4. At no hand to entertain any thoughts of revenge or retaliation of evil. 5. To be affable and courteous in our deportment towards all perſons of our ſociety and intercourſe. 6. Not to cenſure or reproach the weakneſs of our neighbour, but ſupport his burthen, cover and cure his infirmities. 7. To excuſe what may be excuſed, leſſening ſeverity, and being gentle in reprehenſion. 8. [b] To be patient in afflictions, and thankful under the croſs. 9. To endure reproof, with ſhame at our ſelves for deſerving it, and thankfulneſs to the charitable phyſician that offers the remedy. 10. To be modeſt and fairly-mannered toward our ſuperiors, obeying, reverencing, ſpeaking honourably of and doing honour to aged perſons, and all whom God hath ſet over us, according to their ſeveral capacities. 11. To be aſhamed and very apprehenſive of the unworthineſs of a crime; at no hand loſing our fear of the inviſible God, and our reverence to viſible ſocieties, or ſingle perſons. 12. To be humble in our exterior addreſſes and behaviour in churches and all holy places. 13. To be temperate in government, not imperious, unreaſonable, inſolent or oppreſſive, leſt we provoke to wrath thoſe whoſe intereſt of perſon and of religion we are to defend or promote. 14. To do our endeavour to expiate any injury we did, by confeſſing the fact, and offering ſatisfaction, and asking forgiveneſs.

11. Fourthly, *Bleſſed are they that hunger and thirſt after righteouſneſs; for they ſhall be filled.* This grace is the greateſt indication of ſpiritual health, when our appetite is right, ſtrong and regular; when we are deſirous of ſpiritual nouriſhment, when we long for Manna, and *follow Chriſt for loaves*, not of a low and terreſtrial guſt, but of that *bread which came down from Heaven.* Now there are two ſorts of holy repaſt which are the proper objects of our deſires. The bread of Heaven, which is proportioned to our hunger; that is, all thoſe immediate emanations from Chriſt's pardon of our ſins, and redemption from our former converſation, holy laws and commandments. To this food there is alſo a ſpiritual beverage to quench our thirſt, and this is the effects of the Holy Spirit, who firſt *moved upon the waters* of baptiſm, and afterwards became to us *the breath of life*, giving us holy inſpirations and aſſiſtances, refreſhing our wearineſſes, cooling our fevers, and allaying all our intemperate paſſions, making us holy, humble, reſigned and pure, *according to the pattern in the mount*, even *as our Father is pure.* So that the firſt redemption and pardon of us by Chriſt's merits is the bread of life, for which we muſt hunger; and the refreſhments and daily emanations of the Spirit, who is the ſpring of comforts and purity, is that drink which we muſt thirſt after. A being firſt reconciled to God by Jeſus, and a being ſanctified and preſerved in purity by the Holy Spirit, is the adequate object of our deſires. Some to hunger and thirſt beſt fanſy the analogy and proportion of the two ſacraments, the waters of baptiſm, and the food of the euchariſt; ſome the bread of the patin, and

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[a] ——Non ſi malè nunc, & olim
Sic erit——
Rebus anguſtis animoſus atque
Fortis appare: ſapienter idem
Contrahes vento nimiùm ſecundo
Turgida vela. Hor. lib. ii. od. 10.

[b] Πρῶτον ἀγαθῶν τὸ ἀναμάρτητον· δεύτερον δὲ, αἰσχύνεσθαι. Meliſ. diſc. 19.

Neque ulli patientiùs reprehenduntur, quàm qui maximè laudari merentur. Plin. l. vii. c. 10.

Θρασυστομεῖν γὰρ οὐ πρέπει τοῖς ἥσσοσιν. Æſch. Ἱκέτιδες.

Salva res eſt, propter ſpem ſalutis quam promittit indoles erubeſcentis. Comœd.

Γηράσκων δ' ἀστοῖσι μεταπρέπει· οὐδέ τις αὐτὸν
Βλάπτειν, οὐδ' αἰδοῦς, οὐδὲ δίκης, ἐθέλει. Theog.

the wine of the chalice. But it is certain they ſignify one deſire expreſſed by the moſt impatient and neceſſary of our appetites, hungring and thirſting. And the object is whatſoever is the principle or the effect, the beginning, or the way, or the end of righteouſneſs; that is, the mercies of God, the pardon of Jeſus, the graces of the ſpirit, a holy life, a holy death, and a bleſſed eternity.

12. THE bleſſing and reward of this grace is *fulneſs* or ſatisfaction; which relates immediately to Heaven, becauſe nothing here below can ſatisfy us. The grace of God is our *viaticum*, and entertains us by the way; its nature is to increaſe, not to ſatisfy the appetites: not becauſe the grace is empty and unprofitable, as are the things of the world; but becauſe it is excellent, but yet in order to a greater perfection; it invites the appetite by its preſent goodneſs, but it leaves it unſatisfied, becauſe it is not yet arrived at glory: and yet the preſent imperfection, in reſpect of all the good of this world's poſſeſſion, is reſt and ſatisfaction, and is imperfect only in reſpect of its own future complement and perfection, and our hunger continues, and our needs return, becauſe all we have is but an antepaſt. But the glories of eternity are alſo the proper object of our deſires: that is the reward of God's grace, that is *the crown of righteouſneſs. As* [c] *for me, I will behold thy face in righteouſneſs; and when I awake up after thy likeneſs, I ſhall be ſatisfied with it.* The acts of this virtue are multiplied according to its object; for they are only, 1. to deſire, and, 2. pray for, and, 3. labour for all that which is righteouſneſs in any ſenſe: 1. For the pardon of our ſins; 2. for the graces and ſanctification of the ſpirit; 3. for the advancement of Chriſt's kingdom; 4. for the reception of the holy ſacrament, and all the inſtruments, ordinances and miniſtries of grace; 5. for the grace of perſeverance; 6. and finally for the crown of righteouſneſs.

13. FIFTHLY, *Bleſſed are the merciful; for they ſhall obtain mercy.* Mercy is the greateſt mark and token of the holy, elect and predeſtinate perſons in the world. [d] *Put ye on (my beloved) as the elect of God the bowels of mercy, holy and precious.* [e] For mercy is an attribute, in the manifeſtation of which as all our happineſs conſiſts, ſo God takes greateſt complacency, and delights in it above all his other works. He *puniſhes to the third and fourth generation*, but *ſhews mercy unto thouſands.* Therefore the Jews ſay that Michael flies with one wing, and Gabriel with two: meaning, that the pacifying Angel, the miniſter of mercy, flies ſwift; but the exterminating Angel, the meſſenger of wrath, is ſlow. And we are called to our approximation to God by the practice of this grace; for we are made *partakers of the divine nature* by being *merciful as our Heavenly Father is merciful.* This mercy conſiſts in the affections, and in the effects and actions. In both which the excellency of this Chriſtian precept is eminent above the goodneſs of the moral precept of the old philoſophers, and the piety and charity of the Jews by virtue of the Moſaick law. The Stoick philoſophers affirm it to be the duty of a wiſe man, to ſuccour and help the neceſſities of indigent and miſerable perſons; but at no hand to pity them, or ſuffer any trouble or compaſſion in our affections: for they intended that a wiſe perſon ſhould be diſpaſſionate, unmoved, and without diſturbance in every accident and object and concernment. But the Bleſſed Jeſus, who came to reconcile us to his Father, and purchaſe us an intire poſſeſſion, did intend to redeem us from ſin, and make our paſſions obedient and apt to be commanded, even and moderate in temporal affairs, but high and active in ſome inſtances of ſpiritual concernment; and in all inſtances, that the affection go along with the grace; that we muſt be as merciful in our compaſſion, as compaſſionate in our exterior expreſſions and actions. The Jews by the preſcript of their law were to be merciful to all their nation and confederates in religion; and this their mercy was called juſtice: *He hath diſperſed abroad and given to the poor, his righteouſneſs* [or juſtice] *remaineth for ever.* But the mercies of a Chriſtian are to extend to all: [f] *Do good to all men, eſpecially to the houſhold of faith.* And this diffuſion of a mercy, not only to brethren, but to aliens and enemies, is that which St. Paul calls *goodneſs*, ſtill retaining the old appellative for *Judaical* mercy, [*righteouſneſs*:] [g] *For ſcarcely for a righteous man will one die, yet peradventure for a good man ſome will even dare to die.* So that the Chriſtian mercy muſt be a mercy of the whole man, the heart muſt be merciful, and the hand operating in *the labour of love:* and it muſt be extended to all perſons of all capacities, according as their neceſſity requires, and our ability permits, and our indearments and other obligations diſpoſe of and determine the order.

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[c] Pſal. xvii. 15.

[d] Col. iii. 12.

[e] Neque enim ſunt iſti audiendi qui virtutem duram & quaſi ferream eſſe volunt; quæ quidem eſt cùm in multis rebus, tum in amicitia tenera atque tractabilis, ut & bonis amici quaſi diffundantur, & incommodis contrahantur. Lælius apud M. T. Cic.

[f] Gal. vi. 10.

[g] Rom. v. 7. Syrus interpres non legit ὑπὲρ δικαίου, ſed ἀδίκου, injuſto.

14. THE acts of this grace are, 1. To pity the miſeries of all perſons, and all calamities ſpiritual or temporal, having a fellow-feeling in their afflictions. 2. To be afflicted and ſad in the publick judgments imminent or incumbent upon a church, or ſtate, or family. 3. To pray to God for remedy for all afflicted perſons. 4. To do all acts of bodily aſſiſtance to all miſerable and diſtreſſed people; to relieve the poor, to redeem captives, to forgive debts to diſabled perſons, to pay debts for them, to lend them money, to feed the hungry and cloath the naked, to reſcue perſons from dangers, to defend and relieve the oppreſſed, to comfort widows and fatherleſs children, to help them to right that ſuffer wrong; and, in brief, to do any thing of relief, ſupport, ſuccour, and comfort. 5. To do all acts of ſpiritual mercy; to counſel the doubtful, to admoniſh the erring, to ſtrengthen the weak, to reſolve the ſcrupulous, to teach the ignorant, and do any thing elſe which may be inſtrumental to his converſion, perſeverance, reſtitution and ſalvation, or may reſcue him from ſpiritual dangers, or ſupply him in any ghoſtly neceſſity. The reward of this virtue is ſymbolical to the virtue it ſelf, the grace and glory differing in nothing but degrees, and every virtue being a reward to it ſelf. [a] *The merciful ſhall receive mercy*; mercy *to help them in time of need*; mercy from God, who will not only give them the great mercies of pardon and eternity, but alſo diſpoſe the hearts of others to pity and ſupply their needs as they have done to others. For the preſent, there is nothing more noble than to be beneficial to others, and to *lift up the poor out of the mire*, and reſcue them from miſery; it is to do the work of God: and for the future, nothing is a greater title to a mercy at the day of judgment, than to have ſhewed mercy to our neceſſitous brother; it being expreſſed to be the only rule and inſtance in which Chriſt means to judge the world, in their mercy and charity or their unmercifulneſs reſpectively; *I was hungry, and ye fed me*, or, *ye fed me not:* and ſo we ſtand or fall in the great and eternal ſcrutiny. And it was the prayer of St. Paul, (Oneſiphorus ſhewed kindneſs to the great apoſtle) *The Lord ſhew him a mercy in that day.* For *a cup* of charity, though but full *of cold water, ſhall not loſe its reward.*

15. SIXTHLY, *Bleſſed are the pure in heart, for they ſhall ſee God.* This purity of heart includes purity of hands. [b] *Lord who ſhall dwell in thy Tabernacle? even he that is of clean hands and a pure heart*; that is, *he that hath not given his mind unto vanity, nor ſworn to deceive his neighbour.* It ſignifies juſtice of action and candour of ſpirit, innocence of manners and ſincerity of purpoſe; it is one of thoſe great circumſtances that conſummates charity: [c] For *the end of the commandment is charity, out of a pure heart, and of a good conſcience, and faith unfeigned. A pure heart*; that is, *a heart* free from all carnal affections, not only in the matter of natural impurity, but alſo ſpiritual and immaterial; ſuch as are *hereſies*, (which are therefore impurities, becauſe they mingle ſecular intereſt or prejudice with perſuaſions in religion,) *ſeditions*, hurtful and impious ſtratagems, and all thoſe which St Paul enumerates to be *works* or *fruits of the fleſh*. A *good conſcience*; that is, a conſcience either innocent or penitent, a ſtate of grace, either a not having prevaricated, or a being reſtored to our baptiſmal purity. *Faith unfeigned*; that alſo is the purity of ſincerity, and excludes hypocriſy, timorous and half perſuaſions, neutrality and indifferency in matters of ſalvation. And all theſe do integrate the whole duty of *charity*. But *purity*, as it is a ſpecial grace, ſignifies only honeſty and uprightneſs of ſoul, without hypocriſy to God and diſſimulation towards men; and then a freedom from all carnal deſires, ſo as not to be governed or led by them. Chaſtity is the purity of the body, ſimplicity is the purity of the ſpirit; both are the ſanctification of the whole man, for the entertainment of the ſpirit of purity and the ſpirit of truth.

16. THE acts of this virtue are, 1. To quit all luſtful thoughts, not to take delight in them, not to retain them or invite them, but as objects of diſpleaſure to avert them from us. 2. To reſiſt all luſtful deſires, and extinguiſh them by their proper correctories and remedies. 3. To refuſe all occaſions, opportunities and temptations to impurity; denying to pleaſe a wanton eye, or to uſe a laſcivious geſture, or to go into a danger, or to converſe with an improper, unſafe object: *hating the garment ſpotted with the fleſh*, ſo St Jude calls it; and *not to look upon a maid*, ſo Job; *not to ſit with a woman that is a ſinger*, ſo the ſon of Sirach. 4. To be of a liberal ſoul, not mingling with affections of money and inclinations of covetouſneſs, not doing any act of violence, rapine or injuſtice. 5. To be ingenuous in our thoughts, purpoſes and pro-

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[a] Bona comparat præſidia miſericordia; & habet in adverſis auxilia qui in ſecundis commodat. Publius.
Deus eſt mortali juvare mortalem, atque hæc eſt ad æternitatem via. Sen.

[b] Pſal. xxiv. 3, 4.

[c] 1 Tim. i. 5.

feſſions, ſpeaking nothing contrary to our intentions, but being really what we ſeem. 6. [a] To give all our faculties and affections to God, without dividing intereſts between God and his enemies, without entertaining of any one crime in ſociety with our pretences for God. 7. Not to lie in ſin, but inſtantly to repent of it and return, *purifying our conſcience from dead works*. 8. Not to diſſemble our faith or belief when we are required to its confeſſion, pretending a perſuaſion complying with thoſe from whom ſecretly we differ. Luſt, covetouſneſs and hypocriſy are the three great enemies of this grace, they are the motes of our eyes, and the ſpots of our ſouls. The reward of purity is the viſion beatifical. If we are *pure as God is pure, we ſhall* alſo *ſee him as he is: When we awake up after his likeneſs, we ſhall behold his preſence.* To which in this world we are conſigned by freedom from the cares of covetouſneſs, the ſhame of luſt, the fear of diſcovery, and the ſtings of an evil conſcience; which are the portion of the ſeveral impurities here forbidden.

17. SEVENTHLY, *Bleſſed are the peace-makers; for they ſhall be called the children of God.* [b] *The wiſdom of God is firſt pure, and then peaceable*; that is the order of the beatitudes. As ſoon as Jeſus was born, the angels ſang a hymn, *Glory be to God on high, and on Earth peace, good will towards men:* ſignifying the two great errands upon which Chriſt was diſpatched in his legation from Heaven to Earth. He is *the prince of peace. Follow peace with all men, and holineſs, without which no man ſhall ever ſee God.* The acts of this grace are, 1. To mortify our anger, peeviſhneſs, and fiery diſpoſitions, apt to enkindle upon every ſlight accident, inadvertency, or miſfortune of a friend or ſervant. 2. Not to be haſty, raſh, provocative, or upbraiding in our language. 3. To live quietly and ſerenely in our families and neighbourhoods. 4. Not to backbite, ſlander, miſreport, or undervalue any man, carrying tales, or ſowing diſſenſion between brethren. 5. Not to intereſt our ſelves in the quarrels of others by abetting either part, except where charity calls us to reſcue the oppreſſed; and then alſo to do a work of charity without mixtures of uncharitableneſs. 6. To avoid all ſuits of law as much as is poſſible, without intrenching upon any other collateral obligation towards a third intereſt, or a neceſſary ſupport for our ſelves, or great conveniency for our families; or if we be engaged in law, to purſue our juſt intereſts with juſt means and charitable maintenance. 7. To endeavour by all means to reconcile diſagreeing perſons. 8. To endeavour by affability and fair deportment to win the love of our neighbours. 9. To offer ſatisfaction to all whom we have wronged or ſlandered, and to remit the offences of others; and in trials of right to find out the moſt charitable expedient to determine it, as by indifferent arbitration, or ſomething like it. 10. To be open, free and ingenuous in reprehenſions and fair expoſtulations with perſons whom we conceive to have wronged us, that no ſeed of malice or rancour may be latent in us, and upon the breath of a new diſpleaſure break out into a flame. 11. To be modeſt in our arguings, diſputings, and demands, not laying great intereſt upon trifles. 12. To moderate, balance and temper our zeal by the rules of prudence and the allay of charity, that we quarrel not for opinions, nor intitle God in our impotent and miſtaken fancies, nor loſe charity for a pretence of an article of faith. 13. To pray heartily for our enemies, real or imaginary, always loving and being apt to benefit their perſons, and to cure their faults by charitable remedies. 14. To abſtain from doing all affronts, diſgraces, ſlightings and uncomely jeerings and mockings of our neighbour, not giving him appellatives of ſcorn or irriſion. 15. To ſubmit to all our ſuperiors in all things, either doing what they command, or ſuffering what they impoſe; at no hand lifting our heel againſt thoſe upon whom the characters of God and the marks of Jeſus are imprinted in ſignal and eminent authority; ſuch as are principally the king, and then the biſhops, whom God hath ſet to *watch over our ſouls*. 16. Not to invade the poſſeſſions of our neighbours, or commence war, but when we are bound by juſtice and legal truſt to defend the rights of others, or our own in order to our duty. 17. Not to *ſpeak evil of dignities*, or undervalue their perſons, or publiſh their faults, or upbraid the levities of our governors; knowing that they alſo are deſigned by God, to be converted to us for caſtigation and amendment of us. 18. Not to be buſy in other men's affairs. And then [c] *the peace of God will reſt upon us.* The reward is no leſs then the adoption and inheritance of ſons; for *he hath given unto us power to be called the ſons of God:* for he is the father of peace, and the ſons of peace are the ſons of God, and therefore have a title to the inheritance of ſons, to be [d] *heirs with God*, and *co-heirs with Chriſt* in the kingdom of peace, and eſſential and neverfailing charity.

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[a] Plato vocat puritatem ἀπόκρισιν χειρόνων ἀπὸ βελτιόνων.

[b] James iii. 17.

[c] Phil. iv. 9. 1 Theſ. v. 23. 2 Theſ. iii. 16. Heb. xiii. 20.

[d] Rom. viii. 17.

18. EIGHTHLY, *Bleſſed are they which are perſecuted for righteouſneſs ſake; for theirs is the kingdom of Heaven.* This being the hardeſt command in the whole diſcipline of Jeſus, is fortified with a double bleſſedneſs; for it follows immediately, *Bleſſed are ye when men ſhall revile you, and perſecute you:* meaning, that all perſecution for a cauſe of righteouſneſs, though the affliction be inſtanced only in reproachful language, ſhall be a title to the bleſſedneſs. [a] Any ſuffering for any good or harmleſs action is a degree of martyrdom. It being the greateſt teſtimony in the world of the greateſt love, to quit that for God which hath poſſeſſed our moſt natural, regular and orderly affections. It is a preferring God's cauſe before our own intereſt; it is a loving of virtue without ſecular ends. It is the noble, the moſt reſigned, ingenuous, valiant act in the world, to die for God, whom we never have ſeen; it is the crown of faith, the confidence of hope, and our greateſt charity. The primitive churches living under perſecution commented many pretty opinions concerning the ſtate and ſpecial dignity of martyrs, apportioning to them one of the three coronets which themſelves did knit, and ſuppoſed as pendants to the great *crown of righteouſneſs.* [b] They made it ſuppletory of baptiſm, expiatory of ſin, ſatisfactory of publick penances: they placed them in bliſs immediately, declared them to need no after-prayer, ſuch as the devotion of thoſe times uſed to pour upon the graves of the faithful. With great prudence they did endeavour to alleviate this burthen, and ſweeten the bitter chalice; and they did it by ſuch doctrines which did only remonſtrate this great truth, that ſince *no love was greater than to lay down our lives*, nothing could be ſo great but God would indulge to them. And indeed whatſoever they ſaid in this, had no inconvenience; nor would it now, unleſs men ſhould think mere ſuffering to be ſufficient to excuſe a wicked life, or that they be invited to diſhonour an excellent patience with the mixture of an impure action. There are many who would die for Chriſt if they were put to it, and yet will not quit a luſt for him. [c] Thoſe are hardly to be eſteemed Chriſt's martyrs. Unleſs they be *dead unto ſin*, their dying for an article or a good action will not paſs the great ſcrutiny. And it may be boldneſs of ſpirit, or ſullenneſs, or an honourable gallantry of mind, or ſomething that is excellent in civil and political eſtimate, moves the perſon, and endears the ſuffering: but that *love* only *which keeps the commandments* will teach us to die for love, and from love to paſs to bleſſedneſs through the red ſea of blood. [d] And indeed it is more eaſy to die for chaſtity than to live with it: and many women have been found, who ſuffered death under the violence of tyrants for defence of their holy vows and purity, who, had they long continued amongſt pleaſures, courtſhips, curioſities, and importunities of men, might perchance have yielded that to a lover which they denied to an executioner. St. Cyprian obſerves that our Bleſſed Lord, in admitting the innocent babes of Bethlehem firſt to die for him, did to all generations of Chriſtendom conſign this leſſon, that only perſons holy and innocent were fit to be Chriſt's martyrs. And I remember that the prince of the [e] Latin poets, over againſt the region and ſeats of infants, places in the ſhades below perſons that ſuffered death wrongfully; but adds, that this their death was not enough to place them in ſuch bleſſed manſions, but the judge firſt made enquiry into their lives, and accordingly deſigned their ſtation. It is certain that ſuch dyings or great ſufferings are heroical actions, and of power to make great compenſations, and redemptions of time, and of omiſſions and imperfections: but if the man be unholy, ſo alſo are his ſufferings. [f] For hereticks have died, and vicious perſons have ſuffered in a good cauſe, and *a dog's neck* may be cut off in *ſacrifice*, and ſwines blood may fill the trench about the altar: but God only accepts the ſacrifice which is pure and ſpotleſs, firſt ſeaſoned with ſalt, then ſeaſoned with fire. The true martyr muſt have all the preceding graces, and then he ſhall receive all the beatitudes.

19. THE acts of this duty are, 1. Boldly to confeſs the faith, nobly to exerciſe publick virtues, not to be aſhamed of any thing that is honeſt; and rather to quit our goods, our liberty, our health, and life it ſelf, than to deny what we are bound to affirm, or to omit what we are bound to do, or to pretend contrary to our preſent perſuaſion. 2. To rejoice in afflictions; counting it honourable to be conformable to Chriſt, and to wear the cognizance of Chriſtianity, whoſe certain lot it is to ſuffer the

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[a] ——— Dulce periculum eſt,
O Lenæe, ſequi Deum
Cingentem viridi tempora pampino. Hor. lib. iii. od. 25.

[b] C. Tacitus de Judæis. Animas prœlio aut ſuppliciis peremptorum æternas putant. Hinc moriendi contemptus.

[c] Non eſt autem conſentaneum, qui metu non frangatur, eum frangi cupiditate; nec qui invictum ſe à labore præſtiterit, vinci a voluptate. Cic. de offic. l. i.

[d] Tertul. de Caſtit.

[e] Hos juxta falſo damnati crimine mortis:
Nec verò hæ ſine ſorte datæ, ſine judice, ſedes:
Quæſitor Minos urnam movet; ille ſilentûm
Conciliúmque vocat, vitáſque & crimina diſcit. Virg. Æn. 6.

[f] Athleta non vincit ſtatim quia eruitur, nec ideo tranſnatant quia ſe ſpoliant. Sever. ep. ii.

hoſtility and violence of enemies viſible and inviſible. 3. Not to revile our perſecutors, but to bear the croſs with evenneſs, tranquility, patience and charity. 4. To offer our ſufferings to the glory of God, and to join them with the paſſions of Chriſt, by doing it in love to God, and obedience to his ſanctions, and teſtimony of ſome part of his religion, and deſigning it as a part of duty. The reward is *the kingdom of Heaven*; which can be no other but eternal ſalvation, in caſe the martyrdom be conſummate: and [a] *they alſo ſhall be made perfect*; ſo the words of the reward were read in *Clement's* time. If it be leſs, it keeps its proportion: all ſuffering perſons are the combination of ſaints, they make the church, they are the people of the kingdom, and heirs of the covenant. For if they be but confeſſors, and confeſs Chriſt in priſon, though they never preach upon the rack or under the axe, yet *Chriſt will confeſs them before his Heavenly Father*; and *they ſhall have a portion where they ſhall never be perſecuted any more.*

The PRAYER.

I.

O Bleſſed Jeſus, who art become to us the fountain of peace and ſanctity, of righteouſneſs and charity, of life and perpetual benediction, imprint in our ſpirits theſe glorious characteriſms of Chriſtianity, that we by ſuch excellent diſpoſitions may be conſigned to the infinity of bleſſedneſs which thou cameſt to reveal, and miniſter, and exhibit to mankind. Give us great humility of ſpirit: *and deny us not, when we beg ſorrow of thee, the* mourning *and ſadneſs of true penitents, that we may imitate thy excellencies, and conform to thy ſufferings. Make us* meek, *patient, indifferent, and reſigned in all accidents, changes and iſſues of divine providence. Mortifie all inordinate anger in us; all wrath, ſtrife, contention, murmurings, malice and envy; and interrupt, and then blot out all peeviſh diſpoſitions and moroſities, all diſturbances and unevenneſs of ſpirit or of habit, that may hinder us in our duty. Oh teach me ſo to* hunger and thirſt after *the ways of* righteouſneſs, *that it may be* meat and drink *to me* to do *thy* Father's will. *Raiſe my affections to Heaven and heavenly things, fix my heart there, and prepare a treaſure for me, which I may receive in the great diffuſions and communications of thy glory. And in this ſad interval of infirmity and temptations ſtrengthen my hopes, and fortify my faith, by ſuch emiſſions of light and grace from thy ſpirit, that I may reliſh thoſe bleſſings which thou prepareſt for thy ſaints with ſo great appetite, that I may deſpiſe the world and all its gilded vanities, and may deſire nothing but the crown of righteouſneſs and the paths that lead thither, the graces of thy kingdom and the glories of it; that when I have ſerved thee in holineſs and ſtrict obedience, I may reign with thee in the glories of eternity: for thou, O Holy Jeſus, art our hope, and our life, and glory, our exceeding great reward.* Amen.

II.

MERCIFUL *Jeſu, who art infinitely pleaſed in demonſtrations of thy mercy, and didſt deſcend into a ſtate of miſery, ſuffering perſecution and affronts, that thou mighteſt give us thy mercy, and reconcile us to thy Father, and make us partakers of thy purities, give unto us* tender bowels, *that we may ſuffer together with our calamitous and neceſſitous brethren; that we, having a fellow-feeling of their miſeries, may uſe all our powers to help them, and eaſe ourſelves of our common ſufferings. But do thou, O Holy Jeſu, take from us alſo all our great calamities, the carnality of our affections, our ſenſualities and impurities, that we may firſt be* pure, *then* peaceable, *living in peace with all men, and preſerving the peace which thou haſt made for us with our God, that we may never commit a ſin which may interrupt ſo bleſſed an attonement. Let neither hope nor fear, tribulation nor anguiſh, pleaſure nor pain, make us to relinquiſh our intereſt in thee, and our portion of the everlaſting covenant. But give us hearts conſtant, bold and valiant, to confeſs thee before all the world in the midſt of all diſadvantages and contradictory circumſtances, chooſing rather to beg, or to be diſgraced, or afflicted, or to die, than quit a holy conſcience, or renounce an article of Chriſtianity: that we either in act, when thou ſhalt call us, or always in preparation of mind,* ſuffering *with thee, may alſo reign with thee in the church triumphant, O Holy and moſt merciful Saviour Jeſu.* Amen.

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[a] Ὅτι αὐτοὶ ἔσονται τέλειοι. Sic etiam olim legebatur hæc periodus; ὅτι ἕξουσι τόπον ὅπου οὐ διωχθήσονται.

DISCOURSE X.

A diſcourſe upon that part of the Decalogue which the Holy Jeſus adopted into the inſtitution and obligation of Chriſtianity.

1. WHEN the Holy Jeſus had deſcribed the characteriſms of Chriſtianity in theſe eight graces and beatitudes, he adds his injunctions, that in theſe virtues they ſhould be eminent and exemplary, that they might adorn the doctrine of God. For he intended that the goſpel ſhould be as leaven in a lump of dough, to ſeaſon the whole maſs; and that Chriſtians ſhould be the inſtruments of communicating the excellency and reputation of this holy inſtitution to all the world. Therefore Chriſt calls them *ſalt* and *light*, and the ſocieties of Chriſtians *a city ſet upon a hill*, and *a light ſet in a candleſtick*, whoſe office and energy is to illuminate all the vicinage: which is alſo expreſſed in theſe preceptive words, [a] *Let your light ſo ſhine before men, that they may ſee your good works, and glorify your Father which is in Heaven.* Which I conſider not only as a circumſtance of other parts, but as a preciſe duty it ſelf, and one of the ſanctions of Chriſtianity, which hath ſo confederated the ſouls of the diſciples of the inſtitution, that it hath in ſome proportion obliged every man to take care of his brother's ſoul. And ſince reverence to God and charity to our brother are the two greateſt ends which the beſt laws can have, this precept of exemplary living is enjoined in order to them both. We muſt *ſhine as lights in the world*, that God may be glorified, and our brother edified; that the excellency of the act may endear the reputation of the religion, and invite men to confeſs God according to the ſanctions of ſo holy an inſtitution. And if we be curious that vanity do not mingle in the intention, and that the intention do not ſpoil the action, and that we ſuffer not our lights to ſhine that men may magnify us, and not glorify God; this duty is ſoon performed by way of adherence to our other actions, and hath no other difficulty in it, but that it will require our prudence and care to preſerve the ſimplicity of our purpoſes and humility of our ſpirit, in the midſt of that excellent reputation which will certainly be conſequent to a holy and exemplary life.

2. BUT ſince the Holy Jeſus hath ſet us up to be lights in the world, he took care we ſhould not be ſtars of the leaſt magnitude, but eminent, and ſuch as might by their great emiſſions of light, give evidence of their being immediately derivative from the Sun of righteouſneſs. He was now giving his law, and meant to retain ſo much of Moſes, as Moſes had of natural and eſſential juſtice and charity, and ſuperadd many degrees of his own: that as far as Moſes was exceeded by Chriſt in the capacity of a law-giver, ſo far Chriſtianity might be more excellent and holy than the Moſaical ſanctions. And therefore, as a preface to the Chriſtian law, the Holy Jeſus declares, that *unleſs our righteouſneſs exceed the righteouſneſs of the Scribes and Phariſees*, that is, of the ſtricter ſects of the Moſaical inſtitution, *we ſhall not enter into the kingdom of Heaven.* Which not only relates to the prevaricating practices of the Phariſees, but even to their doctrines and commentaries upon the law of Moſes; as appears evidently in the following inſtances. For if all the excellency of Chriſtianity had conſiſted in the mere command of ſincerity, and prohibition of hypocriſy, it had nothing in it proportionable to thoſe excellent promiſes and cleareſt revelations of eternity there expreſſed, nor of a fit employment for the deſignation of a ſpecial and a new law-giver, whoſe laws were to laſt for ever, and were eſtabliſhed upon foundations ſtronger than the pillars of Heaven and Earth.

3. BUT St. Paul [b], calling the law of Moſes *a law of works*, did well inſinuate what the doctrine of the Jews was concerning the degrees and obligations of juſtice. For beſides that it was a law of works in oppoſition to the law of faith, (and ſo the ſenſe of it is [c] formerly explicated;) it is alſo a law of works, in oppoſition to the law of the ſpirit: and it is underſtood to be ſuch a law which required the exterior obedience; ſuch a law according to which St. Paul ſo lived, that no man could reprove him, that is, the judges could not tax him with prevarication; ſuch a law which being in very many degrees carnal and material, did not with much ſeverity exact the intention and purpoſes ſpiritual. But the goſpel is *the law of the ſpirit.* If they failed in the

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[a] Ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἐν σώματι ψυχὴ, τοῦτ᾽ εἰσὶν ἐν κόσμῳ Χριστιανοί. Juſt. Mar. Sic S. Paulus, ἐν οἷς φαίνεσθε ὡς φωστῆρες ἐν κόσμῳ, Phil. ii. 15.

[b] Rom. iii. 27.

[c] Vide Conſiderat. of Chriſt's firſt preaching, n. 3.

exterior work, it was accounted to them for ſin; but to Chriſtians nothing becomes a ſin, but a failing and prevaricating ſpirit. For the outward act is ſuch an emanation of the interior, that it enters into the account for the relation ſake, and for its parent. When God hath put a duty into our hands, if our ſpirits be right, the work will certainly follow: but the following work receives its acceptation, not from the value the Chriſtian law hath preciſely put upon it, but becauſe the ſpirit from whence it came hath obſerved its rule. The law of charity is acted and expreſſed in works, but hath its eſtimate from the ſpirit. Which diſcourſe is to be underſtood in a limited and qualified ſignification. For then alſo God required the heart, and interdicted the very concupiſcences of our irregular paſſions, at leaſt in ſome inſtances: but becauſe much of their law conſiſted in the exterior, and the law appointed not, nor yet intimated any penalty to evil thoughts, and becauſe the expiation of ſuch interior irregularities was eaſy, implicit, and involved in their daily ſacrifices without ſpecial trouble, therefore the old law was *a law of works*, that is, eſpecially and in its firſt intention. But this being leſs perfect, the Holy Jeſus inverted the order. 1. For very little of Chriſtianity ſtands upon the outward action; (Chriſt having appointed but two ſacraments immediately:) and 2. a greater reſtraint is laid upon the paſſions, deſires, and firſt motions of the ſpirit, than under the ſeverity of Moſes: and, 3. they are threatened with the ſame curſes of a ſad eternity, with the acts proceeding from them: and, 4. becauſe the obedience of the ſpirit does in many things excuſe the want of the outward act, God always requiring at our hands what he hath put in our power, and no more: and, 5. [a] laſtly becauſe the ſpirit is the principle of all actions moral and ſpiritual, and certainly productive of them when they are not impeded from without; therefore the Holy Jeſus hath ſecured the fountain, as knowing that the current muſt needs be healthful and pure, if it proceeds through pure channels, from a limpid and unpolluted principle.

4. AND certainly it is much for the glory of God, to worſhip him with a religion whoſe very deſign looks upon God as *the ſearcher of our hearts*, and lord of our ſpirits, who judges the purpoſes as a God, and does not only take his eſtimate from the outward action as a man. And it is alſo a great reputation to the inſtitution itſelf, that it purifies the ſoul, and ſecures the ſecret cogitations of the mind. It puniſhes covetouſneſs as it judges rapine; it condemns a ſacrilegious heart as ſoon as an irreligious hand; it deteſts hating of our brother by the ſame averſion which it expreſſes againſt doing him affronts. [b] He that curſes in his heart ſhall die the death of an explicite and bold blaſphemer: murmur and repining is againſt the laws of Chriſtianity. But either by the remiſſneſs of Moſes's law, or the gentler execution of it, or the innovating or leſſening gloſſes of the Phariſees, he was eſteemed innocent whoſe actions were according to the letter, not whoſe ſpirit was conformed to the intention and more ſecret ſanctity of the law. So that our righteouſneſs muſt therefore exceed the Phariſaical ſtandard, becauſe our ſpirits muſt be pure as our hands, and the heart as regular as the action, our purpoſes muſt be ſanctified, and our thoughts holy: we muſt love our neighbour, as well as relieve him; and chooſe juſtice with adheſion of the mind, as well as carry her upon the palms of our hands. And therefore the prophets foretelling the kingdom of the goſpel and the ſtate of this religion, call it *a writing the laws of God in our hearts*. And St. Paul diſtinguiſhes the goſpel from the law by this only meaſure: We are all Iſraelites, of the ſeed of Abraham, heirs of the ſame inheritance; only now we are not to be accounted Jews for the outward conformity to the law, but for the inward conſent and obedience to thoſe purities which were ſecretly ſignified by the types of *Moſes*. They of the law were *Jews outwardly*, their [c] *circumciſion was outward in the fleſh*, their *praiſe was of men*: We *are Jews inwardly*, our *circumciſion is that of the heart, in the ſpirit, and not in the letter, and our praiſe is of God*; that is, we are not judged by the outward act, but by the mind and the intention: and though the acts muſt follow in all inſtances where we can and where they are required; yet it is the leſs principal, and rather ſignificative, than by its own ſtrength and energy operative, and accepted.

5. ST. Clement of Alexandria ſaith, the [d] Phariſees righteouſneſs conſiſted in the not doing evil, and that Chriſt ſuperadded this alſo, that we muſt do the contrary, good,

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[a] Οὐ γὰρ δοκεῖν δίκαιος, ἀλλ' εἶναι, θέλει.
Βαθεῖαν ἄλοκα διὰ φρενὸς καρπούμενος,
Ἀφ' ἧς τὰ κεδνὰ βλαστάνει βουλεύματα.
Amphiar. apud Æſchyl.

[b] Joſephus reprehendit Polybium, quod mortem Antiochi inflictam dixit ob cogitatum ſcelus ſacrilegii, putans pœnam non irrogari niſi ob perpetratum facinus: τὸ γὰρ μηκέτι ποιῆσαι τὸ ἔργον βουλευσάμενον, οὐκ ἦν τιμωρίας ἄξιον.

[c] Rom. ii. 28, 29.

[d] Virtus eſt vitio caruiſſe———
Optimus eſt qui minimis urgetur.

and ſo exceed the Phariſaical meaſure. They would not wrong a Jew, nor many times relieve him: they reckoned their innocence by not giving offence, by walking blameleſs, by not being accuſed before the judges ſitting in the gates of their cities. But the balance in which the Judge of quick and dead weighs Chriſtians is, not only the avoiding evil, but doing good; the *following peace with all men and holineſs*; the proceeding *from faith to faith*; the *adding virtue to virtue*; the perſevering *in all holy converſation and godlineſs*. And therefore St. Paul commending the grace of univerſal charity, ſays, [a] that *love worketh no ill to his neighbour, therefore love is the fulfilling of the law*; implying, that the prime intention of the law was, that every man's right be ſecured, that no man receive wrong. And indeed all the Decalogue conſiſting of prohibitions rather than precepts, ſaying that each table hath one poſitive commandment, does not obſcurely verify the doctrine of St. Clement's interpretation. Now becauſe the Chriſtian charity abſtains from doing all injury, therefore it is the fulfilling of the law; and becauſe it is alſo patient and liberal, that it ſuffers long and is kind; therefore the charity commanded in Chriſt's law, exceeds that charity which the Scribes and Phariſees reckoned as part of their righteouſneſs. But Jeſus himſelf does with great care in the particulars inſtance in what he would have the diſciples to be eminent above the moſt ſtrict ſect of the Jewiſh religion: 1. in practiſing the moral precepts of the Decalogue with a ſtricter interpretation; 2. and in quitting the permiſſions and licences, which for the hardneſs of their heart Moſes gave them, as indulgences to their perſons, and ſecurities againſt the contempt of too ſevere laws.

6. THE ſeverity of expoſition was added but to three commandments, and in three indulgences the permiſſion was taken away. But becauſe our great Law-giver repeated alſo other parts of the Decalogue in his [b] after-ſermons, I will repreſent in this one view all that he made to be Chriſtian by adoption.

7. THE firſt commandment Chriſt often repeated and enforced, as being the baſis of all religion, and the firſt endearment of all that relation whereby we are capable of being the ſons of God; as being the great commandment of the law; and comprehenſive of all that duty we owe to God in the relations of the virtue of religion. [c] *Hear, O Iſrael, the Lord thy God is one Lord*; and, *thou ſhalt love the Lord thy God with all thine heart, and with all thy ſoul, and with all thy mind, and with all thy ſtrength.* This is the firſt commandment, that is, this comprehends all that which is moral and eternal in the firſt table of the Decalogue.

8. THE duties of this commandment are, 1. To worſhip God alone with actions proper to him, and, 2. to love, and 3. obey him with all our faculties. 1. Concerning worſhip. The actions proper to the honour of God are to offer ſacrifice, incenſe and oblations, making vows to him, ſwearing by his name as the inſtrument of ſecret teſtimony, confeſſing his incommunicable attributes, and praying to him for thoſe graces which are eſſentially annexed to his diſpenſation, as remiſſion of ſins, gifts of the ſpirit, and the grace of ſanctification, and life eternal. Other acts of religion, ſuch as are uncovering the head, bowing the knee, falling upon our face, ſtooping to the ground, reciting praiſes, are by the conſent of nations uſed as teſtimonies of civil or religious veneration; and do not always paſs for confeſſions of a Divinity; and therefore may be without ſin uſed to angels, or kings, or governors, or to perſons in any ſenſe more excellent than our ſelves, provided they be intended to expreſs an excellency no greater than is proper to their dignities and perſons; not in any ſenſe given to an idol, or falſe gods. But the firſt ſort are ſuch which all the world hath conſented to be actions of divine and incommunicable adoration, and ſuch which God alſo in ſeveral religions hath reſerved as his own appropriate regalities, and are idolatry if given to any angel or man.

9. THE next duties are, 2. Love, 3. and obedience: but they are united in the goſpel, *this is love, that we keep his commandments.* And ſince we are for God's ſake bound alſo to love others, this love is appropriate to God by the extenſion of parts, and the intention of degrees. The extenſion ſignifies that we muſt ſerve God with all our faculties; for all diviſion of parts is hypocriſy, and a direct prevarication; our heart muſt think what our tongue ſpeaks, our hands act what we promiſe or purpoſe; and God's enemies muſt have no ſhare ſo much as in appearance or diſſimulation. Now no creature can challenge this: and if we do juſtice to our neighbour, though unwillingly, we have done him no injury; for in that caſe he only

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[a] Rom. xiii. 10. [b] Luke xviii. 20. Mark x. 19. Matt. xix. 18. Rom. xiii. 9. [c] Matt. xxii. 37. Mark xii. 30. Luke x. 27.

who ſees the irregularity of our thoughts is the perſon injured. And when we ſwear to him, our heart muſt ſwear as well as our tongue, and our hands muſt pay what our lips have promiſed; or elſe we provoke him with an imperfect ſacrifice: we love him not with all our mind, with all our ſtrength, and all our faculties.

10. BUT the difficulty and queſtion of this commandment lies in the intention. For it is not enough to ſerve God with every capacity, paſſion, and faculty; but it muſt be every degree of every faculty, all the latitude of our will, all the whole intention of our paſſions, all the poſſiblity and energy of our ſenſes and our underſtanding. Which becauſe it is to be underſtood according to that moderate ſentence and account which God requires of us ſet in the midſt of ſuch a condition, ſo attended, and depreſſed and prejudiced, the full ſenſe of it I ſhall expreſs in ſeveral propoſitions.

11. FIRST, the intention of the love to which we are obliged requires not the degree which is abſolutely the greateſt, and ſimply the moſt perfect. For there are degrees of grace, every one of which is pleaſing to God, and is a ſtate of reconciliation and attonement. And he that *breaks not the bruiſed reed*, nor *quenches the ſmoaking flax*, loves to cheriſh thoſe endeavours which, beginning from ſmall principles, paſs through the variety of degrees, and give demonſtration, that though it be our duty to contend for the beſt, yet this contention is with an enemy, and that enemy makes an abatement, and that abatement, being an imperfection rather than a ſin, is actually conſiſtent with the ſtate of grace, the endeavour being in our power, and not the ſucceſs: the perfection is that which ſhall be our reward, and therefore is not our preſent duty. And indeed, if to do the beſt action, and to love God as we ſhall do in Heaven, were a preſent obligation, it would have been clearly taught us what is ſimply the beſt action: whereas now that which is of it ſelf better, in certain circumſtances is leſs perfect, and ſometimes not lawful: and concerning thoſe circumſtances we have no rules, nor any guide but prudence and probable inducements. So that it is certain, in our beſt endeavours we ſhould only increaſe our ſcruples, inſtead of doing actions of the higheſt perfections; we ſhould erect a tyranny over our conſciences, and no augmentation of any thing but the trouble. And therefore in the law of Moſes, when this commandment was given in the ſame words, yet that the ſenſe of it might be clear, the analogy of the law declared that their duty had a latitude: and that God was not ſo ſtrict a taskmaſter, but that he left many inſtances of piety to the voluntary devotion of his ſervants, that they might receive the reward of *free-will-offerings*. But if theſe words had obliged them to the greateſt degree, that is, to all the degrees of our capacities in every inſtance, every act of religion had been duty and neceſſity.

12. AND thus alſo it was in the goſpel. Ananias and Sapphira were killed by ſentence from Heaven, for not performing what was in their power at firſt not to have promiſed; but becauſe they brought an obligation upon themſelves which God brought not, and then prevaricated, they paid the forfeiture of their lives. St. Paul took no *wages* of the *Corinthian* churches, [a] but wrought night and day with his own hand; but himſelf ſays he had power to do otherwiſe. There *was laid upon him a neceſſity to preach*, but no neceſſity to preach without wages and ſupport. There is a good and a better in virginity and marriage; and yet there is no command in either, but that we abſtain from ſin; we are left to our own election for the particular, [b] having *no neceſſity, but power in our will.* David prayed *ſeven times a day*, and Daniel prayed *three times*; and both were beloved of God. The Chriſtian maſters were not bound to manumit their ſlaves, and yet were commended if they did ſo. Sometimes the Chriſtians fled in perſecution; St. Paul did ſo, and St. Peter did ſo, and St. Cyprian did ſo, and St. Athanaſius, and many more: but time was, when ſome of theſe alſo choſe to ſuffer death rather than to fly. And if to fly be a permiſſion, and no duty, there is certainly a difference of degrees in the choice: to fly is not ſo great a ſuffering as to die, and yet a man may innocently chooſe the eaſier. And our Bleſſed Lord himſelf, who never failed of any degree of his obligations, yet at ſome time prayed with more zeal and fervor than at other times, as a little before his paſſion. Since then at all times he did not do actions of that degree which is abſolutely the greateſt; it is evident that God's goodneſs is ſo great, as to be content with ſuch a love which parts no ſhare between him and ſin; and leaves all the reſt under ſuch a liberty, as is only encouraged by thoſe extraordinary rewards and crowns proportioned to heroical endeavours. It was a pretty queſtion which was moved in the ſolitudes of [c] Nitria concerning two religious brothers; the one gave all his goods to the poor at once; the other kept the inheritance, and gave all the revenue. None of all the fathers knew which was abſo-

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[a] 2 Cor. xi. 7, 8.

[b] 1 Cor. vii. 37.

[c] Hiſt r. Lauſia.

lutely the better, at once to renounce all, or by repetition of charitable acts to divide it into portions; one act of charity in an heroical degree, or an habitual charity in the degree of virtue. This inſtance is probation enough, that the opinion of ſuch a neceſſity of doing the beſt action ſimply and indefinitely is impoſſible to be ſafely acted, becauſe it is impoſſible to be underſtood. Two talents ſhall be rewarded, and ſo ſhall five; both in their proportions: *He that ſows ſparingly ſhall reap ſparingly*, but he ſhall reap: *Every man as he purpoſes in his heart, ſo let him give.* The beſt action ſhall have the beſt reward: and though he is the happieſt who riſes higheſt, yet he is not ſafeſt that enters into the ſtate of diſproportion to his perſon. I find in the lives of the later reputed ſaints, that St. Tereſa a Jeſu made a vow to do every thing which ſhe ſhould judge to be the beſt. I will not judge the perſon, nor cenſure the action, becauſe poſſibly her intention and deſires were of greateſt ſanctity: [a] but whoſoever conſiders the ſtory of her life, and the ſtrange repugnancies in the life of man to ſuch undertakings, muſt needs fear to imitate an action of ſuch danger and ſingularity. The advice which in this caſe is ſafeſt to be followed is, that we employ our greateſt induſtry that we fall not into ſin and actions of forbidden nature; and then ſtrive by parts and ſteps, and with much warineſs in attempering our zeal, to ſuperadd degrees of eminency, and obſervation of the more perfect inſtances of ſanctity: that doing ſome excellencies which God hath not commanded, he may be the rather moved to pardon our prevaricating ſo many parts of our neceſſary duty. If love tranſport us and carry us to actions ſublime and heroical, let us follow ſo good a guide, and paſs on with diligence, and zeal and prudence, as far as love will carry us: but let us not be carried to actions of great eminence and ſtrictneſs and unequal ſeverities by ſcruple and pretence of duty; leſt we charge our miſcarriages upon God, and call the yoke of the goſpel inſupportable, and Chriſt a hard task-maſter. But we ſhall paſs from virtue to virtue with more ſafety, if a ſpiritual guide take us by the hand: only remembring, that if the angels themſelves and the beatified ſouls do now, [b] and ſhall hereafter, differ in degrees of love and glory, it is impoſſible the ſtate of perfection ſhould be confined to the higheſt love, and the greateſt degree, and ſuch as admits no variety, no increment or difference of parts and ſtations.

13. Secondly, our love to God conſiſts not in any one determinate degree, but hath ſuch a latitude as beſt agrees with the condition of men, who are of variable natures, different affections and capacities, changeable abilities, and which receive their heightnings and declenſions according to a thouſand accidents of mortality. For when a law is regularly preſcribed to perſons whoſe varieties and different conſtitutions cannot be regular or uniform, it is certain God gives a great latitude of performance, and binds not to juſt atoms and points. The laws of God are like univerſal objects received into the faculty, partly by choice, partly by nature; but the variety of perfection is by the variety of the inſtruments, and diſpoſition to the recipient; and they are excelled by each other in ſeveral ſenſes, and by themſelves at ſeveral times. And ſo is the practice of our obedience, and the entertainments of the divine commandments. For ſome are of malleable natures, others are moroſe; ſome are of healthful and temperate conſtitutions, others are luſtful, full of fancy, full of appetite; ſome have excellent leiſure and opportunities of retirement, others are buſy in an active life, and cannot with advantage attend to the choice of the better part; ſome are peaceable and timorous, and ſome are in all inſtances ſerene, others are of tumultuous and unquiet ſpirits: and theſe become opportunities of temptation on one ſide, and on the other occaſions of virtue. But every change of faculty and variety of circumſtance hath influence upon morality: and therefore their duties are perſonally altered, and increaſe in obligation, or are ſlackened by neceſſities, according to the infinite alteration of exteriour accidents and interiour poſſibilities.

14. Thirdly, Our love to God muſt be totally excluſive of any affection to ſin, and engage us upon a great, aſſiduous and laborious care to reſiſt all temptations, to ſubdue ſin, to acquire the habits of virtues, and live holily; as it is already expreſſed in the diſcourſe of *repentance*. We muſt prefer God as the object of our hopes, we muſt chooſe to obey him rather than man, to pleaſe him rather than ſatisfy our ſelves; and we muſt do violence to our ſtrongeſt paſſions when they once conteſt againſt a divine commandment. If our paſſions are thus regulated, let them be fixed upon any lawful object whatſoever; if at the ſame time we prefer Heaven and heavenly things, that is, would rather chooſe to loſe our temporal love than our eternal hopes, (which we can beſt diſcern by our refuſing to ſin upon the ſollicitation or engagement of the temporal object,) then, although we feel the tranſportation of a ſenſual love towards

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[a] Πᾶν τὸ βέλτιστον φαινόμενον ἔστω σοι νόμος ἀπαράβατος. Epict. c. 75.

[b] Ξὺν τῷ δικαίῳ γὰρ μέγ' ἔξεστι φρονεῖν. Sophoc. Ajac.

a wife, or child, or friend, actually more pungent and ſenſible than paſſions of religion are, they are leſs perfect, but they are not criminal. Our love to God requires that we do his commandments, and that we do not ſin: but in other things we are permitted in the condition of our nature to be more ſenſitively moved by viſible than by inviſible and ſpiritual objects. Only this, we muſt ever have a diſpoſition and a mind prepared to quit our ſenſitive and pleaſant objects, rather than quit a grace, or commit a ſin. Every act of ſin is againſt the love of God, and every man does many ſingle actions of hoſtility and provocation againſt him: but the ſtate of the love of God is that which we actually call the ſtate of grace. When Chriſt reigns in us, and ſin does not reign, but the ſpirit is quickned, and the luſts are mortified; when we are habitually virtuous, and do acts of piety, temperance and juſtice, frequently, eaſily, chearfully, and with a ſucceſſive, conſtant, moral and human induſtry, according to the talent which God hath intruſted to us in the banks of nature and grace; then we are in the love of God, then we *love him with all our heart.* But if ſin grows upon us, and is committed more frequently, or gets a victory with leſs difficulty, or is obeyed more readily, or entertained with a freer complacency; then we love not God as he requires, we divide between him and ſin, and God is not the Lord of all our faculties. But the inſtances of ſcripture are the beſt expoſition of this commandment. For [a] *David followed God with all his heart, to do that which was right in his eyes*; and *Joſiah turned to the Lord with all his heart, and with all his ſoul, and with all his might.* Both theſe kings did it: and yet there was ſome imperfection in David, and more violent receſſions: for ſo ſaith the ſcripture of Joſiah, *Like unto him was there no king before him*; David was not ſo exact as he, and yet he *followed God with all his heart.* From which theſe two corollaries are certainly deducible: That to love God with all our heart admits variety of degrees, and the lower degree is yet a love with all our heart; and yet to love God requires a holy life, a diligent walking in the commandments, either according to the ſenſe of innocence or of penitents, either by firſt or ſecond counſels, by the ſpirit of regeneration or the ſpirit of renovation and reſtitution. The ſumm is this, the ſenſe of this precept is ſuch as may be reconciled with the infirmities of our nature, but not with a vice in our manners: with the receſſion of ſingle acts ſeldom done, and always diſputed againſt, and long fought with, but not with an habitual averſation, or a ready obedience to ſin, or an eaſy victory.

15. THIS commandment, being the ſumm of the firſt table, had in Moſes's law particular inſtances which Chriſt did not inſert into his inſtitution; and he added no other particular, but that which we call the third commandment concerning veneration and reverence to the name of God. The other two, *viz.* concerning images and the ſabbath, have ſome ſpecial conſiderations.

16. THE Jews receive daily offence againſt the catechiſms of ſome churches, who, [b] in the recitation of the Decalogue, omit the ſecond commandment, as ſuppoſing it to be a part of the firſt, according as we account them: and their offence riſes higher, becauſe they obſerve that in the New Teſtament, where the Decalogue is ſix times repeated in ſpecial recitation and in ſummaries, there is no word prohibiting the making, retaining, or reſpect of images. Concerning which things Chriſtians conſider, that God forbad the Jews the very having and making images and repreſentments, not only of the true God, or of falſe and imaginary deities, but of viſible creatures: [c] which becauſe it was but of temporary reaſon, and relative conſideration of their aptneſs to ſuperſtition, and their converſing with idolatrous nations, was a command proper to the nation, part of their covenant; not of eſſential, indiſpenſable and eternal reaſon, not of that which we uſually call *the law of nature.* Of which alſo God gave teſtimony, becauſe himſelf commanded the ſigns and repreſentment of Seraphim to be ſet upon the mercy-ſeat, towards which the prieſt and the people made their addreſſes in their religious adorations; and of the braſen ſerpent, to which they looked when they called to God for help againſt the ſting of the venomous ſnakes. Theſe inſtances tell us, that to make pictures or ſtatues of creatures is not againſt a natural reaſon, and that they may have uſes which are profitable, as well as be abuſed to danger and ſuperſtition. Now although the nature of that people was apt to the abuſe, and their intercourſe with the nations in their confines was too great an invitation to entertain the danger: yet Chriſtianity hath ſo far removed that danger by the analogy and deſign of the religion, by clear doctrines, revelations, and infinite treaſures of wiſdom, and de-

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[a] 1 Kings xiv. 8. 2 King xxiii. 25.

[b] Ὁ Μωσῆς τὰς δοκίμους ϗ γλαφυρὰς τέχνας, ζωγραφίαν ϗ ἀνδριαντοποιίαν, ἐκ τῆς κατ' αὐτὸν πολιτείας ἐξήλασε. Philo de Gigant. Vide Exod. xxxiv. 13. Deut. iv. 16. & vii. 5. Numb. xxxiii. 52.

[c] Imò & eccleſia 8 Novemb. celebrat Martyrium Claudii Nicoſtrati & ſociorum, qui, cùm peritiſſimi fuerant ſtatuarii, mortem potiùs ferre, quàm gentilibus ſimulachra facere, maluerunt. Ἄγαλμα οὐ κατεσκεύασε, διὰ τὸ μὴ νομίζειν ἀνθρωπόμορφον εἶναι τὸν Θεὸν, dixit Diodor. Sic. de Moyſe.

monſtrations of the ſpirit, that our bleſſed law-giver thought it not neceſſary to remove us from ſuperſtition by a prohibition of the uſe of images and pictures; and therefore left us to the ſenſe of the great commandment, and the dictates of right reaſon, to take care that we do not diſhonour the inviſible God with viſible repreſentations of what we never ſaw nor cannot underſtand, nor yet convey any of God's incommunicable worſhip in the fore-named inſtances to any thing but himſelf. And for the matter of images we have no other rule left us in the new teſtament: the rules of reaſon and nature, and the other parts of the inſtitution, are abundantly ſufficient for our ſecurity. And poſſibly St. Paul might relate to this, when he affirmed concerning the fifth, that it was *the firſt commandment with promiſe.* For in the ſecond commandment to the Jews, as there was a great threatning, ſo alſo a greater promiſe, of *ſhewing mercy to a thouſand generations.* But becauſe the body of this commandment was not tranſcribed into the Chriſtian law, the firſt of the Decalogue which we retain, and in which a promiſe is inſerted, is the fifth commandment. And therefore the wiſdom of the church was remarkable in the variety of ſentences concerning the permiſſion of images. At firſt, when they were blended in the danger and impure mixtures of Gentiliſm, and men were newly recovered from the ſnare, and had the reliques of a long cuſtom to ſuperſtitious and falſe worſhippings, they endured no images, but merely civil. But as the danger ceaſed, and Chriſtianity prevailed, they found that pictures had a natural uſe of good concernment, to move leſs-knowing people by the repreſentment and declaration of a ſtory: and then they, knowing themſelves permitted to the liberties of Chriſtianity, and the reſtraints of nature and reaſon, and not being ſtill weak under prejudice and childiſh dangers, but fortified by the excellency of a wiſe religion, took them into lawful uſes, doing honour to ſaints as unto the abſent emperors, according to the cuſtom of the empire; they erected ſtatues to their honour, and tranſcribed a hiſtory, and ſometimes a precept, into a table, by figures, making more laſting impreſſions than words and ſentences. While the church ſtood within theſe limits, ſhe had natural reaſon for her warrant, and the cuſtom of the ſeveral countries, and no precept of Chriſt to countermand it: they who went farther were unreaſonable, and according to the degree of that exceſs were ſuperſtitious.

17. THE duties of this commandment are learned by the intents of it. [a] For it was directed againſt the falſe religion of the nations, who believed the images of their gods to be filled with the deity: and it was alſo a caution to prevent our low imaginations of God, leſt we ſhould come to think God to be like man. And thus far there was indiſpenſable and eternal reaſon in the precept: and this was never leſſened in any thing by the holy Jeſus, and obliges us Chriſtians to make our addreſſes and worſhipings to no god but the God of the Chriſtians, that is, of all the world; and not to do this in or before an image of him, becauſe he cannot be repreſented. For the images of Chriſt and his ſaints, they come not into either of the two conſiderations; and we are to underſtand our duty by the proportions of our reverence to God, expreſſed in the great commandment. Our fathers in Chriſtianity, as I obſerved now, made no ſcruple of uſing the images and pictures of their princes and learned men; which the Jews underſtood to be forbidden to them in the commandment. Then they admitted even in the utenſils of the church ſome cœlatures and engravings: ſuch was that Tertullian ſpeaks of, *the good ſhepherd in the chalice.* Afterwards they admitted pictures, but not before the time of Conſtantine; for in the council of Eliberis they were forbidden. And in ſucceſſion of time the ſcruples leſſened with the danger, and all the way they ſignified their belief to be, that this commandment was only ſo far retained by Chriſt as it relied upon natural reaſon, or was a particular inſtance of the great commandment: that is, images were forbidden where they did diſhonour God, or leſſen his reputation, or eſtrange our duties, or become idols, or the direct matter of ſuperſtitious obſervances, charms, or ſenſeleſs confidences; but they were permitted to repreſent the humanity of Chriſt, to remember ſaints and martyrs, to recount a ſtory, to imprint a memory, to do honour and reputation to abſent perſons, and to be the inſtruments of a relative civility and eſteem. But in this particular, infinite care is to be taken of ſcandal and danger, of a forward and zealous ignorance, or of a miſtaking and peeviſh confidence: and where a ſociety hath ſuch perſons in it, the little good of images muſt not be vio-

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[a] Τὸν ἀόρατον εἰκονογραφεῖν ἢ διαπλάσσειν οὐχ ὅσιον. Philo de Legatione.

Prioribus 170 annis templa quidem ædificabant [Romani.] Simulachrum verò nullum effigiatum faciebant; perinde atque nefas eſſet meliora per deteriorum ſimilitudines exprimere. Plutarch. Numa.

Εἴη γὰρ ἂν τοῦτο μόνον θεὸς, περιέχον ἡμᾶς ἅπαντας καὶ γῆν καὶ θάλατταν, ὃ καλοῦμεν οὐρανὸν, καὶ κόσμον, καὶ τὴν τῶν ὄντων φύσιν· τούτου δὴ τίς ἂν εἰκόνα πλάττειν θαῤῥήσειε, νοῦν ἔχων, ὁμοίαν τινὶ τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν; ἀλλὰ ἐᾶν δεῖ πᾶσαν ξοανοποιίαν, τέμενος ἀφορίσαντας, καὶ σηκὸν ἀξιόλογον τιμᾶν ἕδους χωρίς. Strab. l. 16.

Ὀφθαλμοῖς οὐχ ὁρᾶται, οὐδενὶ ἔοικεν· διόπερ αὐτὸν οὐδεὶς ἐκμαθεῖν ἐξ εἰκόνος δύναται. Antiſt.

lently retained with the greater danger and certain offence of ſuch perſons, of whom conſideration is to be had in the cure of ſouls. I only add this, that the firſt Chriſtians made no ſcruple of ſaluting the ſtatues of their princes, and were confident it made no intrenchment upon the natural prohibition contained in this commandment; becauſe they had obſerved, that exteriour inclinations and addreſſes of the body, though in the loweſt manner, were not proper to God, but in ſcripture found alſo to be communicated to creatures, [a] to kings, to prophets, to parents, to religious perſons: and becauſe they found it to be death to do affront to the pictures and ſtatues of their emperors, they concluded in reaſon, (which they alſo ſaw verified by the practice and opinion of all the world,) that the reſpect they did at the emperor's ſtatue was accepted as a veneration to his perſon. But theſe things are but ſparingly to be drawn into religion, becauſe the cuſtoms of this world are altered, and their opinions new; and many, who have not weak underſtandings, have weak conſciences: and the neceſſity for the entertainment of them is not ſo great as the offence is or may be.

18. III Com. *Thou ſhalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain.* This our Bleſſed Saviour repeating expreſſes it thus, *It hath been ſaid to them of old time,* [*Thou ſhalt not forſwear thy ſelf;*] to which Chriſt adds out of *Numb.* xxx. 2. *But thou ſhalt perform thy oaths unto the Lord.* [b] The meaning of the one we are taught by the other. We muſt not invocate the name of God in any promiſe in vain, that is, with a lye: which happens either out of levity, that we change our purpoſe, which at firſt we really intended; or when our intention at that inſtant was fallacious, and contradictory to the undertaking. This is to *take the name of God*, that is, to uſe it, to take it into our mouths, *for vanity*; that is, according to the perpetual ſtyle of ſcripture, for a lye. [c] *Every one hath ſpoken vanity to his neighbour*, that is, hath lyed unto him: for ſo it follows, *with flattering lips, and with a double heart.* [d] And *ſwearing deceitfully* is by the Pſalmiſt called *a lifting up his ſoul unto vanity.* And Philo the Jew, who well underſtood the law and the language of his nation, renders the ſenſe of this commandment to be, *to call God to witneſs to a lye.* And this is to be underſtood only in promiſes; for ſo Chriſt explains it by the appendix out of the law, *thou ſhalt perofrm thy oaths.* For lying in judgment, which is alſo with an oath, or taking God's name for witneſs, is forbidden in the ninth commandment. To this Chriſt added a farther reſtraint. For whereas by the natural law it was not unlawful to ſwear by any oath that implied not idolatry, or the belief of a falſe god, I ſay, any grave and prudent oath, when they ſpake a grave truth; and whereas it was lawful for the Jews in ordinary intercourſe to ſwear by God, ſo they did not ſwear to a lye, (to which alſo ſwearing to an impertinency might be reduced by a proportion of reaſon, and was ſo accounted of in the practice of the Jews, but elſe and in other caſes they uſed to ſwear by God or by a creature reſpectively: (for, [e] *they that ſwear by him ſhall be commended*, ſaith the Pſalmiſt: and *ſwearing to the Lord of Hoſts* is called *ſpeaking the language of Canaan*:) moſt of this was reſcinded; Chriſt forbad *all ſwearing*; not only ſwearing to a lye, but alſo ſwearing to a truth in common affairs; not only ſwearing commonly by the name of God, [f] but ſwearing commonly *by Heaven* and *by the Earth, by our head*, or by any other oath: only let our ſpeech be *yea*, or *nay*, that is, plainly affirming or denying. In theſe, I ſay, Chriſt corrected the licence and vanities of the Jews and Gentiles. For the Jews accounted it religion to name God, and therefore would not ſwear by him but in the more ſolemn occaſions of their life; but in trifles they would ſwear by their fathers, or the light of Heaven, or the ground they trod on: ſo the Greeks were alſo careful not to ſwear by the gods lightly, much leſs fallaciouſly; but they would ſwear by any thing about them or near them, upon an occaſion as vain as their oath. But becauſe theſe oaths are either indirectly to be referred to God, (and Chriſt inſtances in divers,) or elſe they are but a vain teſtimony, or elſe they gave a divine honour to a creature, by making it a judge of truth and diſcerner of ſpirits; therefore Chriſt ſeems to forbid all forms of ſwearing whatſoever. [g] In purſuance of which law, Baſilides, being converted at the prayers of Potamiæna a virgin-martyr, and

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[a] Gen. xlviii. 12. Gen. xxiii. 12, & xxvii. 29, & xlii. 6. 1 Sam. xx. 41. 1 Kings i. 46.

[b] Apud Romanos ſancitum eſt, ut ſi per Deum jurans quis pejeraret, ad Deum ipſum plectendus remitteretur, quem ſatis eſſe idoneum ſuæ majeſtatis vindicem dicebant. L. jurisjurandi. C. de rebus credit. & jurejur. Sin per genium principis quis jurans pejeraſſet, caſtigabatur fuſtibus cum hoc elogio. Temere ne jura. Si duo patroni, Sect. fin. de jurejur.

Lyſander dixit homines uti poſſe pro ſuo commodo juramentis ſicut pueri aſtragalis. Plutarch. in Lyſand. Idem in Æmilio ait, Macedonas uſos eſſe juramento uti Monetâ.

[c] Pſal. xii. 2.

[d] Pſal. xxiv. 4. Οὐκ ἔλαβεν ἐπὶ ματαίῳ τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ. μάρτυρα δὲ καὶ καλεῖν ἐπὶ ψεύδει Θεὸν, ἀνοσιώτατον, Philo.

[e] Pſal. lxiii. 11. 1 Sam. xx. 17. Iſai. xix. 18.

[f] Ἁπλᾶ γάρ ἐστι τῆς ἀληθείας ἔπη. Æſchyl. Ὅπλων κρίσις.

[g] Mart. l. xi. ep. 95. Ecce negas, juráſque mihi per templa tonantis. Non credo: jura, Verpe, per Anchialum, id eſt, per Elohim Hebræorum. Vide Harmenpoulum in Plin. l. v. c. 27, & Scal. de emendat. temp. in append. libror. Μὴ προπετῶς κατὰ τῶν θεῶν ὀμνύειν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τῶν προστυγχανόντων. Interp. in Hom. Euſeb. lib. vi. hiſt. cap. 4.

required by his fellow-ſoldiers to ſwear upon ſome occaſion then happening, anſwered, It was not lawful for him to ſwear, for he was a Chriſtian. And many of the fathers have followed the words of Chriſt in ſo ſevere a ſenſe, that their words ſeem to admit no exception.

19. BUT here a grain of ſalt muſt be taken, leſt the letter deſtroy the ſpirit. 1. It is certain the holy Jeſus forbad a [a] cuſtom of ſwearing; it being great irreligion to deſpiſe and leſſen the name of God, which is the inſtrument and conveyance of our adorations to him, by making it common and applicable to trifles and ordinary accidents of our life. He that ſwears often, many times ſwears falſe; and however lays by that reverence which, being due to God, the ſcripture determines to be due to his name: his *name is to be loved and feared*. And therefore Chriſt commands that our *communication be yea, yea,* or *nay, nay*; that is, our ordinary diſcourſes ſhould be ſimply affirmative or negative. In order to this, [b] Plutarch affirms out of Phavorinus, that the reaſon why the Greeks forbad children who were about to ſwear by Hercules, to ſwear within doors, was, that by this delay and preparation they might be taught not to be haſty or quick in ſwearing, but all ſuch invocations ſhould be reſtrained and retarded by ceremony: and Hercules himſelf was obſerved never to have ſworn in all his life-time but once. 2. Not only cuſtomary ſwearing is forbidden, but all ſwearing upon a ſlight cauſe. St. Baſil upbraids ſome Chriſtians his contemporaries with the example of Clineas the Pythagorean, who rather than he would ſwear, ſuffered a mulct of three talents. And all the followers of Pythagoras admitted no oath, unleſs the matter were grave, neceſſary, and charitable: and the wiſeſt and graveſt perſons among the heathens were very ſevere in their counſels concerning oaths. 3. But there are ſome caſes in which the intereſts of kingdoms and bodies politick, peace and confederacies, require the ſanction of promiſſory oaths: and they whom we are bound to obey, and who may kill us if we do not, require that their intereſts be ſecured by an oath. And that in this caſe, and all that are equal, our Bleſſed Saviour did not forbid oaths, is certain, not only by the example of Chriſtians, but of all the world before and ſince this prohibition, underſtanding it to be of the nature of ſuch natural bands and ſecurities, without which commonwealths in ſome caſes are not eaſily combined, and therefore to be a thing neceſſary, and therefore not to be forbidden. Now what is by Chriſtians to be eſteemed a ſlight cauſe, we may determine by the account we take of other things. The glory of God is certainly no light matter; and therefore when that is evidently and certainly concerned, not phantaſtically and by vain and imaginary conſequences, but by prudent and true eſtimation, then we may lawfully ſwear. We have St. Paul's example, who well underſtood the precept of his maſter, and is not to be ſuppoſed eaſily to have done any violence to it; but yet we find religious affirmations, and God invoked for *witneſs as a record upon his ſoul*, in his epiſtles to the [c] Romans, Galatians, and Corinthians. But theſe oaths were only aſſertory. Tertullian affirmeth, that Chriſtians refuſed to ſwear by the genius of their prince, becauſe it was a Dæmon; but they ſware by his health, and their ſolemn oath was by God, and Chriſt, and the Holy Spirit, and the majeſty of the emperor. The fathers of the Epheſine council made Neſtorius and Victor ſwear; and the biſhops at Chalcedon ſware by the health of their princes. But as St. Paul did it extrajudicially, when the glory of God was concerned in it and the intereſt of ſouls; ſo the Chriſtians uſed to ſwear in a cauſe of piety and religion, in obedience and upon publick command, or for the ends of charity and juſtice, both with oaths promiſſory and aſſertory, as the matter required: with this only difference, that they never did ſwear in the cauſes of juſtice or charity but when they were before a magiſtrate; but if it were in a cauſe of religion, and in matters of promiſe, they did indeed ſwear among themſelves, but always to or in communities and ſocieties, obliging themſelves by oath not to commit wickedneſs, robberies, ſacrilege, not to deceive their truſt, not to detain the pledge; which rather was an act of direct intercourſe with God, than a ſolemn or religious obligation to man. Which very thing Pliny alſo reports of the Chriſtians.

20. THE ſumm is this: [d] ſince the whole ſubject matter of this precept is oaths promiſſory, or vows; all promiſes with oaths are regularly forbidden to Chriſtians, unleſs they be made to God or God's vicegerent, in a matter not trifling. For in the firſt caſe, a promiſe made to God, and a ſwearing by God to perform the promiſe, to him is all

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[a] Vide Ecclus xxiii. 9, 11, 13. Dominus & Jacobus ideo prohibuerunt jusjurandum, non ut illud prorſus è rebus humanis tollerent, ſed quia caveremus à perjurio, non facilè jurando. S. Auguſt. ſer. 28. de verbis Apoſt.

[b] Ῥωμαϊκ. κή. ἐπίσχεσίς ἐστι τῆς πρὸς τὸν ὅρκον εὐχερείας, ϗ ταχύτητος τὸ γινόμενον, ὡς Φαβωρῖνος ἔλεγε· τὸ γὰρ ὥσπερ ἐκ παρασκευῆς μέλλησιν ἐμποιεῖ, ϗ βουλεύσασθαι δίδωσι.

[c] Rom. i. 9. 2 Cor. xi. 31. Gal. i. 20.

[d] Τὸ Ναὶ ϗ τὸ Οὒ συλλαβαὶ δύο· ἀλλ᾽ ὅμως τὸ κράτιστον τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἡ ἀλήθεια, ϗ ὁ ἔσχατος ὅρος τῆς πονηρίας, τὸ ψεῦδος, τοῖς μικροῖς τούτοις ῥήμασι πολλάκις ἐμπεριέχεται. S. Baſil. l. de Spir. Sanct.

one. For the name of God being the inſtrument and determination of all our addreſſes, we cannot be ſuppoſed to ſpeak to God without uſing of his name explicitely or by implication: and therefore he that promiſes to God makes a promiſe, and uſes God's name in the promiſe; the promiſe it ſelf being in the nature of a prayer or ſolemn invocation of God. In the ſecond caſe, when the publick [a] neceſſity requires it, of which we are not judges, but are under authority, we find the lawfulneſs by being bound to believe, or not to contradict the pretence of its neceſſity. Only care is to be taken that the matter be grave or religious. That is, it is to be eſteemed and preſumed ſo by us, if the oath be impoſed by our lawful ſuperiors, and to be cared for by them: or elſe it is ſo to be provided for by our ſelves, when our intercourſe is with God, as in vows and promiſes paſſed to God; being careful that we do not offer to God goats-hair, or the fumes of muſhrooms, or the blood of ſwine, that is, things either impious or vain. But in our communication, that is, in our ordinary intercourſe with men, we muſt promiſe by ſimple teſtimony, not by religious adjurations, though a creature be the inſtrument of the oath.

21. But this forbids not aſſertory oaths at all, or depoſing in judgment: for of this Chriſt ſpeaks not here, it being the proper matter of another commandment. And ſince (as St. Paul affirms) [b] *an oath is the end of all controverſy*, and that the neceſſity of commonwealths requires that a period ſhould be fixed to queſtions, and a rule for the neareſt certainty for judgment; whatſoever is neceſſary is not unlawful; and Chriſt, who came to knit the bonds of government faſter by the ſtricture of more religious ties, cannot be underſtood to have given precepts to diſſolve the inſtruments of judicature and prudent government. But concerning aſſertory oaths, although they are not forbidden, but ſuppoſed in the ninth commandment to be done before our judges in the cauſe of our neighbour; yet becauſe they are only ſo ſuppoſed, and no way elſe mentioned by permiſſion or intimation, therefore they are to be eſtimated by the proportions of this precept concerning promiſſory oaths. They may be taken in judgment and righteouſneſs, but never lightly, never extrajudicially: only a leſs cauſe, ſo it be judicial, may authorize an aſſertory than a promiſſory oath: becauſe many caſes occur in which peace and juſtice may be concerned, which without an oath are indeterminable; but there are but few neceſſities to confirm a promiſe by an oath. And therefore the reverence of the name of God ought not to be intrenched upon in accidents of little or no neceſſity. God not having made many neceſſities in this caſe, would not in the matter of promiſe give leave to uſe his name, but when an extraordinary caſe happens. An oath in promiſes is of no uſe for ending queſtions and giving judicial ſentences; and the faith of a Chriſtian and the word of a juſt perſon will do moſt of the work of promiſes; and it is very much to the diſreputation of our religion or our ſelves, if we fall into hypocriſy or deceit, or if a Chriſtian aſſeveration were not of value equal with an oath. And therefore Chriſt forbidding promiſſory oaths, and commanding ſo great ſimplicity of ſpirit and honeſty, did conſonantly to the deſign and perfection of his inſtitution, intending to make us ſo juſt and ſincere, that our religion being infinite obligation to us, our own promiſes ſhould paſs for bond enough to others, and the religion receive great honour by being eſteemed a ſufficient ſecurity and inſtrument of publick intercourſe. And this was intimated by our Lord himſelf in that reaſon he is pleaſed to give of the prohibition of ſwearing: [d] *Let your communication be, yea, yea, nay, nay; for whatſoever is more cometh of evil.* That is, as good laws come from ill manners, the modeſty of cloathing from the ſhame of ſin, antidotes and phyſick by occaſion of poiſons and diſeaſes; ſo is ſwearing an effect of diſtruſt, and want of faith or honeſty, on one or both ſides. Men dare not truſt the word of a Chriſtian, or a Chriſtian is not juſt and punctual to his promiſes, and this calls for confirmation by an oath. So that oaths ſuppoſe a fault, though they are not faults always themſelves: whatſoever is more than yea or nay is not always evil, but it always cometh of evil. And therefore the Eſſenes eſteemed every man that was put to his oath no better than an infamous perſon, a perjurer, or at leaſt ſuſpected, not eſteemed a juſt man. And the heathens would not ſuffer the prieſt of Jupiter to ſwear, becauſe all men had great opinion of his ſanctity and authority: and the [e] Scythians derided Alexander's caution and

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[a] Neceſſitas, magnum humanæ imbecillitatis præſidium, quicquid cogit, excuſat. Sen.

[b] Heb. vi. 16.

[c] Μὴ ὀμνύναι θεούς· ἀσκεῖν γὰρ αὐτὸν δεῖν ἀξιόπιστον παρέχειν. Hierocl. Vide Marc. Ant. in deſcriptione viri boni, l. 3. μήτε ὅρκου δεόμενος. Τῶν δικαίων ναὶ ἔστι ναὶ, καὶ οὒ ἔστιν οὔ, tritum eſt: ità ſcil. ut facta dictis reſpondere juſtorum ſit. Κάλλιστον, καὶ βιοφελέστατον, καὶ ἁρμοστὸν τῇ λογικῇ φύσει τὸ ἀνώμοτον, οὕτως ἀληθεύειν ἐφ᾽ ἑκάστους δεδιδαγμένῃ, ὡς λόγους ὅρκους εἶναι νομίζεσθαι. Philo.

Verbum ſacerdotis apud Chriſtianæ eccleſiæ miniſtros etiam hodie manet loco juramenti. Ad eundem ſenſum apud antiquos fuerunt verba illa prætoris ex edicto perpetuo, [Sacerdotem Veſtalem & Flaminem Dialem in omni mea juriſdictione jurare non cogam.] A. Gell. l. x. c. 15.

[d] Matt. v. 37.

[e] Curtius lib. vii.

timorous proviſion, when he required an oath of them; *nos religionem in ipſa fide novimus*, our faith is our bond: and [a] they who are willing to deceive men, will not ſtick to deceive God, when they have called God to witneſs. But I have a caution to inſert for each, which I propound as an humble advice to perſons eminent and publickly intereſted.

22. FIRST, [b] that princes, and ſuch as have power of decreeing the injunction of promiſſory oaths, be very curious and reſerved, not lightly enjoining ſuch promiſes, neither in reſpect of the matter trivial, nor yet frequently, nor without great reaſon enforcing. The matter of ſuch promiſes muſt be only what is already matter of duty or religion; for elſe the matter is not grave enough for the calling of God to teſtimony: but when it is a matter of duty, then the oath is no other than a vow or promiſe made to God in the preſence of men. And becauſe Chriſtians are otherwiſe very much obliged to do all which is their duty in matters both civil and religious, of obedience and piety; therefore it muſt be an inſtant neceſſity, and a great cauſe to ſuperinduce ſuch a confirmation as derives from the ſo ſacredly invocating the name of God: it muſt be when there is great neceſſity that the duty be actually performed, and when the ſupreme power either hath not power ſufficient to puniſh the delinquent, or may miſs to have notice of the delict. For in theſe caſes it is reaſonable to bind the faith of the obliged perſons by the fear of God after a more ſpecial manner, but elſe there is no reaſon ſufficient to demand of the ſubject any farther ſecurity than their own faith and contract. The reaſon of this advice relies upon the ſtrictneſs of the words of this precept againſt promiſſory oaths, and the reverence we owe to the name of God. Oaths of allegiance are fit to be impoſed in a troubled ſtate, or to a mutinous people. But it is not ſo fit to tie the people by oath to abſtain from tranſportations of metal or grain or leather, from which by penalties they are with as much ſecurity, and leſs ſuſpicion of iniquity, reſtrained.

23. SECONDLY, Concerning aſſertory oaths and depoſitions in judgment, although a greater liberty may be taken in the ſubject matter of the oath, and we may, being required to it, ſwear in judgment, though the cauſe be a queſtion of money, or our intereſt, or the rights of a ſociety; and St. Athanaſius purged himſelf by oath before the emperor Conſtantius: yet it were a great purſuance and ſecurity of this part of Chriſtian religion, if in no caſe contrary oaths might be admitted, in which it is certain one part is perjured, to the [c] ruin of their ſouls, to the intricating of the judgment, to the diſhonour of religion; but that ſuch rules of prudence and reaſonable preſumption be eſtabliſhed, that upon the oath of that party which the law ſhall chooſe, and upon probable grounds ſhall preſume for, the ſentence may be eſtabliſhed. For by a ſmall probability there may a ſurer judgment be given than upon the confidence of contradictory oaths: and after the ſin the judge is left to the uncertainty of conjectures as much as if but one part had ſworn; and to much more, becauſe ſuch an oath is by the conſent of all men accepted as a rule to determine in judgment. By theſe diſcourſes we underſtand the intention of our Bleſſed Maſter in this precept: and I wiſh by this or any thing elſe men would be reſtrained from that low, cheap, unreaſonable and unexcuſable vice of cuſtomary ſwearing, to which we have nothing to invite us that may leſſen the iniquity, for which we cannot pretend temptation nor alledge infirmity, but it begins by wretchleſneſs and a malicious careleſneſs, and is continued by the ſtrength of habit and the greateſt immenſity of folly. And I conſider that Chriſtian religion, being ſo holy an inſtitution, to which we are invited by ſo great promiſes, in which we are inſtructed by ſo clear revelations, and to the performance of our duties compelled by the threatnings of a ſad and unprofitable eternity, ſhould more than ſufficiently endear the performance of this duty to us. The name of a Chriſtian is a high and potent antidote againſt all ſin, if we conſider aright the honour of the name, the undertaking of our covenant, and the reward of our duty. The Jews eat no ſwines fleſh, becauſe they are of Moſes, and the Turks drink no wine, becauſe they are Mahometans; and yet we ſwear for all we are Chriſtians, than which there is not in the world a greater conviction of our baſeneſs and irreligion. Is the authority of the Holy Jeſus ſo deſpicable? Are his laws ſo unreaſonable, his rewards ſo little, his threatnings ſo ſmall, that we muſt needs in contempt of all this profane the great name of God, and trample under foot the laws of Jeſus, and caſt away the hopes of Heaven, and enter into ſecurity to be poſſeſſed by Hell-torments for ſwearing, that is, for ſpeaking

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[a] Qui non reverentur homines, fallent Deos. Cicero pro Roſcio.

[b] Οὐ γὰρ πίστεως τεκμήριον πολυορκία, ἀλλὰ ἀπιστίας ἐστὶ, παρὰ τοῖς εὐφρονοῦσι. Philo in Decal.

[c] Ἀλλ' οἵπερ πρότεροι ὑπὲρ ὅρκια δηλήσαιντο —— τέρενα χρόα γῦπες ἔδονται. Hom. Iliad. l. 4.

ing like a fool, without reaſon, without pleaſure, without reputation, much to our diſeſteem, much to the trouble of civil and wiſe perſons with whom we join in ſociety and intercourſe? Certainly Hell will be heated ſeven times hotter for a cuſtomary ſwearer; and every degree of his unreaſonableneſs will give him a new degree of torment, when he ſhall find himſelf in flames for being a ſtupid, an atheiſtical, an irreligious fool. This only I deſire ſhould be obſerved, that our Bleſſed Maſter forbids not only ſwearing by God, but by any creature; for every oath by a creature does involve and tacitly relate to God. And therefore ſaith Chriſt, [a] *Swear not by Heaven, for it is the throne of God*; and he that ſweareth by the throne of God, *ſweareth by it, and by him that ſitteth thereon.* So that it is not a leſs matter to ſwear by a creature than to ſwear by God; for a creature cannot be the inſtrument of teſtimony, but as it is a relative to God; and it by implication calls the God of that creature to witneſs. So that although in ſuch caſes in which it is permitted to ſwear by God, we may in thoſe caſes expreſs our oath in the form of advocating and calling the creature: (as did the primitive Chriſtians ſwearing by the health of their emperor, and as Joſeph ſwearing by the life of Pharaoh, and as [b] Eliſha ſwearing by the life of Elias, and as did St. Paul proteſting *by the rejoicing he had in Jeſus Chriſt*, and as we in our forms of ſwearing in courts of judicature touch the goſpels, ſaying, *So help me God and the contents of this book*; and in a few ages lately paſt biſhops and prieſts ſometimes ſwore upon the croſs, ſometimes upon the altar, ſometimes by their holy order:) yet we muſt remember that this in other words and ceremonies is but a calling God for witneſs; and he that ſwears by the croſs, ſwears by the holy crucifix, that is, Jeſus crucified thereon. And therefore theſe and the like forms are therefore not to be uſed in ordinary communication, becauſe they relate to God; they are as obligatory as the immediate invocation of his holineſs and majeſty: and it was a [c] Judaical vanity to think ſwearing by creatures was leſs obliging. They are juſt with the ſame reſtraints made to be religious as the moſt ſolemn invocation of the holy and reverend name of God, lawful or unlawful as the other. Unleſs the ſwearing by a creature come to be ſpoiled by ſome other intervening circumſtance, that is, with a denying it to relate to God; for then it becomes ſuperſtition as well as profanation, and it gives to a creature what is proper to God: or when the creature is contemptible, or leſs than the gravity of the matter; as if a man ſhould ſwear by a fly or the ſhadow of a tree: or when there is an indecorum in the thing, of ſomething that does at too great diſtance relate to God. For that which with greateſt vicinity refers to God in ſeveral religions is the beſt inſtrument of an oath, and neareſt to God's honour; as in Chriſtianity are the holy ſacrament, the croſs, the altar and the goſpels: and therefore too great a diſtance may be an indecency next to a diſparagement. This only may be added to this conſideration, that although an oath, which is properly calling God or God's relative into teſtimony, is to be underſtood according to the former diſcourſe; yet there may be great affirmations or negations reſpectively, and confirmed by forms of vehement aſſeveration, ſuch as the cuſtoms of a nation or conſent ſhall agree upon: and thoſe do in ſome caſes promote our belief or confirm our pretentions better than a plain yea or no; becauſe by ſuch conſent the perſon renders himſelf infamous if he breaks his word or truſt. And although this will not come under the reſtraint of Chriſt's words, becauſe they are not properly oaths, but circumſtances of earneſt affirmation or negation; yet theſe are human atteſtations, introduced by cuſtom or conſent; and as they come not under the notion of ſwearing, ſo they are forms of teſtimony and collateral engagement of a more ſtrict truth.

24. THE Holy Jeſus having ſpecified the great commandment of *loving God with all our heart*, in this one inſtance of hallowing and keeping his name ſacred, that is, from profane and common talk, and leſs prudent and unneceſſary intercourſes, inſtanced in no other commandment of *Moſes*: but having frequent occaſion to ſpeak of the ſabbath, for ever expreſſes his own dominion over the day, [d] and that he had diſſolved the bands of *Moſes* in this inſtance; that now we were no more obliged to that reſt which the

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[a] Ὄμνυμι δ' ἱερὸν αἰθέρ', οἴκησιν Διός. Sophoc. Menal. Qui per ſalutem ſuam jurat, Deum jurare videtur; reſpectu enim divini numinis jurat. Ulpian J. C. Concil. Chalc. c. 25.

[b] 2 Kings ii. 2. 1 Cor. xv. 31. Vide ſuprà, num. 19.

[c] Per tua jurares ſacra, tuúmque caput. Mart. Deut. xxx. 19. Iſa. i. 2. Micah i. 2. S. Auguſt. epiſt. ad Publicolam; & l. 51. Duo patroni, Sect. Si quis juraverit; & l. Non erit. D. de jurejurando. Tertul. ad Scap.

Teſtor, chara, Deos——téque tuúmque
Dulce caput, magicas invitam accingier artes.
Virgil. l. iv. Æneid.
Pérque ſuos illam quondam juraſſe recordor,
Pérque meos oculos; & doluêre mei. Ovid.

[d] Ignat. ep. ad Magneſ. Καὶ κατὰ τὸ σαββατίσαι ἑορταζέτω ὁ φιλόχριστος τὴν κυριακήν. Ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς πᾶσαν ἡμέραν ἑορτὴν ἡγεῖται. Diog. Clem. Apoſt. Conſtit. l. vii. c. 24. & lib. viii. Tertul. Monog. Canon. Apoſt. 65. & Zonar. in eund. Vide etiam Synod. Laodic.

Jews religiouſly obſerved by preſcript of the law; and by divers acts againſt ſecurities of the then-received practices did deſecrate the day, making it a broken yoke, and the firſt great inſtance of Chriſtian liberty. And when the apoſtle gave inſtructions that *no man ſhould judge his brother in a holyday, or new-moons, or the ſabbath-days,* he declared all the Judaical feaſts to be obliterated by the ſponge which Jeſus taſted on the croſs; it was within the manuſcript of ordinances, and there it was cancelled. And there was nothing moral in it, but that we do honour to God for the creation, and to that and all other purpoſes of religion ſeparate and hallow ſome portion of our time. The primitive church kept both the ſabbath and the Lord's day till the time of the Laodicean council, about 300 years after Chriſt's nativity, and almoſt in every thing made them equal; and therefore did not eſteem the Lord's day to be ſubſtituted in the place of the obliterated ſabbath, but a feaſt celebrated by great reaſon and perpetual conſent, without precept or neceſſary divine injunction. But the liberty of the church was great; they found themſelves diſobliged from that ſtrict and neceſſary reſt which was one great part of the ſabbatick rites, only they were glad of the occaſion to meet often for offices of religion, and the day ſerved well for the gaining and facilitating the converſion of the Jews, and for the honourable ſepulture of the ſynagogue, it being kept ſo long, like the forty days mourning of Iſrael for the death of their father Jacob: but their liberty they improved not to licenſe, but as an occaſion of more frequent aſſemblies. And there is ſomething in it for us to imitate, even to ſanctify the name of God in the great work of the creation, reading his praiſes in the book of his creatures, and taking all occaſions of religious acts and offices, though in none of the Jewiſh circumſtances.

25. CONCERNING the obſervation of the Lord's day, which now the church obſerves, and ever did in remembrance of the reſurrection, becauſe it is a day of poſitive and eccleſiaſtical inſtitution, it is fit that the church who inſtituted the day, ſhould determine the manner of its obſervation. It was ſet a-part in honour of the reſurrection; and it were not ill if all churches would into the weekly offices, put ſome memorial of that myſtery, that the reaſon of the feſtival might be remembred with the day, and God thanked with the renewing of the offices. But becauſe religion was the deſign of the feaſt, and leiſure was neceſſary for religion, therefore to abſtain from [a] ſuits of law and ſervile works, but ſuch works as are of [b] neceſſity and charity, (which to obſerve are of themſelves a very good religion,) is a neceſſary duty of the day; and to do acts of publick religion is the other part of it. So much is made matter of duty by the intervention of authority. And though the church hath made no more preſcriptions in this, and God hath made none at all; yet he who keeps the day moſt ſtrictly, moſt religiouſly, he keeps it beſt, and moſt conſonant to the deſign of the church, and the ends of Religion, and the opportunity of the preſent leiſure, and the intereſts of his ſoul. The acts of religion proper for the day are prayers and publick liturgies, preaching, catechizing, acts of charity, viſiting ſick perſons, acts of euchariſt to God, of hoſpitality to our poor neighbours, of friendlineſs and civility to all, reconciling differences; and after the publick aſſemblies are diſſolved, any act of direct religion to God, or of eaſe and remiſſion to ſervants, or whatſoever elſe is good in manners, or in piety, or in mercy. What is ſaid of this great feaſt of the Chriſtians, is to be underſtood to have a greater ſeverity and obligation in the anniverſary of the reſurrection, of the aſcenſion, of the nativity of our Bleſſed Saviour, and of the deſcent of the Holy Spirit in Pentecoſt. And all days feſtival to the honour of God in remembrance of the holy apoſtles, and martyrs, and departed ſaints, as they are with prudence to be choſen and retained by the church, ſo as not to be unneceſſary, or burthenſome, or uſeleſs; ſo they are to be obſerved by us as inſtances of our love of the communion of ſaints, and our thankfulneſs for the bleſſing, and the example.

26. *HONOUR thy father and thy mother.* This commandment Chriſt made alſo to be Chriſtian by his frequent repetition and mention of it in his ſermons and laws, and ſo ordered it, that it ſhould be the band of civil government and ſociety. In the

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[a] Feriis jurgia amovento, eáſque in famulis operibus patratis habento. Cicer. de Leg. l. ii.

[b] Quippe etiam feſtis quædam exercere diebus
Fas & jura ſinunt: rivos deducere nulla
Religio vetuit, ſegeti prætendere ſepem,
Inſidias avibus moliri, incendere vepres,
Balantûmque gregem fluvio merſare ſalubri.
Virgil. apud Macrob.

De ferocia Tiberii dedit teſtimonium. Tacit. l. iii. Annal. his verbis: Quémne diem vacuum pœnâ, ubi inter ſacra & vota, quo tempore verbis etiam profanis abſtinere mos eſſet, vincula & laqueus inducantur?

Ἑορτὴ ἐδὲν ἄλλο ἐςιν ἢ τὰ δέοντα πρᾶξαι. Thucyd. l. 1.

S. Ignat. ep. ad Magneſ. Ἕκαστος ὑμῶν σαββατιζέτω πνευματικῶς, μελέτῃ νόμων χαίρων, ἐ σώματος ἀνέσει, δημιουργίαν Θεοῦ θαυμάζων, ἐχ ἕωλα ἐσθίων, καὶ χλιαρὰ πίνων, καὶ μεμετρημένα βαδίζων, καὶ ὀρχήσει καὶ κρότοις νοῦν ἐκ ἔχουσι χαίρων.

S. Aug. tract. 4. in Joan. Judæi ſerviliter obſervant diem Sabbati, ad luxuriam, ad ebrietatem. Quantò meliùs fœminæ eorum lanam facerent quàm illo die in mænianis ſaltarent? Et in Pſal. 92. idem ferè.

Decalogue God ſets this precept immediately after the duties that concern himſelf, our duty to parents being in the confines with our duty to God, the parents being in order of nature next to God, the cauſe of our being and production, and the great almoners of eternity, conveying to us the eſſences of reaſonable creatures, and the charities of Heaven. And when our Bleſſed Saviour in a ſermon to the Phariſees ſpake of duty to parents, he reſcued it from the impediments of a vain tradition, and ſecured this duty, though againſt a pretence of religion towards God, telling us that God would not himſelf accept a gift which we took from our parents needs. This duty to parents is the very firmament and band of commonwealths. [a] He that honours his parents will alſo love his brethren derived from the ſame loins, he will dearly account of all his relatives and perſons of the ſame cognation; and ſo families are united, and of them cities and ſocieties are framed. And becauſe parents and patriarchs of families and of nations had regal power, they who by any change ſucceeded in the care and government of cities and kingdoms, ſucceeded in the power and authority of fathers, and became ſo in eſtimate of law and true divinity to all their people. So that the duty here commanded is due to all our fathers in the ſenſe of ſcripture and laws; not only to our natural, but to our civil fathers, that is, to kings and governors. And the ſcripture adds ***mothers***, for they alſo, being inſtruments of the bleſſing, are the objects of the duty. The duty is, ***honour***, that is, reverence, and ſupport, if they ſhall need it. And that which our Bleſſed Saviour calls ***not honouring our parents*** in [b] St. Matthew, is called in [c] St. Mark, ***doing nothing for them***; and honour is expounded by [d] St. Paul to be ***maintenance*** as well as ***reverence***. Then we honour our parents, if with great readineſs we miniſter to their neceſſities, and communicate our eſtate, and attend them in ſickneſſes, and ſupply their wants, and as much as lies in us, give them ſupport, who gave us being.

27. [e] ***THOU ſhalt do no murder.*** So it was ſaid to them of old time: He that kills ſhall be guilty of judgment, that is, he is to die by the ſentence of the judge. To this Chriſt makes an appendix. ***But I ſay unto you, He that is angry with his brother without a cauſe, ſhall be in danger of the judgment.*** This addition of our Bleſſed Saviour, as all the other which are ſeverer explications of the law than the Jews admitted, was directed againſt the vain and imperfect opinion of the lawyers, who thought to be juſtified by their external works, ſuppoſing, if they were innocent in matter of fact, God would require no more of them than man did; and what by cuſtom or ſilence of the laws was not puniſhable by the judge, was harmleſs before God. And this made them to truſt in the letter, to neglect the duties of repentance, to omit asking pardon for their ſecret irregularities, and the obliquities and averſations of their ſpirits. And this St. Paul alſo complains of, that neglecting [f] ***the righteouſneſs of God, they ſought to eſtabliſh their own***, that is, according to man's judgment. But our Bleſſed Saviour tells them that ſuch an innocence is not enough; God requires more than conformity, and obſervation of the fact, and exterior piety, placing juſtice not in legal innocency, or not being condemned in judgment of the law and human judicature, but in the righteouſneſs of the ſpirit alſo: for the firſt acquits us before man, but by this we ſhall be held upright in judgment before the judge of all the world. And therefore beſides abſtinence from murder or actual wounds, Chriſt forbids ***all anger without cauſe againſt our brother***, that is, againſt any man.

28. BY which not the firſt motions are forbidden, the twinklings of the eye, as the philoſophers call them, the pro-paſſions and ſudden and irreſiſtible alterations; for it is impoſſible to prevent them, unleſs we could give ourſelves a new nature, [g] any more than we can refuſe to wink with our eye when a ſudden blow is offered at it, or refuſe to yawn when we ſee a yawning ſleepy perſon: but by frequent and habitual mortification, and by continual watchfulneſs, and ſtanding in readineſs againſt all inadvertences, we ſhall leſſen the inclination, and account fewer ſudden irreptions. A wiſe and meek perſon ſhould not kindle at all, but after violent and great colliſion; and then, if like a flint he ſends a ſpark out, it muſt as ſoon be extinguiſhed as it ſhews, and cool as ſoon as ſparkle. But however, the ſin is not in the natural diſpoſition.

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[a] Ὁ λοιδορῶν τὸν πατέρα δυσφημεῖ λόγῳ·
Τὴν εἰς τὸ θεῖον δὲ μελετᾷ βλασφημίαν. Menand.

Ἐμφανεῖς θεοὶ, μεμιμημένοι τὸν ἀγέννητον ἐν τῷ ζωοπλαστεῖν. de Parentibus dixit Philo ad Decal.

Vivet extento Proculeius ævo,
Notus in fratres animi paterni:
Illum aget pennâ metuente ſolvi
Fama ſuperſtes. Hor. l. ii. od. 2.

Τούς τε γονεῖς τίμα, τούς τ' ἄγχιστ' ἐκγεγαῶτας. Hierocl.

Cùm tibi ſint fratres, fratres ulciſcere læſos:
Cumque pater tibi ſit, jura tuere patris.

Neceſſaria præſidia vitæ debentur his maximé. Cicer. Offic. 3.

[b] Mat. xv. 6. [c] Mar. vii. 12. [d] 1 Tim. v. 17, 18. Γονέας τιμήσωμεν ὑπερβαλλόντως σώματος ὑπηρεσίας καὶ χρημάτων χορηγίαν αὐτοῖς ὑπέχοντες ὅτι μάλιστα προθυμοτάτην. Hierocl.

Φέρει δ' ἐπὶ τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν αὐτοὺς, καὶ τὸ τῶν δουλικωτέρων ὑπηρετημάτων ἅπτεσθαί ποτε τοὺς παῖδας, ὥστε καὶ πόδας ἀπονίψαι. Hierocl. apud Stobæum.

[e] Lev. xxiv. 21. Num. xxxv. 16, 17. [f] Rom. x. 3.

[g] S. Hieron. epiſt. ad Demetriad.

ſition. But when we entertain it, though it be, as Seneca expreſſes it, [a] ***cum voluntate non contumaci,*** without a determination of revenge, then it begins to be a ſin. Every indignation againſt the perſon of the man, in us is pride and ſelf-love, and towards others ungentleneſs, and an immorigerous ſpirit. Which is to be underſtood, when the cauſe is not ſufficient, or when the anger continues longer, or is exceſſive in the degrees of its proportion.

29. THE cauſes of allowable anger are, when we ſee God diſhonoured, or a ſin committed, or any irregularity or fault in matter of government; a fault againſt the laws of a family or good manners, diſobedience or ſtubbornneſs: which in all inſtances where they may be prudently judged ſuch by the governor, yet poſſibly they are not all direct ſins againſt God and religion. In ſuch caſes we may ***be angry.*** But then we may alſo ***ſin,*** if we exceed in time, or meaſure of degree.

30. THE proportion of time St. Paul expreſſes, by ***not letting the ſun ſet upon our anger.*** [b] Leontius Patricius was one day extremely and unreaſonably angry with John the patriarch of Alexandria; at evening the patriarch ſent a ſervant to him with this meſſage, ***Sir, the ſun is ſet:*** upon which Patricius reflecting, and the grace of God making the impreſſion deep, viſible and permanent, he threw away his anger, and became wholly ſubject to the counſel and ghoſtly aids of the patriarch. This limit St. Paul borrowed from the Pſalmiſt: for that which in the fourth Pſalm, verſe 4. we read, ***Stand in awe, and ſin not,*** the Septuagint reads, ***Be angry, but ſin not.*** And this meaſure is taken from the analogy of the law of the Jews, that a malefactor ſhould not hang upon the accurſed tree after the ſun was ſet. And if the laws laid down their juſt anger againſt malefactors as ſoon as the ſun deſcended, and took off his beams from beholding the example; much more is it reaſonable that a private anger which is not warranted by authority, not meaſured by laws, not examined by ſolemnities of juſtice, not made reaſonable by conſidering the degree of the cauſes, not made charitable by intending the publick good, not ſecured from injuriousneſs by being diſintereſted, and ſuch an anger in which the party is judge, and witneſs, and executioner; it is (I ſay) but reaſon ſuch an anger ſhould unyoke and go to bed with the ſun, ſince juſtice and authority laid by the rods and axes as ſoon as the ſun unteamed his chariot. [c] Plutarch reports that the Pythagoreans were ſtrict obſervers of the very letter of this caution: for if anger had boiled up to the height of injury or reproach, before ſun-ſet they would ſhake hands, ſalute each other, and depart friends. For they were aſhamed that the ſame anger which had diſturbed the counſels of the day, ſhould alſo trouble the quiet and dreams of the night, leſt anger by mingling with their reſt and nightly fancies, ſhould grow natural and habitual. Well, anger muſt laſt no longer; but neither may a Chriſtian's anger laſt ſo long: for if his anger laſt a whole day, it will certainly before night ſour into a crime. A man's anger is like the ſpleen, at the firſt it is natnral, but in its exceſs and diſtemper it ſwells into a diſeaſe: and therefore although to be angry at the preſence of certain objects is natural, and therefore is indifferent, becauſe he that is an eſſential enemy to ſin, never made ſin eſſential to a man; yet unleſs it be alſo tranſient, and paſs off at the command of reaſon and religion, it quickly becomes criminal. The meaning is, that it be no more but a tranſient paſſion, not permanent at all; but that the anger againſt the man paſs into indignation againſt the crime, and pity of the perſon, till the pity grows up into endeavours to help him. For an angry, violent and diſturbed man is like that white bramble of Judæa, of which Joſephus reports, that it is ſet on fire by impetuous winds, and conſumes it ſelf, and burns the neighbour-plants. And the [d] evil effects of a violent and paſſionate anger are ſo great, ſo dangerous, ſo known to all the world, that the very conſideration of them is the beſt argument in the world to diſpute againſt it. Families and kingdoms have ſuffered horrid calamities; and whatſoever is violent in art or nature hath been made the inſtrument of ſadneſs in the hands of anger.

31. THE meaſure of the degree is to be eſtimated by human prudence, that it exceed not the value of the cauſe, nor the proportion of other circumſtances, and that it cauſe no eruption into indiſcretions or undecencies. For therefore Moſes's anger, though for God and religion, was reproved, becauſe it went forth into a violent and troubled expreſſion, and ſhewed the degree to be inordinate. For it is in this paſſion as in lightning, which, if it only breaks the cloud, and makes a noiſe, ſhews a tempeſt and diſturbance in nature, but the hurt is none; but if it ſeizes upon a man, or dwells upon a houſe,

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[a] Seneca lib. ii. de Ira, c. 4.

[b] Leontius Cypr. Epiſc. in vita ipſius, c. 14.

[c] Εἴ ποτε προαχθεῖεν εἰς λοιδορίαν ὑπ' ὀργῆς, πρὶν ἢ τὸν ἥλιον δῦναι, τὰς δεξιὰς ἐμβάλλοντες ἀλλήλοις ϗ ἀσπασάμενοι διελύοντο. Plutarch.

[d] Iræ Thyeſten exitio gravi
Stravêre, & altis urbibus ultimæ
Stetére cauſæ cur perirent
Funditus, imprimerétque muris
Hoſtile aratrum exercitus inſolens. Horat. l. i. od. 16.

a houſe, or breaks a tree, it becomes a judgment and a curſe. And as the one is a miſchief in chance and accident, ſo the other is in morality and choice: if it paſſes from paſſion into action, from a tranſient violence to a permanent injury, if it abides, it ſcorches the garment, or burns the body, and there is no way to make it innocent, but to remove and extinguiſh it, and, while it remains, to tie the hands, and pare the nails, and muzzle it, that it may neither ſcratch, nor bite, nor talk. An anger in God's cauſe may become unhallowed, if it ſees the ſun riſe and ſet: and an anger in the cauſe of a man is innocent according to the degrees of its ſuddenneſs and diſcontinuance. For by its quickneſs and volatile motion it ſhews that it was, 1. unavoidable in its production; or, 2. that it was harmleſs in the event; or, 3. quickly ſuppreſſed. According to which ſeveral caſes anger is either, 1. natural, or, 2. excuſable, or, 3. the matter of a virtue.

32. THE vulgar Latin bible in this precept of our Bleſſed Saviour reads not the appendix, *without a cauſe*, but indefinitely, *he that is angry with his brother*; and St. Hierom affirms that the clauſe *without a cauſe* is not to be found in the true Greek copies. Upon ſuppoſition of which, becauſe it is not to be imagined that all anger in all cauſes and in all degrees, is ſimply unlawful, and St. Paul diſtinguiſhes being angry from committing a ſin, *be angry, but ſin not*; theſe words are left to ſignify ſuch an anger as is the crime of homicide in the heart, like the ſecret luſting called by Chriſt *adultery in the heart:* and ſo here is forbidden not only the outward act, but the inward inclinations to murder, that is, [a] an anger with deliberation and purpoſe of revenge, this being explicative and additional to the precept forbidding murder: which alſo our Bleſſed Saviour ſeems to have intended, by threatning the ſame penalty to this anger or ſpiritual homicide which the law inflicted upon the actual and external, that is, judgment or condemnation. And becauſe this prohibition of anger is an explication and more ſevere commentary upon the ſixth commandment, it is more than probable that this anger, to which condemnation is threatned, is ſuch an anger as hath entertained ſomething of miſchief in the ſpirit. And this agrees well enough with the former interpretation, ſave that it affirms no degree of anger to be criminal as to the height of condemnation, unleſs it be with a thought of violence or deſires of revenge; the other degrees receiving their heightnings and declenſions as they keep their diſtance or approach to this. And beſides, by not limiting or giving caution concerning the cauſe, it reſtrains the malice only or the degree; but it permits other cauſes of anger to be innocent beſides thoſe ſpiritual and moral, of the intereſts of God's glory and religion. But this is alſo true, which ſoever of the readings be retained. For the iraſcible faculty having in nature an object proper to its conſtitution and natural deſign, if our anger be commenced upon an object naturally troubleſome, the anger is very natural, and nowhere ſaid to be irregular. And he who is angry with a ſervant's unwarineſs or inadvertency, or the remiſſneſs of a child's ſpirit and application to his ſtudies, or on any ſudden diſpleaſure, is not in any ſenſe guilty of prevaricating the ſixth commandment, unleſs beſides the object he adds an inequality of degree, or unhandſome circumſtance, or adjunct. [b] And poſſibly it is not in the nature of man to be ſtrict in diſcipline, if the prohibitions of anger be confined only to cauſes of religion: and it were hard that ſuch an anger which is innocent in all effects, and a good inſtrument of government, ſhould become criminal and damnable; becauſe ſome inſtances of diſpleaſure are in actions not certainly and apparently ſinful. So that our Bleſſed Saviour forbidding us to be *angry without a cauſe*, means ſuch cauſes which are not only irregularities in religion, but defections in manners; and an anger may be religious, and political, and œconomical, according as it meets with objects proper to it in ſeveral kinds. It is ſometimes neceſſary that a man carry a tempeſt in his face, and a rod in his hand; [c] but for ever let him have a ſmooth mind, or at leaſt under command, and within the limits of reaſon and religion, that he may ſteer ſecurely, and avoid the rocks of ſin; for then he may reprove a friend that did amiſs, or chaſtiſe an offending ſon, or correct a vicious ſervant. The ſumm is this: there are no other bounds to hallow or to allow and legitimate anger, but that, 1. The cauſe be religion, or matter of government: 2. That the degree of the anger in prudent accounts be no bigger than the cauſe: 3. That if it goes forth, it be not expreſſed in any action of uncharitableneſs, or unſeaſonable violence: 4. Whether it goes forth or abides at home, it muſt not dwell long any where; nor abide in the form of a burning coal, but at the moſt of a thin flame, thence

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[a] Καὶ πάσῃ ὀργῇ ἕπεσθαί τινα ἡδονὴν τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐλπίδος τοῦ τιμωρήσασθαι. Ariſt. 2. Rhet.

[b] Si ira non fuerit, nec doctrina proficit, nec judicia ſtant, nec crimina compeſcuntur. S. Chryſoſt.

Si nulla ira ex virtute ſurgeret, Divinæ animadverſionis impetum per gladium Phinehas non placâſſet. S. Greg. l. 5. Moral.

[c] Πιθανώτατοι γὰρ ἀπὸ τῆς φύσεως οἱ ἐν τοῖς πάθεσίν εἰσι, καὶ κυμαίνει ὁ κυματιζόμενος, καὶ χαλεπαίνει ὀργιζόμενος, &c. Ariſt. Poetic.

paſſing into air ſalutary and gentle, fit to breathe, but not to blaſt. There is this only nicety to be obſerved: that although an anger ariſing for religion, or in the matter of government, cannot innocently abide long; yet it may abide till it hath paſſed forth into its proper and temperate expreſſion, whether of reprehenſion or chaſtiſement, and then it muſt ſit down. But if the anger ariſes from another cauſe, (provided it be of it ſelf innocent, not ſinful in the object or cauſe,) the paſſion in its firſt ſpring is alſo innocent, becauſe it is natural, and on the ſudden unavoidable: but this muſt be ſuppreſſed within, and is not permitted to expreſs it ſelf at all. For in that degree in which it goes out of the mouth, or through the eyes, or from the hand, in that degree it is violent, ought to be corrected and reſtrained: for ſo that paſſion was intended to be turned into virtue. For this paſſion is like its natural parent or inſtrument. And if choler keeps in its proper ſeat, it is an inſtrument of digeſtion; but if it goes forth into the ſtranger regions of the body, it makes a fever. And this anger which commences upon natural cauſes, though ſo far as it is natural it muſt needs be innocent; yet when any conſent of the will comes to it, or that it goes forth in any action or voluntary ſignification, it alſo becomes criminal. Such an anger is only permitted to be born and die; but it muſt never take nouriſhment, or exerciſe any act of life.

33. BUT if that prohibition be indefinite, then it is certain the analogy of the commandment, of which this is an explication, refers it to revenge or malice: it is an anger that is wrath, an anger of revenge or injury, which is here prohibited. And I add this conſideration, that ſince it is certain that Chriſt intended this for an explication of the prohibition of homicide, the clauſe of [[a] *without cauſe*] ſeems leſs natural and proper. For it would intimate, that though anger of revenge is forbidden when it is raſh and unreaſonable; yet that there might be a caſe of being angry with a purpoſe of revenge and recompence, and that in ſuch a caſe it is permitted to them to whom in all other it is denied, that is, to private perſons: which is againſt the meekneſs and charity of the goſpel. More reaſonable it is, that as no man might kill his brother in Moſes's law by his own private authority; ſo an anger is here forbidden, ſuch an anger which no qualification can permit to private perſons, that is, an anger with purpoſes of revenge.

34. BUT Chriſt adds, that a farther degree of this ſin is, when our anger breaks out in contumelies and ill language, and receives its increment according to the degree and injury of the reproach. There is a homicide in the tongue as well as in the heart; and he that kills a man's [b] reputation by calumnies, or ſlander, or open reviling, hath broken this commandment. But this is not to be underſtood ſo, but that perſons in authority or friends may reprehend a vicious perſon in language proper to his crime, or expreſſive of his malice or iniquity. Chriſt called Herod *fox:* and although St. Michael ***brought not a railing accuſation*** againſt ſatan, yet the ſcripture calls him ***an accuſer***, and Chriſt calls him ***the father of lyes***, and St. Peter, ***a devourer*** and a ***roaring lion***; and St. John calls ***Diotrephes a lover of pre-eminence***, or ambitious. But that which is here forbidden, is not a repreſenting the crimes of the man for his emendation, or any other charitable or religious end; but a reviling him to do him miſchief, to murder his reputation. Which alſo ſhews, that whatever is here forbidden, is in ſome ſenſe or other accounted homicide; the anger in order to reproach, and both in order to murder, ſubject to the ſame puniſhment, becauſe forbidden in the ſame period of the law: ſave only that, according to the degrees of the ſin, Chriſt proportions ſeveral degrees of puniſhment in the other world, which he apportions to the degrees of death which had ever been among the Jews; *viz.* the ſword, and ſtoning to death, which were puniſhments legal and judicial; and the burning infants in the valley of Hinnom, which was a barbarous and ſuperſtitious cuſtom uſed formerly by their fathers, in imitation of the Phœnician accurſed rites.

35. THE remedies againſt anger, which are preſcribed by maſters of ſpiritual life, are partly taken from rules of prudence, partly from piety and more preciſe rules of religion. In prudence, 1. Do not eaſily entertain, or at all encourage, or willingly hear, or promptly believe, tale-bearers and reporters of other mens faults: for oftentimes we are

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[a] Εἰκῆ ſignificat in vanum; i. e. non ſolùm extra cauſam, ſed & extra modum.

——— [b] Δεινὴν δὲ βροτῶν ὑπαλεύεο φήμην.
Φήμη γάρ τε κακὴ πέλεται· κούφη μὲν ἀεῖραι
Ῥεῖα μαλ' ἀργαλέη δὲ φέρειν, χαλεπὴ δ' ἀποθέσθαι.
Heſiod. Ἔργ. l. 2.

———Inſuevit pater optimus, hoc me,
Ut fugerem, exemplis vitiorum quæque notando:
Quum me hortaretur parcè, frugaliter, atque
Viverem utì contentus eo quod mî ipſe paraſſet;
Nonne vides Albi ut malè vivat filius, útque
Barrus inops?———
———A turpi meretricis amore
Cùm deterreret; Sectani diſſimilis ſis.
Nè ſequerer mœchas———
———Deprênſi non bella eſt fama Treboni,
Aiebat.———
Horat. ſat. iv. l. 1.

are ſet on fire by an *ignis fatuus,* a falſe flame, and an empty ſtory. 2. Live with peaceable people, if thou can'ſt. 3. Be not inquiſitive into the miſdemeanours of others, or the reports which are made of you. 4. Find out reaſons of excuſe to alleviate and leſſen the ignorances of a friend, or careleſneſſes of a ſervant. 5. Obſerve what object is apteſt to inflame thee, and by ſpecial arts of fortification ſtop up the avenues to that part: if loſſes, if contempt, if incivilities, if ſlander, ſtill make it the greateſt part of your imployment to ſubdue the impotency of that paſſion that is more apt to raiſe tempeſts. 6. Extirpate petty curioſities of apparel, lodging, diet, and learn to be indifferent in circumſtances: and if you be apt to be tranſported with ſuch little things, do ſome great thing that ſhall cut off their frequent intervening. 7. Do not multiply ſecular cares, and troubleſome negotiations, which have variety of converſation with ſeveral humours of men and accidents of things; but frame to thy ſelf a life ſimple as thou can'ſt, and free from all affectations. 8. Sweeten thy temper and allay the violence of thy ſpirit with ſome convenient, natural, temperate and medicinal ſolaces; for ſome diſpoſitions we have ſeen inflamed into anger, and often aſſaulted by peeviſhneſs, through immoderate faſting and inconvenient auſterities. 9. A gentle anſwer is an excellent remora to the progreſſes of anger, whether in thy ſelf or others: for anger is like the waves of a [a] troubled ſea; when it is corrected with a ſoft reply, as with a little ſtrand, it retires, and leaves nothing behind it but froth and ſhells, no permanent miſchief. 10. [b] Silence is an excellent art: and that was the advice which St. Iſaac, an old religious perſon in the primitive church, is reported to have followed, to ſuppreſs his anger within his breaſt, and uſe what means he could there to ſtrangle it; but never permitting it to go forth in language: anger and luſt being like fire, which if you encloſe, ſuffering it to have no emiſſion, it periſhes and dies; but give it the ſmalleſt vent, and it rages to a conſumption of all it reaches. And this advice is coincident with the general rule which is preſcribed in all temptations, that anger be ſuppreſſed in its cradle and firſt [c] aſſaults. 11. Laſtly, let every man be careful that in his repentance, or in his zeal, or his religion, he be as diſpaſſionate and free from anger as is poſſible; leſt anger paſs upon him in a reflex act, which was rejected in the direct. Some mortifiers in their conteſtation againſt anger, or any evil or troubleſome principle, are like criers of aſſizes, who calling for ſilence make the greateſt noiſe; they are extremely angry when they are fighting againſt the habit or violent inclinations to anger.

36. BUT in the way of more ſtrict religion it is adviſed, 1. That he who would cure his anger ſhould pray often. It is St. Auſtin's counſel to the biſhop Auxilius, that, like the apoſtles in a ſtorm, we ſhould awake Chriſt, and call to him for aid, leſt we ſhipwrack in ſo violent paſſions and impetuous diſturbances. 2. Propound to thy ſelf the example of meek and patient perſons: remembring always that there is a family of meek ſaints, of which Moſes is the precedent; a family of patient ſaints, under the conduct of Job. Every one in the mountain of the Lord ſhall be gathered to his own tribe, to his own family, in the great day of Jubilee: and the angry ſhall periſh with the effects of anger; and peeviſh perſons ſhall be vexed with the diſquietneſs of an eternal worm and ſting of a vexatious conſcience, if they ſuffer here the tranſportations and ſaddeſt effects of an unmortified, habitual and prevailing anger. 3. Above all things endeavour to be humble, to think of thy ſelf as thou deſerveſt, that is, meanly and unworthily: and in reaſon it is to be preſumed thou wilt be more patient of wrong, quiet under affronts and injuries, ſuſceptive of inconveniencies, and apt to entertain all adverſities, as inſtruments of humiliation, deleteries of vice, corrections of undecent paſſions, and inſtruments of virtue. 4. All the reaſon, and all the relations, and all the neceſſities of mankind are daily arguments againſt the violences and inordinations of anger. For he that would not have his reaſon confounded, or his diſcourſe uſeleſs, or his family be a den of lions; he that would not have his marriage a daily duel, or his ſociety troubleſome, or his friendſhip formidable, or his feaſts bitter: he that delights not to have his diſcipline cruel, or his government tyrannical, or his diſputations violent, or his civilities unmannerly, or his charity be a rudeneſs, or himſelf brutiſh as a bear, or peeviſh as a fly, or miſerable upon every accident, and in all the changes of his life, muſt mortify his anger. For it concerns us as much as peace, and wiſdom, and nobleneſs, and charity, and felicity are worth, to be at peace in our breaſts, and to be pleaſed with all God's providence, and to be in charity with every thing, and with every man.

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[a] Terminum etiam marinis fluctibus Fabricator deſcripſit: arena maris exigua ſæpe inter duas acies intercapedo eſt. Si reprimere iram non potes, memento quia indignabundum mare nil ultra ſpumam & fluctuationem effert. Simocatta.

[b] Ex quo factus ſum monachus, ſtatui apud me, ut iracundia extra guttur meum non procederet, dixit S. Iſaac Eremita.

[c] Melius enim eſt negare primum iræ introitum; etiam de cauſa probabili ſatis & glorioſa, quàm admiſſam ejicere. S. Aug. ad Profuturum.

37. *THOU ſhalt not commit adultery.* Theſe two commandments are immediate to each other, and of the greateſt cognation: for anger and luſt work upon one ſubject; [a] and the ſame fervours of blood which make men revengeful, will alſo make men unchaſte. But the prohibition is repeated in the words of the old commandment; ſo *it was ſaid to them of old*: which was not only a prohibition of the violation of the rites of marriage, but was even among the Jews extended to ſignify all mixture of ſexes not matrimonial. For adultery in ſcripture is ſometimes uſed to ſignify fornication, and fornication for adultery; as it is expreſſed in the permiſſions of divorce in the caſe of fornication: and by Moſes's law fornication alſo was forbidden, and it was hated alſo and reproved in the natural. But it is very probable that this precept was reſtrained only to the inſtance of adultery in the proper ſenſe, that is, violation of marriage: for Moſes did in other annexes of the law forbid fornication. And as a blow or wound was not eſteemed in Moſes's law a breach of the ſixth commandment; ſo neither was any thing but adultery eſteemed a violation of the ſeventh by very many of their own doctors; of which I reckon this a ſufficient probation, becauſe they permitted ſtranger virgins and captives to fornicate; only they believed it ſinful in the Hebrew maidens. And when two harlots pleaded before Solomon for the baſtard-child, he gave ſentence of their queſtion, but nothing of their crime. [b] *Strangers* with the Hebrews ſignified many times harlots, becauſe they were permitted to be ſuch, and were entertained to ſuch purpoſes. But theſe were the licences of a looſer interpretation; God having to all nations given ſufficient teſtimony of his deteſtation of all concubinate not hallowed by marriage. Of which among the nations there was abundant teſtimony, in that the harlots were not permitted to abide in the cities, and wore veils in teſtimony of their ſhame and habitual indecencies; which we obſerve [c] in the ſtory of Thamar, and alſo in Chryſippus. And although it paſſed without puniſhment, yet never without ſhame, and a note of turpitude. And the abſtinence from fornication was one of the precepts of Noah, to which the Jews obliged the ſtranger-proſelytes, who were only proſelytes of the houſe: and the apoſtles enforce it upon the Gentiles in their firſt decree at Jeruſalem, as renewing an old ſtock of precepts and obligations in which all the converted and religious Gentiles did communicate with the Jews.

38. To this Chriſt added, that the eyes muſt not be adulterous; his diſciples muſt not only abſtain from the act of unlawful concubinate, but from the impurer intuition of a wife of another man; ſo according to the deſign of his whole ſermon oppoſing the righteouſneſs of the ſpirit to that of the law, or of works, in which the Jews confided. Chriſtians muſt have chaſte deſires, not indulging to themſelves a liberty of looſer thoughts; keeping the threſhold of their temples pure, that the Holy Ghoſt may obſerve nothing unclean in the entry of his habitation. For he that luſts after a woman, wants nothing to the conſummation of the act but ſome convenient circumſtances; which becauſe they are not in our power, the act is impeded, [d] but nothing of the malice abated. But ſo ſevere in this was our Bleſſed Maſter, that he commanded us rather to *put our eyes* out, than to ſuffer them to become an *offence* to us; that is, an inlet of ſin, or an invitation or tranſmiſſion of impurity: By *putting our eyes out*, meaning the extinction of all incentives of luſt, the rejection of all opportunities and occaſions, the quitting all conditions of advantage which miniſters fuel to this hell-fire. And by this ſeverity we muſt underſtand all beginnings, temptations, likeneſſes, and inſinuations and minutes of luſt and impurity, to be forbidden to Chriſtians; ſuch as are all moroſe delectations in vanity, wanton words, geſtures, balls, revellings, wanton diet, gariſh and laſcivious dreſſings and trimmings of the body, looſer banquetings; all *making proviſions for the fleſh to fulfil the luſt of it*, all luſt of concupiſcence, and all *luſt of the eye*, and all luſt of the hand, unclean contacts, are to be reſcinded; all luſt of the tongue and palate, all ſurfeiting and drunkenneſs. For it is impoſſible to keep the ſpirit pure, if it be expoſed to all the entertainment of enemies. And if Chriſt forbad the wanton eye, and placed it under the prohibition of adultery; it is certain, whatſoever miniſters to that vice, and invites to it, is within the ſame reſtraint; it is the *eye*, or the *hand*, or the *foot*, that is to be cut off. To this commandment faſtings and ſevere abſtinences

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[a] Ut furoris inſederit virus, libidinis quoque incendium neceſſe eſt paterere. Caſſian.

———Numquid ego à te
Magno prognatam depoſco conſule———
Velatámque ſtolâ, mea cum conferbuit ira?
Horat. ſerm. l. 1. ſat. 2.

[b] Ξένας vocârunt Græci meretrices & peregrinas, ad morem & ad verbum Hebræorum; & Menandrum transferens Terentius peregrinam vocat Andriam.

[c] Gen. xxxviii. 14.

[d] Nihil refert quibus membris adulteraveris, dixit Archeſilaus philoſ. apud Plutarch. ἀρχὴ τοῦ ἔρωτος ὅρασις. Plat.

Ut jam ſervaris bene corpus, adultera mens eſt:
Omnibus excluſis intus adulter erit. Ovid.

Inceſta eſt etiam ſine ſtupro quæ ſtuprum quærit. Seneca.

Πόθεν ποτ᾽ ἄρα γίνεται μοιχῶν γένος; ἐκ κριθιῶντος ἀνδρὸς ἐν ἀφροδισίοις. Cleanthes.

are apt to be reduced, as being the proper abſciſſion of the inſtruments and temptations of luſt, to which Chriſt invites by the mixt propoſition of threatning and reward: for *better it is to go to Heaven with but one eye or one foot*, that is, with a body half nouriſhed, *than* with full meals and an active luſt to *enter into hell.* And in this our Bleſſed Lord is a phyſician rather than a law-giver: for abſtinence from all impure concubinate, and moroſe delectations ſo much as in thought, being the commandment of God; that Chriſt bids us retrench the occaſions and inſinuations of luſt, it is a facilitating the duty, not a new ſeverity, but a ſecurity and caution of prudence.

39. *THOU ſhalt not ſteal.* To this precept Chriſt added nothing, becauſe God had already in the Decalogue fortified this precept with a reſtraint upon the [a] deſires. [b] For the tenth commandment forbids all coveting of our neighbour's goods. For the wife there reckoned, and forbidden to be deſired from another man, is not a reſtraint of libidinous appetite, but of the covetous; it being accounted part of wealth to have a numerous family, many wives, and many ſervants. And this alſo God by the prophet Nathan upbraided to David, as an inſtance of David's wealth, and God's liberality. But yet this commandment Chriſt adopted into his law, it being prohibited by the natural law, or the law of right reaſon; commonwealths not being able to ſubſiſt without diſtinction of dominion, nor induſtry to be incouraged but by propriety, nor families to be maintained but by defence of juſt rights and truly purchaſed poſſeſſions. [c] And this prohibition extends to all injuſtice, whether done by force or fraud; whether it be by ablation, or prevention, or detaining of rights; any thing in which injury is done directly or obliquely to our neighbour's fortune.

40. *THOU ſhalt not bear falſe witneſs.* That is, thou ſhalt not anſwer in judgment againſt thy neighbour falſly; which teſtimony in the law was given ſolemnly and by oath, invoking the name of God. *I adjure thee by God that thou tell us whether thou be the Chriſt*, ſaid the high-prieſt to the bleſſed Jeſus; that is, ſpeak upon thy oath: and then he told them fully, though they made it the pretence of murdering him, and he knew they would do ſo. [d] Confeſſing and witneſſing truth is giving glory to God; but falſe witneſs is high injuſtice, it is inhumanity and treaſon againſt the quietneſs, or life, or poſſeſſion of a juſt perſon; it is in it ſelf irregular and unreaſonable, and therefore is ſo forbidden to Chriſtians, not only as it is unjuſt, but as it is falſe. [e] For a lye in communication and private converſe is alſo forbidden as well as unjuſt teſtimony: [f] *Let every man ſpeak truth with his neighbour*; that is, in private ſociety. And whether a lye be in [g] jeſt or earneſt, when the purpoſe is to deceive and abuſe, though in the ſmalleſt inſtance, it is in that degree criminal, as it is injurious. I find not the ſame affirmed in every deception of our neighbours, wherein no man is injured, and ſome are benefited; the error of the affirmation being nothing but a natural irregularity, nothing malicious, but very charitable. I find no ſeverity ſuperadded by Chriſt to this commandment, prohibiting ſuch diſcourſe which, without injury to any man, deceives a man into piety or ſafety. But this is to be extended no farther: in all things elſe we muſt be ſevere in our diſcourſes, *neither lye in a great matter nor a ſmall, for the cuſtom thereof is not good*, ſaith the ſon of Sirach. I could add concerning this precept, that, Chriſt having left it in that condition he found it in the Decalogue, without any change or alteration of circumſtance, we are commanded to give true teſtimony in judgment; which becauſe it was under an oath, there lies upon us no prohibition, but a ſeverity of injunction, to ſwear truth in judgment when we are required. The ſecuring of teſtimonies was by the ſanctity of an oath, and this remains unaltered in Chriſtianity.

41. *THOU ſhalt not covet.* [h] This commandment we find no-where repeated in the goſpel by our Bleſſed Saviour; but it is inſerted in the repetition of the ſecond table,

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[a] Creſcit indulgens ſibi dirus hydrops,
Nec ſitim pellit, niſi cauſa morbi
Fugerit venis, & aquoſus albo
Corpore languor. Horat. l. ii. od. 2.

[b] Ὁ γὰρ τοῖς ἀλλοτρίοις ἐπικεχηνὼς, κοινὸς πόλεως ἐχθρός· βουλήσει μὲν πάντων, δυνάμει δὲ τὰ τῶν τινῶν ἀφαιρούμενος. Philo in Expoſit. gener.

Κλοπαὶ μὲν χρημάτων ἀνελεύθερον. Plat. l. 10. de Leg.

Δὼς ἀγαθὴ, ἅρπαξ δὲ κακὴ, θανάτοιο δότειρα.
Heſiod. l. 1. Ἐργ.

[c] Paulus J. C. l. 1. D. de furtis. Ulpian. l. Probrum, D. de Verborum ſignificatione.

[d] Οὐ γὰρ ἐπὶ ψευδέσσι πατὴρ Ζεὺς ἔσσετ' ἀρωγός.
Hom. l. 4. Il.

Ὃς δέ κε μαρτυρίῃσιν ἑκὼν ἐπίορκον ὀμόσσας
Ψεύσεται, ἐν δὲ δίκην βλάψας, νήκεστον ἀάσθη,
Τοῦ δέ τ' ἀμαυροτέρη γενεὴ μετόπισθε λέλειπται.
Heſiod. l. 1. Ἐργ.

[e] Ἀλήθειά ἐστι μεγάλη ἀρχὴ τῆς ἀρετῆς. Pind.
Ψεῦδος δὲ μισεῖ πᾶς φρόνιμος καὶ σοφός. Menand.

[f] Epheſ. iv. 25.

[g] Epaminondam nè joco quidem mentitum fuiſſe narrant fidi ſcriptores. Probus. Idem de Ariſtide refert Plutarchus.

[h] Furtum quoque ſine ulla attrectatione fieri poſſe ſolâ mente, atque animo ut furtum fiat annitente. A. Gell. l. xi. c. 18.

Has patitur pœnas peccandi ſola voluntas.
Nam ſcelus intra ſe tantùm qui cogitat ullum,
Facti crimen habet——Juvenal.

Dixit Xenocrates, Non minùs eſſe turpe oculos quam pedes in aliena immittere.

which St. Paul mentioned to the Romans. For it was ſo abundantly expreſſed in the incloſure of other precepts, and the whole deſign of Chriſt's doctrines, that it was leſs needful ſpecially to expreſs that which is every where affixed to many precepts evangelical. Particularly it is inherent in the firſt beatitude, *Bleſſed are the poor in ſpirit*: and it means, that we ſhould not wiſh our neighbour's goods with a deliberate entertained deſire, but that upon the commencement of the motion it be disbanded inſtantly. For he that does not at the firſt addreſs and incitement of the paſſion ſuppreſs it, he hath given it that entertainment which in every period of ſtaying is a degree of moroſe delectation in the appetite. And to this I find not Chriſt added any thing; for the law it ſelf, forbidding to entertain the deſire, hath commanded the inſtant and preſent ſuppreſſion: they are the ſame thing, and cannot reaſonably be diſtinguiſhed. Now that Chriſt in the inſtance of adultery hath commanded to abſtain alſo from occaſions and acceſſes towards the luſt, in this is not the ſame ſeverity; becauſe the vice of covetouſneſs is not ſuch a wild-fire as luſt is, not inflamed by contact, and neighbourhood of all things in the world. Every thing may be inſtrumental to libidinous deſires, but to covetous appetites there are not temptations of ſo different natures.

42. CONCERNING the order of theſe commandments it is not unuſefully obſerved, that, if we account from the firſt to the laſt, they are of greateſt perfection which are laſt deſcribed; and he who is arrived to that ſeverity and dominion of himſelf as not to deſire his neighbour's goods, is very far from actual injury, and ſo in proportion; it being the leaſt degree of religion to confeſs but One God. But therefore vices are to take their eſtimate in the contrary order: he that prevaricates the firſt commandment is the greateſt ſinner in the world; and the leaſt is he that only covets without any actual injuſtice. And there is no variety or objection in this, unleſs it be altered by the accidental difference of degrees; but in the kinds of ſin the rule is true. This only, the ſixth and ſeventh are otherwiſe in the Hebrew bibles than ours, and in the Greek otherwiſe in Exodus than in Deuteronomy: and by this rule it is a greater ſin to commit adultery than to kill: concerning which we have no certainty, ſave that St. Paul in one reſpect makes the ſin of uncleanneſs the greateſt of any ſin whoſe ſcene lies in the body; *Every ſin is without the body, but he that commits fornication, ſins againſt his own body.*

The PRAYER.

O Eternal Jeſus, Wiſdom of thy Father, thou Light of Jews and Gentiles, and the great Maſter of the world, who by thy holy ſermons and cleareſt revelations of the myſteries of thy Father's kingdom didſt invite all the world to great degrees of juſtice, purity and ſanctity, inſtruct us all in a holy inſtitution, give us underſtanding of thy laws; that the light of thy celeſtial doctrine illuminating our darkneſſes, and making bright all the receſſes of our ſpirits and underſtandings, we may direct our feet, all the lower man, the affections of the inferior appetite, to walk in the paths of thy commandments. Deareſt God, make us to live a life of religion and juſtice, of love and duty; that we may adore thy majeſty, and reverence thy name, and love thy mercy, and admire thy infinite glories and perfections, and obey thy precepts. Make us to love thee for thy ſelf, and our neighbours for thee; make us to be all love and all duty: that we may adorn the goſpel of thee our Lord, walking worthy of our vocation: that as thou haſt called us to be thy diſciples, ſo we may walk therein, doing the work of faithful ſervants, and may receive the adoption of ſons, and the gift of eternal glory, which thou haſt reſerved for all the diſciples of thy holy inſtitution. Make all the world obey thee as a prophet; that, being redeemed and purified by thee our high prieſt, all may reign with thee our king in thy eternal kingdom, O Eternal Jeſus, Wiſdom of thy Father. Amen.

Of the three additional precepts which Chriſt ſuperinduced and made parts of the Chriſtian law.

DISCOURSE XI.

Of charity, with its parts, forgiving, giving, not judging.

Of Forgiveneſs. PART I.

1. THE Holy Jeſus coming to reconcile all the world to God, would reconcile all the parts of the world one with another, that they may rejoice in their common band and their common ſalvation. The firſt inſtance of charity forbad to Chriſtians all revenge of injuries: which was a perfection and endearment of duty beyond what either moſt [a] of the old philoſophers, or the laws of the nations, or of Moſes, ever practiſed or enjoined. For revenge was eſteemed, to unhallowed, unchriſtian natures, as ſweet as life, a ſatisfaction of injuries, and the only cure of maladies and affronts. Only, laws of the wiſeſt commonwealths commanded that revenge ſhould be taken by the judge: a few caſes being excepted, in which, by ſentence of the law, the injured perſon or his neareſt relative might be the executioner of the vengeance: as among the Jews, in the caſe of murder; among the Romans, in the caſe of an adultereſs, or a raviſhed daughter, the father might kill the adultereſs or the raviſher. In other things, the judge only was to be the avenger. But Chriſt commanded his diſciples, rather than take revenge, to expoſe themſelves to a ſecond injury; rather *offer the other cheek*, than be avenged for a blow on this: [b] *For vengeance belongs to God*, and he will retaliate. And *to* that *wrath we muſt give place*, ſaith St. Paul, that is, *in well-doing* and evil ſuffering *commit ourſelves to his righteous judgment*, leaving room for his execution, who will certainly do it, if we ſnatch not the ſword from his arm.

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[a] Plutarchus tamen multa præclara dicit de charitate erga inimicos. Simplicitati & magnanimitati atque bonitati plus loci hîc eſt quàm in amicitiis ——— Oblatâ occaſione ulciſcendi inimicum, eum miſſum facere æquanimitatis eſt. Qui verò miſeratur inimicum afflictum, & opem fert indigenti, & filiis ejus ac familiæ adverſo ipſorum tempore operam ſuam ſtudiúmque defert, hunc qui non amat, huic pectus atrum eſt atque adamantinum, &c. De cap. ex inim. utilit.

Et Cicero dixit Cæſari; Pompeii ſtatuas reſtituendo, tuas defixiſti.

Juſtitiæ primum munus eſt, ut nè cui noceas, niſi laceſſitus injuriâ. Cic. de Offic.

Exod. xxi. 23. Levit. xxiv. 20. Deut. xix. 21.

Idcirco judiciorum vigor, juríſque publici tutela videtur in medio conſtituta, nè quiſquam ſibi ipſi permittere valeat ultionem. Honor. & Theod. in Cod. Theodoſ.

[b] Rom. xii. 19.

2. BUT ſome obſerve, that our Bleſſed Saviour inſtanced but in ſmaller injuries. He that bad us ſuffer a blow on the cheek, did not oblige us tamely to be ſacrificed; he that enjoined us to put up the loſs of our coat and cloak, did not ſignify his pleaſure to be, that we ſhould offer our family to be turned out of doors, and our whole eſtate aliened and cancelled; eſpecially we being otherwiſe obliged to provide for them under the pain of the curſe of *infidelity*. And indeed there is much reaſon our defences may be extended, when the injuries are too great for our ſufferance; or that our defence bring no greater damage to the other than we divert from our ſelves. But our Bleſſed Saviour's prohibition is inſtanced in ſuch ſmall particulars, which are no limitations of the general precept, but particulars of common conſideration. *But I ſay unto you, reſiſt not evil*; ſo our Engliſh Teſtament reads it: [a] but the word ſignifies, *avenge not evil*; and it binds us to this only, that we be not avengers of the wrong, but rather ſuffer twice, than once to be avenged. He that is ſtruck on the face may run away, or may divert the blow, or bind the hand of his enemy, and he whoſe coat is ſnatched away may take it again, if without injury to the other he may do it. We are ſometimes bound to *reſiſt evil:* every clearing of our innocence, refuting of calumnies, quitting our ſelves of reproach, is a reſiſting evil; but ſuch which is hallowed to us by the example of our Lord himſelf and his apoſtles. But this precept is clearly expounded by St. Paul, [b] *Render not evil for evil*, that is, be not revenged. You may either ſecure or reſtore your ſelves to the condition of your own poſſeſſions or fame, or preſerve your life, provided that no evil be returned to him that offers the injury. For ſo ſacred are the laws of Chriſt, ſo holy and great is his example, ſo much hath he endeared us who were his enemies, and ſo frequently and ſeverely hath he preached and enjoined forgiveneſs; that he who knows not to forgive, knows not to be like a Chriſtian, and a diſciple of ſo gentle a maſter.

3. So that the ſmallneſs or greatneſs of the inſtance alters not the caſe in this duty: in the greateſt matters we are permitted only to an innocent defence, in the ſmalleſt we may do ſo too. I may as well hold my coat faſt as my gold, and I may as well hide my goods as run away; and that is a defence. And if my life be in danger, I muſt do no more but defend myſelf. Save only that defence in caſe of life is of a larger ſignification than in caſe of goods. I may wound my enemy, if I cannot elſe be ſafe; I may diſarm him, or in any ſenſe diſable him, and this is extended even to a liberty to kill him, if my defence neceſſarily ſtands upon ſo hard conditions. [c] For although I muſt not give him a wound for a wound, beauſe that cannot cure me, but is certainly revenge; yet when my life cannot be otherwiſe ſafe than by killing him, I have uſed that liberty which nature hath permitted me, and Chriſt hath not forbidden, who only interdicted revenge, and forbad no defence which is charitable and neceſſary, and not blended with malice and anger. And it is as much charity to preſerve my ſelf as him, when I fear to die.

4. BUT although we find this no-where forbidden, yet it is very conſonant to the excellent mercy of the goſpel, and greatly laudable, if we chooſe rather to loſe our life, in imitation of Chriſt, than ſave it by the loſs of another's in purſuance of the permiſſions of nature. When nature only gives leave, and no lawgiver gives command to defend our lives, and the excellence of Chriſtianity highly commends dying for our enemies, and propounds to our imitation the greateſt example that ever could be in the world; it is a very great imperfection, if we chooſe not rather to obey an inſinuation of the Holy Jeſus, than with greedineſs and appetite purſue the bare permiſſions of nature. But in this we have no neceſſity. Only this is to be read with two cautions; 1. So long as the aſſaulted perſon is in actual danger, he muſt uſe all arts and ſubterfuges which his wit or danger can ſupply him with, as paſſive defence, flight, arts of diverſion, entreaties, ſoft and gentle anſwers, or whatſoever is in its kind innocent, to prevent his ſin and my danger; that when he is forced to his laſt defence, it may be certain he hath nothing of revenge mingled in ſo ſad a remedy. 2. [d] That this be not underſtood to be a permiſſion to defend our lives againſt an angry and unjuſt prince. For if my lawful prince ſhould attempt my life with rage, or with the abuſed ſolemnities of law; in the firſt caſe the ſacredneſs of his perſon; in the ſecond, the reverence

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[a] Μὴ ἀντιστῆναι τῷ πονηρῷ ſumitur ſenſu generali pro omni retaliatione.

[b] Rom. xii. 17.

[c] Succurram perituro, ſed ut ipſe non peream, niſi ſi futurus ero magni hominis aut magnæ rei merces. Sen.

[d] Privatas inimicitias, non principis, ulciſcar, dixit Tiberius, Tacit. l. 3. Annal.

and religion of authority, are his defenſatives, and immure him, and bind my hands, that I muſt not lift them up, but to Heaven, for my own defence and his pardon.

5. BUT the vain pretences of vainer perſons have here made a queſtion where there is no ſcruple: and if I may defend my life with the ſword, or with any thing which nature and the laws forbid not, why not alſo mine honour, which is as dear as life, which makes my life without contempt, uſeful to my friend, and comfortable to myſelf? For to be reputed a coward, a baffled perſon, and one that will take affronts, is to be miſerable and ſcorned, and to invite all inſolent perſons to do me injuries. May I not be permitted to fight for mine honour, and to wipe off the ſtains of my reputation? Honour is as dear as life, and ſometimes dearer. To this I have many things to ſay. For that which men in this queſtion call honour, is nothing but a reputation amongſt perſons vain, unchriſtian in their deportment, empty and ignorant ſouls, who count that the ſtandard of honour which is the inſtrument of reprobation; as if to be a gentleman were to be no Chriſtian. They that have built their reputation upon ſuch ſocieties, muſt take new eſtimates of it, according as the wine, or fancy, or cuſtom, or ſome great fighting perſon ſhall determine it; and whatſoever invites a quarrel, is a rule of honour. But then it is a ſad conſideration to remember, that it is accounted honour not to recede from any thing we have ſaid or done. It is honour not to take the lye; in the mean time it is not diſhonourable to lye indeed, but to be told ſo: And not to kill him that ſays it, and venture my life and his too, that is a forfeiture of reputation. A miſtreſs's favour, an idle diſcourſe, a jeſt, a jealouſy, a health, a gaiety, any thing muſt engage two lives in hazard, and two ſouls in ruin; or elſe they are diſhonoured. As if a life, which is ſo dear to a man's ſelf, which ought to be dear to others, which all laws and wiſe princes and ſtates have ſecured by the circumvallation of laws and penalties, which nothing but Heaven can recompenſe for the loſs of, which is the breath of God, which to preſerve Chriſt died, the Son of God died, as if this were ſo contemptible a thing, that it muſt be ventured for ſatisfaction of a vicious perſon, or a vain cuſtom, or ſuch a folly which a wiſe and a ſevere perſon had rather die than be guilty of. Honour is from him that honours. Now certainly God and the king are the fountains of honour; right reaſon and religion, the ſcripture and the laws, are the beſt rules of eſtimating honour. And if we offer to account our honours by the ſenſeleſs and illiterate diſcourſes of vain and vicious perſons, our honour can be no greater than the fountain from whence it is derivative: and at this rate Harpaſte, Seneca's wife's fool, might have declared Therſites an honourable perſon; and every bold gladiator in a Roman theatre, or a fighting rebel among the ſlaves of Sparta, or a trooper of Spartacus's guard, might have ſtood upon their honour upon equal and as fair a challenge. Certainly there is no greater honour than to be like the Holy Jeſus, and he is delectable in the eyes of God, and ſo are all his relatives and followers, by participation of his honour; and nothing can be be more honourable than to do wiſe and excellent actions, according to the account of divine and human laws; and if either God or the king can derive honour upon their ſubjects, then whatſoever is contrary to that which they honour, muſt needs be baſe, diſhonourable, and inglorious.

6. BUT if we be troubled for fear of new and ſucceeding injuries, and will needs fight, and as much as lies in us kill our brother to [a] prevent an injury; nothing can be more unworthy of a Chriſtian, nothing can be more inhuman. Cato, pleading in the Roman ſenate in the behalf of the Rhodian embaſſadors, who came to beg peace of the commonwealth, which had entertained an anger and ſome thoughts of war againſt them, upon pretence that the Rhodians would war with them when they durſt, diſcourſed ſeverely and prudently againſt ſuch unreaſonable purpoſes. And the life of men and the intereſt of ſtates, is not like the trade of fencers, whoſe lot is to conquer if they ſtrike firſt, to die if they be prevented. Man's life is not eſtabliſh'd upon ſo unequal and unreaſonable neceſſities, that either we muſt firſt do an injury, or elſe it is certain we muſt receive a miſchief. God's providence and care in his government of the world is more vigilant and merciful, and he protects perſons innocent and juſt in all caſes: except when he means to make an injury the inſtrument of a grace, or a violent death to be the gate of glory. It was not ill anſwered of Merope to king Polyphontes, who therefore killed his brother, becauſe he had entertained a purpoſe to have killed him:

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[a] Εἰ γάρ σε ἔμελλεν, ὡς σὺ φῄς, κτείνειν πόσις, Χρῆν καί σε μέλλειν, ὡς χρόνος παρῆν ἰδεῖν. Euripid.

Quis hoc ſtatuit unquam, aut cui concedi ſine ſummo omnium periculo poteſt, ut eum jure potuerit occidere, à quo metuiſſe ſe dicat, nè ipſe poſteriùs occideretur? Cicero.

“ You ſhould only have done the ſame injury to him which he did to you; you ſhould “ ſtill have had a purpoſe to kill him:” For his injuſtice went no farther; and it is hard to requite ill and uncertain purpoſes with actual murther, eſpecially when we are as much ſecured by the power of laws, as the whole commonwealth is in all its greateſt intereſts. And therefore for Chriſtians to kill a man to prevent being baffled or deſpiſed, is to uſe an extream deſperate remedy, infinitely painful and deadly, to prevent a little griping in the belly, foreſeen as poſlible to happen it may be three years after. But beſides, this objection ſuppoſes a diſeaſe almoſt as earneſtly to be cured as this of the main queſtion; for it repreſents a man keeping company with lewd and debauched perſons, ſpending his time in vanity, drunken ſocieties, or engaged in luſt, or placing his ſcene amongſt perſons apt to do affronts and unworthy miſdemeanors: And indeed an affront, an injury, a blow, or a loud diſgrace, is not the conſequence of not fighting, but a puniſhment for engaging in looſe, baſer and vicious company. If the gallants of the age would find an honeſt and a noble employment, or would be delicate in the choice of their friends and company, or would be ſevere in taking accounts of themſelves and of their time, would live as becomes perſons wiſe and innocent, that is, like Chriſtians, they would ſoon perceive themſelves removed far from injuries, and yet farther from trouble, when ſuch levities of miſchance or folly ſhould intervene. But ſuppoſe a man affronted or diſgraced, it is conſiderable whether the man deſerve it or no; if he did, let him entertain it for his puniſhment, and uſe it for an inſtrument of correction and humility: if he did not, as an inſtance of fortitude, and deſpite of lower things. But to venture lives to aboliſh a paſt act, is madneſs, unleſs in both thoſe lives there was not good enough to be eſteemed greater and of better value, than the light affront had in it of miſery and trouble. Certainly thoſe perſons are very unfortunate, in whoſe lives much more pleaſure is not, than there is miſchief in a light blow, or a lighter affront, from a vain or an angry perſon. But ſuppoſe there were not, yet how can fighting or killing my adverſary wipe off my aſperſion, or take off my blow, or prove that I did not lye? For it is but an ill argument to ſay, if I dare kill him, then I did not lye; or, if I dare fight, then he ſtruck me not; or, if I dare venture damnation, then I am an honourable perſon. And yet farther, who gave me power over my own life, or over the life of another, that I ſhall venture my own, and offer to take his? God and God's vicegerent only are the Lords of lives: who made us judges, and princes, or Gods? And if we be not ſuch, we are murtherers and villains. When Moſes would have parted the duelliſts that fought in Egypt, the injurious perſon asked him, *Who made thee a judge or ruler over us? Wilt thou kill me, as thou didſt the Egyptian yeſterday?* meaning, he had no power to kill, none to judge of life and death, unleſs he had been made a ruler. Yea, but fleſh and blood cannot endure a blow or a diſgrace. Grant that too; but take this into the account, *fleſh and blood ſhall not inherit the kingdom of God.* And yet beſides this, thoſe perſons have but a tender ſtock of reaſon and wiſdom and patience, who have not diſcourſe enough to make them bear an injury, which the philoſophy of the Gentiles, [a] without the light of Chriſtianity, taught them to tolerate with ſo much equanimity and diſpaſſionate entertainment. That perſon is not a man, who knows not how to ſuffer the inconvenience of an accident, and indiſcretion of light perſons: or if he could not, yet certainly that is a mad impatience, when a man, to remedy the pain of a drop of ſcalding water, ſhall drench himſelf in the liquid flames of pitch and a bituminous bath.

7. TRUTH is, to fight a duel is a thing that all kingdoms are bound to reſtrain with higheſt ſeverity: it is a conſociation of many the worſt acts that a perſon ordinarily can be guilty of; it is want of charity, of juſtice, of humility, of truſt in God's providence; it is therefore pride, and murther, and injuſtice, and infinite unreaſonableneſs; and nothing of a Chriſtian, nothing of excuſe, nothing of honour is in it, if God and wiſe men be admitted judges of the liſts. And it would be conſidered, that every one that fights a duel, muſt reckon himſelf as dead or dying: (for however any man flatters himſelf by ſaying he will not kill, if he could avoid it; yet rather than be killed, he will, and to the danger of being killed his own act expoſes him.) Now is it a good poſture for a man to die with a ſword in his hand thruſt at his brother's breaſt, with a purpoſe either explicit or implicit to have kill'd him? Can a man die twice, that in caſe he miſcarries and is damned for the firſt ill dying, he may mend his fault, and die better the next time? Can his vain, imaginary and fantaſtick ſhadow of reputation,

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[a] Οὗτος κράτιστός ἐστ' ἀνὴρ ———
Ὅστις ἀδικεῖσθαι πλεῖστ' ἐπίσταται βροτῶν. Menand.

tation, make him recompence for the diſgrace and confuſion of face, and pains and horrors of eternity? Is there no ſuch thing as forgiving injuries, nothing of the diſcipline of Jeſus in our ſpirits? Are we called by the name of Chriſt, and have nothing in us but the ſpirit of Cain, and Nimrod, and Joab? If neither reaſon nor religion can rule us, neither intereſt nor ſafety can determine us, neither life nor eternity can move us, neither God nor wiſe men be ſufficient judges of honour to us; then our damnation is juſt, but it is heavy; our fall is certain, but it is cheap, baſe, and inglorious. And let not the vanities or the gallants of the world ſlight this friendly monition, rejecting it with a ſcorn, becauſe it talketh like a divine: it were no diſparagement if they would do ſo too, and believe accordingly; and they would find a better return of honour in the crowns of eternity by talking like a divine, than by dying like a fool; by living in imitation and obedience to the laws of the Holy Jeſus, than by periſhing, or committing murther, or by attempting it, or by venturing it, like a weak, impotent, paſſionate and brutiſh perſon. Upon this chapter it is ſometimes asked, whether a virgin may not kill a raviſher to defend her chaſtity? Concerning which, as we have no ſpecial and diſtinct warrant, ſo there is in reaſon and analogy of the goſpel much for the negative. For ſince his act alone cannot make her criminal, and is no more than a wound in my body, or a civil or a natural inconvenience; it is unequal to take a life in exchange for a leſſer injury, and it is worſe that I take it myſelf. Some great examples we find in ſtory, and their names are remembered in honour: but we can make no judgment of them, but that their zeal was reprovable for its intemperance, though it had excellency in the matter of the paſſion.

8. BUT if we may not ſecure our honour, or be revenged for injuries by the ſword, may we not crave the juſtice of the law, and implore the vengeance of the judge, who is appointed *for vengeance againſt evil-doers?* And the judge being the king's officer, and the king God's vicegerent, it is no more than imploring God's hand; and that is *giving place to wrath,* which St. Paul ſpeaks of, that is, permitting all to the divine juſtice. To this I anſwer, that it is not lawful to go to law for every occaſion or ſlighter injury, becauſe it is very diſtant from the mercies, forgiveneſs, and gentleneſs of a Chriſtian, to conteſt for trifles: [a] and it is certain, that the injuries, or evil, or charges of trouble and expence, will be more vexatious and afflictive to the perſon conteſted, than a ſmall inſtance of wrong is to the perſon injured. And [b] it is a great intemperance of anger and impotence of ſpirit, a covetouſneſs and impatience, to appeal to the judge for determination concerning a lock of camel's hair or a goat's beard, I mean, any thing that is leſs than the gravity of laws, or the ſolemnity of a court, and that does not out-weigh the inconveniences of a ſuit. But this we are to conſider in the expreſſion of our Bleſſed Saviour, [c] *If a man will ſue thee at the law, and take thy cloak, let him have thy coat alſo.* Which words are a particular inſtance in purſuit of the general precept, *reſiſt not*, or *avenge not, evil.* The primitive Chriſtians (as it happens in the firſt fervors of a diſcipline) were ſometimes ſevere in obſervation of the letter, not ſubtilly diſtinguiſhing counſels from precepts, but ſwallowing all the words of Chriſt without chewing or diſcrimination. They abſtained from tribunals, unleſs they were forced thither by perſecutors; [d] but went not thither to repeat their goods. And if we conſider ſuits of law, as they are wrapped in circumſtances of action and practice, with how many ſubtilties and arts they are managed, how pleadings are made mercenary, and that it will be hard to find right counſel that ſhall adviſe you to deſiſt if your cauſe be wrong, (and therefore there is great reaſon to diſtruſt every queſtion, ſince, if it be never ſo wrong, we ſhall meet advocates to encourage us and plead for it,) [e] what danger of miſcarriages, of uncharitableneſs, anger and animoſities, what deſires to prevail, what care and fearfulneſs of the event, what innumerable temptations do intervene, how many ſins are ſecretly inſinuated in our hearts and actions? If a ſuit were of it ſelf never ſo lawful, it would concern the duty of a Chriſtian to avoid it, as he prays againſt temptations, and cuts off the opportuties of a ſin. It is not lawful for a Chriſtian to ſue his brother at the law, unleſs he can be patient if he loſes, and charitable if he be wronged, and can proſecute his end without any mixture of covetouſneſs, or deſires to prevail, without envy, or can be-

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[a] Σχέτλιοι ἄνθρωποι ——
Ποίων ἐν τ' ἐρίδων ϗ λεσχομάχων πεπλάνησθε
Ἄνθρωποι, κενεῆς οἰήσεως ἔμπλεοι ἀσκοί; Timon Phliaſ.

[b] Inhumanum verbum eſt, ac quidem pro juſto receptum, ultio; & à contumelia non differt niſi ordine. Qui dolorem regerit, tantùm excuſatiùs peccat. Seneca l. ii. de Ira. c. 32.

[c] Matth. v. 40.

[d] Οὐ δικάζονται τοῖς ἁρπάζουσι. Athenag.

[e] Nam lucroſæ hujus & ſanguinantis eloquentiæ uſus recens, & malis moribus natus, atque in locum teli repertus. Quintil. de Orator.

His qui bene facta canerent, non qui malè admiſſa defenderent, auguſtior honor apud Deos. Idem.

lieve himſelf wrong when his judge ſays he is, or can ſubmit to peace when his juſt cauſe is oppreſſed, and rejected and condemned, and without pain or regret can ſit down by the loſs of his right, and of his pains and his money. And if he can do all this, what need he go to law? He may with leſs trouble and leſs danger take the loſs ſingly, and expect God's providence for reparation, than diſentitle himſelf to that by his own frowardneſs, and take the loſs when it comes loaden with many circumſtances of trouble.

9. But however by accident it may become unlawful to go to law in a juſt cauſe, or in any, yet by this precept we are not forbidden. To go to law for revenge we are ſimply forbidden, that is, to return evil for evil; and therefore all thoſe ſuits which are for [a] vindictive ſentences, not for reparative, are directly criminal. To follow a thief to death for ſpoiling my goods, is extreamly unreaſonable and uncharitable: For as there is no proportion between my goods and his life, (and therefore I demand it to his evil and injury;) ſo the putting him to death repairs not my eſtate: the firſt makes it in me to be unjuſt, the latter declares me malicious and revengeful. If I demand an eye for an eye, his eye extinguiſhed will not enlighten mine; and therefore to proſecute him to ſuch purpoſes, is to reſiſt or render evil with evil, directly againſt Chriſt's ſermon. But if the poſtulation of ſentence be in order only to reſtore my ſelf, we find it permitted by St. Paul, who, when for the ſcandal's ſake he forbade [b] *going to law before unbelievers*, and for the danger and temptation's ſake, and the latent irregularity which is certainly appendant to ordinary litigations, he is angry indefinitely with them that go to law; yet he adviſeth that Chriſtian arbitrators be appointed for deciſion of emergent queſtions. And therefore when the ſupreme authority hath appointed and regularly eſtabliſhed an arbitrator, the permiſſion is the ſame. St. Paul is angry that among Chriſtians there ſhould be ſuits, but it is therefore he is chiefly angry becauſe Chriſtians do wrong: they who ſhould rather ſuffer wrong, yet that they ſhould do it, and defraud their brother, which in ſome ſenſe enforces ſuits, that is it he highly blames. But when injuſtice is done, and a man is in a conſiderable degree defrauded, then it is permitted to him to repeat his own before Chriſtian arbitrators, whether choſen by private conſent or publick authority; for that circumſtance makes no eſſential alteration in the queſtion. But then this muſt be done with as much ſimplicity and unmingled deſign as is poſſible, without any deſire of rendering evil to the perſon of the offender, without arts of heightning the charge, without prolongation, devices, and arts of vexation, without anger and animoſities; and then although accidentally there is ſome appendent charge to the offending perſon, that is not accounted upon the ſtock of revenge, becauſe it was not deſigned, and is not deſired, and is cared for to prevent it as much as may be, and therefore offer was made of private and unchargeable arbitrators: and this being refuſed, the charge and accidental evil, if it be leſs than the loſs of my ſufferance and injury, muſt be reckoned to the neceſſity of affairs, and put upon the ſtock of his injuſtice, and will not affix a guilt upon the actor. I ſay, this is true, when the actor hath uſed all means to accord it without charge, and when he is refuſed, manages it with as little as he can, and when it is nothing of his deſire, but ſomething of his trouble, that he cannot have his own without the leſſer accidental evil to the offender, and that the queſtion is great and weighty in its proportion, then a ſuit of law is of it ſelf lawful. [c] But then let it be remembred how many ways afterwards it may become unlawful, and I have no more to add in this article, but the ſaying of the ſon of Syrach, *He that loves danger, ſhall periſh in it.* And certainly he had need be an angel that manages a ſuit innocently: and he that hath ſo excellent a ſpirit as with innocence to run through the infinite temptations of a law-ſuit, in all probability hath ſo much holineſs as to ſuffer the injury, and ſo much prudence as to avoid the danger. And therefore nothing but a very great defalcation or ruin of a man's eſtate will, from the beginning to the end, juſtify ſuch a controverſy. When the man is put to it ſo, that he cannot do ſome other duty without venturing in this, then the grace of God is ſufficient for him: but he that enters lightly ſhall walk dangerouſly, and a thouſand to one but he will fall foully. [d] *It is utterly a fault among you,* ſaid St. Paul, *becauſe ye go to law one with another.* It is not always a crime, but even a *fault* and an irregularity, a receſſion from Chriſtian perfection, and an entertaining of a danger; which though we eſcape through, yet it was a fault to have entered into it, when we might

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[a] Nova lex non ſe vindicat ultione gladii. Tertul. i. e. Privatus Chriſtianus vindictam nunquam petit,

[b] 1 Cor. vi. 1, &c.

[c] Ὦ Πέρση, σὺ δὲ ταῦτα τεῷ ἐνικάτθεο θυμῷ.
Μηδέ σ' ἔρις κακόχαρτος ἀπ' ἔργου θυμὸν ἐρύκοι
Νείκε' ὀπιπτεύοντ', ἀγορῆς ἐπακουὸν ἐόντα·
Ὤρη γάρ τ' ὀλίγη πέλεται νεικέων τ' ἀγορῶν τε
Ὧτινι μὴ βίος ἔνδον ἐπηετανὸς κατάκειται
Ὡραῖος ——— Heſiod. Ἔργ. καὶ ἡμέρ. l. i.

[d] 1 Cor. vi. 7. Ὅλως ἥττημα, not παράπτωμα.

have avoided it. And even then when it is [a] *lawful* for us, it is *not expedient*. For ſo the apoſtle ſums up his reprehenſion concerning Chriſtians going to law. We muſt [b] *rather take wrong, rather ſuffer our ſelves to be defrauded*; and when we cannot bear the burthen of the loſs, then indeed we are permitted to appeal to Chriſtian judges: But then there are ſo many cautions to be obſerved, that it may be the remedy is worſe than the diſeaſe. I only obſerve this one thing, that St. Paul permits it only in the inſtance of *defraudation*, or matter of intereſt, ſuch as are defending of widows, and orphans, and churches, which, in eſtimation of law, are by way of fiction reckoned to be in pupillage and minority; add alſo repeating our own intereſts, when our neceſſities, or the ſupport of our family and relatives, requires it: for all theſe are caſes of charity or duty reſpectively. But beſides the matter of defraudation, we find no inſtance expreſſed, nor any equality and parallel of reaſon to permit Chriſtians in any caſe to go to law: becauſe in other things the ſentence is but vindictive, and cannot repair us; and therefore demanding juſtice is a rendering evil in the proper matter of revenge. Concerning which I know no ſcruple but in an action of ſcandal and ill report. But becauſe an innocent and an holy life will force light out of darkneſs, and humility, and patience, and waiting upon God will bring glory out of ſhame; I ſuppoſe he who goes to law to regain his credit, attempts the cure by incompetent remedies. If the accuſation be publick, the law will call him to an account, and then he is upon his defence, and muſt acquit himſelf with meekneſs and ſincerity: but this allows not him to be the actor, for then it is rather a deſign of revenge, than a proper deletery of his diſgrace, and purgative of the calumny. For if the accuſation can be proved, it was no calumny; if it be not proved, the perſon is not always innocent; and to have been accuſed, leaves ſomething foul in his reputation: and therefore he that by law makes it more publick, propagates his own diſgrace, and ſends his ſhame farther than his innocence, and the crime will go whither his abſolution ſhall not arrive.

10. IF it be yet farther queſtioned, whether it be lawful to pray for a revenge, or a puniſhment upon the offender; (I reckon them all one: he that prays for puniſhment of him that did him perſonal injury, cannot eaſily be ſuppoſed to ſeparate the puniſhment from his own revenge;) I anſwer, that altho' God be the avenger of all our wrongs, yet it were fit for us to have the affections of brethren, not the deſigns and purpoſes of a judge, but leave them to him to whom they are proper. When in the bitterneſs of ſoul an oppreſſed perſon curſes ſadly, and prays for vengeance, the calamity of the man, and the violence of his enemy haſten a curſe, and aſcertain it. But whatever excuſes the greatneſs of the oppreſſion may make, I know not; but the bitterneſs of the ſpirit, beſides that it is pitiable as it is a paſſion, yet it is violent and leſs Chriſtian, as it is active and ſends forth prayers. *Woe* is pronounced *to them by whom the offence cometh*; yet we muſt *beware of offences*, becauſe by them we are engaged in a ſin: and he that prays for a revenge, hath a revengeful ſpirit, however it be reſtrained by laws and exterior tenderneſſes from acting ſuch dire purpoſes. And he that prays for revenge, may indeed procure a juſtice to be done upon the injurious perſon; but oftentimes it happens then to fall on him when we leaſt wiſh it, when we alſo have a conjunct intereſt in the other's preſervation and eſcape: God ſo puniſhing the firſt wrong, that we alſo may ſmart for our uncharitable wiſhes. For the ground of all this diſcourſe is, that it is part of Chriſtian charity to forgive [c] injuries: which forgiveneſs of the injury, although it may reaſonably enough ſtand with my fair and innocent requiring of my own, which goes no further than a fair repetition; yet in no caſe can it ſtand with the acting and deſiring revenge, which alſo in the formality of revenge can have no pretence of charity, becauſe it is ineffective to my reſtitution. This diſcourſe concerns private perſons; whether it concern the queſtion of war, and how far, is not proper for this conſideration.

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[a] Verſ. 12.

[b] Verſ. 7.

[c] Injuriam qui tulit, oblivisci poteſt; qui fecit, nunquam. Tacit.

Of

Of Alms. PART II.

1. BUT Chriſtian charity hath its effect alſo in benefits as well as gentleneſs and innocence. [a] *Give to him that asketh, and from him that would borrow of thee, turn not thou away. But when thou doeſt thine alms, let not thy left hand know what thy right hand doth.* Theſe are the precepts of the Lord, for the ſubſtance and the manner of alms, for the quantity and freeneſs of the donative, and the ſimplicity of him that gives; to which add thoſe other words of his, [b] *Sell your poſſeſſions, and give alms.* This precept, with its circumſtances, was intended as a defenſative againſt covetouſneſs and prodigality, and a ſuppletory to make up the wants, and to make even the breaches of mankind. In which we ſhall beſt underſtand our obligation, if we conſider in what proportion we muſt give alms, and to what perſons, and in what manner.

2. FIRST, For the quantity, we ſhall beſt take an eſtimate of it, if we remember the portion which God allows to Chriſtians; [c] *Having food and raiment, let us be content with it:* and our Bleſſed Saviour at the latter end of this ſermon, ſtirs us up to confidence in God, and not to doubt our proviſions, by telling that God *feeds the ravens*, and *cloaths the lillies*, and *he will much rather do it to us*; he will cloath us and feed us. No more is in the promiſe, no more is in our need: and therefore whatſoever is beſide our needs natural and perſonal, that is, proportioning our needs to the condition of our life, and exigence of our calling, and quality of our perſon, all that can be ſpared from what we modeſtly and temperately ſpend in our ſupport, and the ſupply of our families, and other neceſſary incidents, all that is to be ſpent in charity or religion. " [d] He defrauds the poor of their right who detains from them beyond his own neceſſary, " prudent, and convenient ſupplies, ſaith St. Hierom." And this is intended to be a retrenchment of all vain expences, coſtly feaſts, rich cloaths, pompous retinue, and ſuch excreſcencies of expence, which, of themſelves, ſerve no end of piety or juſt policy, but by wiſe and temperate perſons are eſteemed unneceſſary, and without which the dignity and juſt value of the perſon may ſtill be retained. Whatſoever is vainly ſpent is the portion of the poor; whatſoever we loſe in idle gaming, revelling, and wantonneſs, or prodigality, was deſigned by Chriſt to refreſh his own bowels, to fill the bellies of the poor; whatſoever lies in our repoſitory uſeleſs and ſuperfluous, all that is the poor man's inheritance: and certainly there is not any greater baſeneſs than to ſuffer a man to periſh, or be in extream want of that which God gave me for him, and beyond my own needs. It is unthankfulneſs to God, it is unmercifulneſs to the poor, it is improvidence to ourſelves, it is unfaithfulneſs in the diſpenſation of the money, of which God made him but the ſteward, and his cheſt the bank for the exchange and iſſuing it to the indigent. And he that is unmerciful and unjuſt, is extremely unlike God. But in taking this eſtimate concerning our excreſcencies, we are to proceed according to the rules of prudence, not making determinations in grains and ſcruples, but in the greater actions and accountable proportions of our eſtates. And if any man ſeeing great neceſſities of indigent and calamitous perſons, ſhall give beyond his ability, he hath the Philippians for his precedent, and he hath God engaged for his payment, and a greater ſhare in Heaven for his reward. Only this; as we are to provide for ourſelves, ſo alſo for our family, and the relatives of our charge and nearer endearments; not only with a proviſion of the preſent day's entertainment, but alſo for all nearer, probable, foreſeen and expected events, ſuch as are portions for our children, dowries for daughters. But this muſt not be extended to care and reſervations for all poſſible and far-diſtant events; but ſo much is to be permitted to the divine providence as our preſent duty gives leave. In which although a prudent guide and a ſober reaſon are to make application to practice; yet the rule in general is, that by ſo much we are to relieve the poor, as we can deduct from ſuch a portion of good things as God permits us to uſe for our own ſupport, and reaſonable and temporal conveniences of our perſon and condition: ever remembring, that if we encreaſe in our eſtate, we alſo ſhould encreaſe in charity; that in this alſo may be verified what is written, ***He that had much, had nothing over; and he that had little, had no lack.*** There is in the quantity of theſe

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[a] Matth. v. 42. vi. 3. [b] Luke xii. 33.

[c] Tim. vi. 8.

[d] Aliena rapere convincitur, qui ultra ſibi neceſſaria retinere probatur; apud Gratian. diſt. 42.

Cur eget indignus quiſquam te divite? Hor. l. ii. ſat. 2.
James 5. v. 2; 3.

Callidus effractâ nummos fur auferat arcâ:
Quas dederis, ſolas ſemper habebis opes. Martial.

Hoc n. eſt maximum incentivum miſericordiæ, ut compatiamur alienis calamitatibus quantum poſſumus imò, interdum plùs quàm poſſumus. S. Ambr. l. ii. de Offic.

donatives ſome latitude: but if we *ſow ſparingly*, or if we ſcatter plentifully, ſo we ſhall *reap*. Only we muſt be careful, that no extream neceſſity or biting want lies upon any poor man, whom we can relieve without bringing ſuch a want upon our ſelves, which is leſs than the permiſſions of fortune which the mercies of God have permitted to us, that is, *food and raiment* proper for us. Under *food and raiment* all the neceſſaries of our life are to be underſtood. Whatſoever is more than this, is counſel and perfection; for which a proportionable reward is depoſited in the treaſures of eternity.

3. SECONDLY, If queſtion be made concerning the perſons who are to be the object of our alms, our rule is plain and eaſy; for nothing is required in the perſon ſuſcipient and capable of alms, but that he be in miſery and want, and unable to relieve himſelf. This laſt clauſe I inſert in purſuance of that caution given to the church of Theſſalonica by St. Paul, [a] *If any one will not work, neither let him eat.* For we muſt be careful that our charity, which is intended to miniſter to poor men's needs, do not miniſter to idleneſs and the love of beggary, and a wandring, uſeleſs, unprofitable life. But, abating this, there is no other conſideration that can exempt any needy perſon from participation of your charity: [b] not, though he be your enemy; (for that is it which our Bleſſed Saviour means in the appendix of this precept, *Love your enemies*, that is, according to the expoſition of the apoſtle, *If thine enemy hunger, feed him; if he thirſt, give him drink;*) not, though he be an unbeliever; not, though he be a [c] vicious perſon. Provided only that the vice be ſuch to which your relief miniſters no fuel, and adds no flame: and if the mere neceſſities of his nature be ſupplied, it will be a fair ſecurity againſt the danger. But if the vice be in the ſcene of the body, all free comforts are to be denied him, becauſe they are but incentives of ſin, and angels of darkneſs. This I the rather inſert, that the pride and ſupercilious auſterities of ſome perſons become not to them an inſtrument of excuſe from miniſtring to needy perſons, upon pretence their own ſins brought them into that condition. For though the cauſes of our calamities are many times great ſecrets of providence; yet ſuppoſe the poverty of the man was the effect of his prodigality, or other baſeneſs, it matters not as to our duty how he came into it, but where he is; leſt we alſo be denied a viſit in our ſickneſſes, and a comfort in our ſorrow, or a counſel in our doubts, or aid in any diſtreſs, upon pretence that ſuch ſadneſs was procured by our ſins: and ten to one but it was ſo. *Do good to all*, ſaith the apoſtle, *but eſpecially to the family of faith*; for to them our charity is moſt proper and proportioned. To all, *viz.* who are in need, and cannot relieve themſelves; in which number perſons that can work are not to be accounted. So that if it be neceſſary to obſerve an order in our charity, this is, when we cannot ſupply and ſuffice for all our opportunities of mercy, then *let not the brethren of our Lord go away aſhamed.* [d] And in other things obſerve the order and propriety of our own relations: and where there is otherwiſe no difference, the degree of the neceſſity is firſt to be conſidered. Thus alſo, if the neceſſity be final and extream, what-ever the man be, he is firſt to be relieved before the leſſer neceſſities of the beſt perſons or moſt holy poor. But the proper objects of our charity are old perſons, ſick or impotent, laborious and poor houſe-keepers, widows and orphans, people oppreſſed or perſecuted for the cauſe of righteouſneſs, diſtreſſed ſtrangers, captives and abuſed ſlaves, priſoners for debt. To theſe we muſt be liberal, whether they be holy or unholy; remembering that we are ſons of that Father, who makes the dew of Heaven to drop upon the dwellings of the righteous and the fields of ſinners.

4. THIRDLY, The manner of giving alms is an office of Chriſtian prudence; for in what inſtances we are to exemplify our charity, we muſt be determined by our own powers, and others needs. The ſcripture reckons entertaining ſtrangers, viſiting the ſick, going to priſons, feeding and cloathing the hungry and naked: to which, by the exigence of the poor and the analogy of charity, many other are to be added. The Holy Jeſus [e] in the very precept inſtanced in *lending* money to them that need to borrow; and he adds, *looking for nothing again*, that is, if they be unable to pay it. Forgiving

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[a] 2 Theſ. iii. 10.

[b] Ὅταν δέῃ συγκινδυνεῦσαι φίλῳ ἢ πατρίδι, μὴ μαντεύεσθαι εἰ συγκινδυνευτέον.
——καὶ γὰρ ὁ Πύθιος ἐξέβαλε τοῦ ναοῦ τὸν οὐ βοηθήσαντα ἀναιρουμένῳ τῷ φίλῳ. Epict. c. xxxix.

[c] Herodes Atticus, vir conſularis, quum palliatus quidam ſpecie philoſophi ſtipem emendicaſſet, reſpondit, Demus huic aliquid æris cujuſmodi eſt, tanquam homines, non tanquam homini. A. Gell. l. ix. c. 2.

[d] ——Nunc ſportula primo
Limine parva ſedet turbæ rapienda togatæ.
Ille tamen faciem priùs inſpicit, & trepidat nè
Suppoſitus venias, & falſo nomine poſcas.
Juv. Sat. i.

Οἱ τὰς ὀφρῦς αἴροντες ὡς ἀβέλτεροι
Καὶ, Σκέψομαι, λέγοντες· ἄνθρωπος γὰρ ὢν
Σκέψῃ σὺ περὶ τοῦ, δυστυχὴς ὅταν τύχῃ. Menand.

[e] Amicitiam ſi ad fructum noſtrum referemus, non ad illius

giving debts is a great inſtance of mercy, and a particular of excellent relief: but to impriſon men for debt, when it is certain they are not able to pay it, and by that priſon will be far more diſabled, is an uncharitableneſs next to the cruelties of ſavages, and at infinite diſtance from the mercies of the Holy Jeſus.

Of not Judging. PART III.

ANOTHER inſtance of charity our great Maſter inſerted in this ſermon, [*not to judge our brother*]. And this is a charity ſo cheap and ſo reaſonable, that it requires nothing of us but ſilence in our ſpirits. We may perform this duty at the charge of a negative: if we meddle not with other men's affairs, we ſhall do them no wrong, and purchaſe to our ſelves a peace, and be ſecured the rather from the unerring ſentence of a ſevere judge. But this interdict forbids only ſuch judging as is ungentle and uncharitable. In criminal cauſes let us find all the ways to alleviate the burthen of the man by juſt excuſes, by extenuating or leſſening accidents, by abatement of incident circumſtances, by gentle ſentences, and whatſoever can do relief to the perſon, that his ſpirit be not exaſperated, that the crime be not the parent of impudence, that he be not inſulted on, that he be invited to repentance, and by ſuch ſweetneſſes he be led to his reſtitution. This alſo in queſtions of doubts obliges us to determine to the more favourable ſenſe: [a] and we alſo do need the ſame mercies, and therefore ſhould do well, by our own rigour not to diſintitle our ſelves to ſuch poſſibilities and reſerves of charity. But it is foul and baſe, by detraction and iniquity to blaſt the reputation of an honourable action, and the fair name of virtue with a calumny. But this duty is alſo a part of the grace of juſtice and of humility, and by its relation and kindred to ſo many virtues is furniſhed with ſo many arguments of amity and endearment.

The PRAYER.

HOLY and merciful Jeſus, who art the great principle and the inſtrument of conveying to us the charity and mercies of eternity, who did'ſt love us when we were enemies, forgive us when we were debtors, recover us when we were dead, ranſome us when we were ſlaves, relieve us when we were poor, and naked, and wandring, and full of ſadneſs and neceſſities; give us the grace of charity, that we may be pitiful and compaſſionate of the needs of our neceſſitous brethren, that we may be apt to relieve them, and that according to our duty and poſſibilities we may reſcue them from their calamities. Give us courteous, affable, and liberal ſouls. Let us by thy example forgive our debtors, and love our enemies, and do to them offices of civility and tenderneſs and relief; always propounding thee for our pattern, and thy mercies for our precedent, and thy precepts for our rule, and thy ſpirit for our guide: that we, ſhewing mercy here, may receive the mercies of eternity by thy merits, and by thy charities, and diſpenſation, O Holy and Merciful Jeſus. Amen.

illius commoda quem diligimus, non erit iſta amicitia, ſed mercatura quædam utilitatum ſuarum. Prata, & arva, & pecudum greges diliguntur iſto modo, quòd fructus ex eis capiuntur: hominum charitas & amicitia gratuita eſt. Cicer. de Nat. Deor. lib. i.

[a] Qui nè tuberibus propriis offendat amicum
Poſtulat, ignoſcat verrucis illius: æquum eſt,
Peccatis veniam poſcentem, reddere rurſus.
Hor. l. i. ſat. 3.

Nè judices proximum, donec ad ejus locum pertingas. Prov. Judæor.

——— Eheu
Quàm temere in noſmet legem ſancimus iniquam?
Nam vitiis nemo ſine naſcitur; optimus ille eſt
Qui minimis urgetur. —— Horat. ibid.

DISCOURSE XII.

Of the ſecond additional precept of Chriſt,

(viz.)

Of PRAYER.

1. THE ſoul of a Chriſtian is the houſe of God; [a] *Ye are God's building*, (ſaith St. Paul;) but the houſe of God is the houſe of prayer: and therefore prayer is the work of the ſoul, whoſe organs are intended for inſtruments of the divine praiſes; and when every ſtop and pauſe of thoſe inſtruments is but the concluſion of a collect, and every breathing is a prayer, then the body becomes a temple, and the ſoul is the ſanctuary, and more private receſs, and place of intercourſe. Prayer is the great duty, and the greateſt privilege of a Chriſtian: it is his intercourſe with God, his ſanctuary in troubles, his remedy for ſins, his cure of griefs; and, as St. Gregory calls it, "It is the principal inſtrument whereby we miniſter to God in execution of the decrees "of eternal predeſtination;" and thoſe things which God intends for us, we bring to ourſelves by the mediation of holy prayers. Prayer is the [b] ***aſcent of the mind to God, and a petitioning for ſuch things as we need for our ſupport and duty.*** It is an abſtract and ſummary of Chriſtian religion. Prayer is an act of religion and divine [c] worſhip, confeſſing his power and his mercy: it celebrates his attributes, and confeſſes his glories, and reveres his perſon, and implores his aid, and gives thanks for his bleſſings. It is an act of humility, condeſcenſion, and dependence, expreſſed in the proſtration of our bodies, and humiliation of our ſpirits. It is an act of charity, when we pray for others: it is an act of repentance, when it confeſſes and begs pardon for our ſins; and exerciſes every grace according to the deſign of the man, and the matter of the prayer. So that there will be leſs need to amaſs arguments to invite us to this duty; every part is an excellence, and every end of it is a bleſſing, and every deſign is a motive, and every need is an impulſive to this holy office. Let us but remember how many needs we have, at how cheap a rate we may obtain their remedies, and yet how honourable the imployment is to go to God with confidence, and to fetch our ſupplies with eaſineſs and joy; and then, without farther preface, we may addreſs our ſelves to the underſtanding of that duty by which we imitate the imployment of angels and beatified ſpirits, by which we aſcend to God in ſpirit while we remain on earth, and God deſcends on earth while he yet reſides in Heaven, ſitting there on the throne of his kingdom.

2. OUR firſt inquiry muſt be concerning the matter of prayers: for our deſires are not to be the rule of our prayers, unleſs reaſon and religion be the rule of our deſires. The old heathens [d] prayed to their Gods for ſuch things which they were aſhamed to name publickly before men: and theſe were their private prayers which they durſt not for their indecency or iniquity make publick. And indeed ſometimes the beſt men aſk of God things not unlawful in themſelves, yet very hurtful to them. And therefore, as by the ſpirit of God and right reaſon we are taught in general what is lawful to be aſked; ſo it is ſtill to be ſubmitted to God, when we have aſked lawful things, to grant to us in kindneſs, or to deny us in mercy: after all the rules that can be given us, we not being able in many inſtances to judge for our ſelves, unleſs alſo we could certainly pronounce concerning future contingencies. But the Holy Ghoſt being now ſent upon the church, and the rule of Chriſt being left to his church, together with his form of prayer taught and preſcribed to his diſciples, we have ſufficient inſtruction for the matter of our prayers, ſo far as concerns their lawfulneſs or unlawfulneſs. And the rule is eaſy and of no variety. 1. For we are bound to pray for all things that concern our duty, all that we are bound to labour for; ſuch as are glory and grace, neceſſary aſſiſtances of

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[a] 1 Cor. iii. 4.

[b] Ἀνάβασις νοῦ πρὸς Θεὸν, καὶ αἴτησις τῶν προσηκόντων παρὰ Θεοῦ. Damaſc. l. iii. Orthodox. fid.

[c] Qui fingit ſacros auro vel marmore vultus:
Non facit ille Deos: qui rogat, ille facit.

[d] Cujuſmodi ridet Lucianus in Icaro Menippo. Ὦ Ζεῦ, τὸ βασιλεῦσαί μοι γένοιτο· ὦ Ζεῦ, τὰ κρόμμυά μοι φῦναι καὶ τὰ σκόροδα· ὦ Ζεῦ, τὸν πατέρα μοι ταχέως ἀποθανεῖν· ὁ δέ τις ἂν φαίη, εἴθε κληρονομῆσαί με τῆς γυναικός· εἴθε λάθοιμι ἐπιβουλεύσας τῷ ἀδελφῷ· γένοιτό μοι νικῆσαι τὴν δίκην, στεφῆναι τὰ ὀλύμπια τῶν πλεόντων ὁ μὲν Βορέαν ηὔχετο ἐπιπνεῦσαι, ὁ δὲ Νότον· ὁ δὲ γεωργὸς ᾔτει ὑετὸν, ὁ δὲ γναφεὺς ἥλιον.
——— Si tacito mala vota ſuſurro
Concipimus ——— Pulchra Laverna,
Da mihi fallere, da juſtum ſanctúmque videri;
Noctem peccatis, & fraudibus objice nubem. Hor.

the ſpirit, and rewards ſpiritual, Heaven and Heavenly things. 2. Concerning thoſe things which we may with ſafety hope for, but are not matter of duty to us, we may lawfully teſtify our hope and expreſs our deſires by petition: but if in their particulars they are under no expreſs promiſe, but only conveniencies of our life and perſon, it is only lawful to pray for them under condition, that they may conform to God's will and our duty, as they are good, and placed in the beſt order of eternity. Therefore, 1. For ſpiritual bleſſings let our prayers be particularly importunate, perpetual and perſevering. 2. For temporal bleſſings let them be generally [a] ſhort, conditional, and modeſt. 3. And whatſover things are of mixt nature, more ſpiritual than riches, and leſs neceſſary than graces, ſuch as are gifts and exterior aids, we may pray for them, as we may deſire them, and as we may expect them, that is, with more confidence and leſs reſtraint than in the matter of temporal requeſts, but with more reſervedneſs and leſs boldneſs of petition than when we pray for the graces of ſanctification. In the firſt caſe, we are bound to pray: in the ſecond, it is only lawful under certain conditions: in the third, it becomes to us an act of zeal, nobleneſs, and Chriſtian prudence. But the matter of our prayers is beſt taught us in the form our Lord taught his diſciples; which becauſe it is ſhort, myſterious, and, like the treaſures of the ſpirit, [b] full of wiſdom and latent ſenſes, it is not improper to draw forth thoſe excellencies which are intended and ſignified by every petition, that by ſo excellent an authority we may know what it is lawful to beg of God.

3. *OUR Father* [c] *which art in Heaven.* The addreſs reminds us of many parts of our duty. *If God be our Father, where is* his *fear,* and reverence, and obedience? *If ye were Abraham's children, ye would do the works of Abraham:* and, *ye are of your father the Devil, for his works ye do.* Let us not dare to call him Father, if we be rebels and enemies: but if we be obedient, then we know he is our Father, and will give us a child's portion, and the inheritance of ſons. But it is obſervable, that Chriſt here ſpeaking concerning private prayer, does deſcribe it in a form of plural ſignification; to tell us, that we are to draw into the communication of our prayers all thoſe who are confederated in the common relation of ſons to the ſame father. [d] *Which art in Heaven* tells us [e] where our hopes and hearts muſt be fixed, whither our deſires and our prayers muſt tend. *Surſum corda; where our treaſure is, there muſt our hearts be alſo.*

4. *HALLOWED be thy name,* that is, let thy name, thy eſſence and glorious attributes be honoured and adored in all the world, believed by faith, loved by charity, celebrated with praiſes, thanked with euchariſt: and let thy name be hallowed in us, as it is in it ſelf. Thy name being called upon us, let us walk worthy of that calling; that *our light may ſhine before men, that they, ſeeing our good works, may glorify* thee *our Father which art in Heaven.* In order alſo to the ſanctification of thy name, grant that all our praiſes, hymns, euchariſtical remembrances and repreſentments of thy glories may be uſeful, bleſſed and effectual for the diſperſing thy fame, and advancing thy honour over all the world. This is a direct and formal act of worſhipping and adoration. The name of God is repreſentative of God himſelf, and it ſignifies, Be thou worſhipped and adored, be thou thanked and celebrated with honour and euchariſt.

5. *THY kingdom come.* That is, As thou haſt cauſed to be preached and publiſhed the coming of thy kingdom, the peace and truth, the revelation and glories of the goſpel; ſo let it *come* verily and effectually to us and all the world: that thou mayeſt truly reign in our ſpirits, exerciſing abſolute dominion, ſubduing all thine enemies, ruling in our faculties, in the underſtanding by faith, in the will by charity, in the paſſions by mortification, in the members by a chaſte and right uſe of the parts. And as it was more particularly and in the letter proper at the beginning of Chriſt's preaching, when he alſo taught the prayer, that God would haſten the coming of the goſpel to all the world, ſo now alſo and ever it will be in its proportion neceſſary and pious to pray that it may come ſtill, making greater progreſs in the world, extending itſelf where yet it is not, and intending it where it is already; that the kingdom of Chriſt

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[a] ——— Si conſilium vis,
Permittes ipſis expendere Numinibus, quid
Conveniat nobis, rebúſque ſit utile noſtris:
Nam pro jucundis aptiſſima quæque dabunt Dii.
Juvenal.

Exorari in perniciem rogantium ſæva benignitas eſt.

——— Multa petentibus
Deſunt multa. Bene eſt, cui Deus obtulit
Parcâ, quod ſatis eſt, manu. Hor. l. iii. od. 16.

[b] Oratio hæc quantum ſubſtringitur verbis, tantum diffunditur ſenſibus. Tertul. Evangelii breviarium. Idem l. de Orat. c. i. Si tamen rectè & congruenter oramus, nihil aliud diſcere poſſumus quàm quod in oratione Dominica continetur. S. Aug. ad frat. in Erem.

[c] Vir bonus vera Dei progenies. Senec. de Provident.

Καὶ τοῦ μὲν γένος ἐσμέν. Menan.

Hoc donum excedit omne donum, ut Deus hominem vocet filium. Leo Ser. de Nat.

[d] Matth. xxiii. 8. Epheſ. iv. 6.

[e] Nihil nos delectet in infimis, qui patrem habemus in cœlis. Leo. Ser. de Aſcen.

may not only be in us in name and form and honourable appellatives, but in effect and power. This petition in the firſt ages of Chriſtianity was not expounded to ſignify a prayer for Chriſt's ſecond coming; becauſe the goſpel not being preached to all the world, they prayed for the delay of the day of judgment, that Chriſt's kingdom upon Earth might have its proper increment: but ſince then every age, as it is more forward in time, ſo it is more earneſt in deſire to accompliſh the intermedial prophecies, that the kingdom of God the Father might come in glories infinite. And indeed, the kingdom of grace being in order to the kingdom of glory; this, as it is principally to be deſired, ſo may poſſibly be intended chiefly. Which alſo is the more probable, becauſe the addreſs of this prayer being to God the Father, it is proper to obſerve, that the kingdom of grace, or of the goſpel, is called the kingdom of the [a] Son, and that of glory in the ſtile of the ſcripture is the kingdom of the Father. St. German, patriarch of Conſtantinople, expounds it with ſome little difference, but not ill; *Thy Kingdom come*, that is, let thy holy ſpirit come into us: for *the Kingdom of Heaven is within us*, ſaith the holy ſcripture. And ſo it intimates our deſires that the promiſe of the Father, and the prophecies of old, and the Holy Ghoſt the comforter, may come upon us. Let that *anointing from above* deſcend upon us, whereby we may be anointed *kings* and *prieſts* in a ſpiritual kingdom and prieſthood by a holy chriſm.

6. *THY will be done in Earth as it is in Heaven.* That is, the whole œconomy and diſpenſation of thy providence be the guide of the world, and the meaſure of our deſire; that we be patient in all accidents, conformable to God's will both in doing and in ſuffering, ſubmitting to changes, and even to perſecutions, and doing all God's will: which becauſe without God's aid we cannot do, therefore we beg it of him by prayer: but by his aid we are confident we may do it in the manner of angelical obedience, that is, promptly, readily, chearfully, and with all our faculties. Or thus: as the angels in Heaven ſerve thee with harmony, concord and peace, ſo let us all join in the ſervice of thy majeſty with peace and purity, and love unfeigned: that as all the angels are in peace, and among them there is no perſecutor and none perſecuted, there is none afflicted, none aſſaulting or afflicting or aſſaulted, but all in ſweetneſs and peaceable ſerenity glorifying thee; ſo let thy will be done on Earth by all the world in peace and unity, in charity and tranquility, that with one heart and one voice we may glorify thee our univerſal Father, having in us nothing that may diſpleaſe thee, having quitted all our own deſires and pretenſions, living in angelick conformity, our ſouls ſubject to thee, and our paſſions to our ſouls; that *in Earth* alſo *thy will* may *be done* as in the ſpirit and ſoul, which is a portion of the *heavenly* ſubſtance. Theſe three petitions are addreſſed to God by way of adoration. In the firſt the ſoul puts on the affections of a child, and diveſts itſelf of its own intereſt, offering it ſelf up wholly to the deſigns and glorifications of God. In the ſecond it puts on the relation and duty of a ſubject to her legitimate prince, ſeeking the promotion of his regal intereſt. In the third ſhe puts on the affection of a ſpouſe, loving the ſame love, and chooſing the ſame object, and delighting in unions and conformities. The next part deſcends lower, and makes addreſſes to God in relation to our own neceſſities.

7. *GIVE us this day our* [b] *daily bread.* That is, give unto us all that is neceſſary for the ſupport of our lives, the bread of our neceſſity, ſo the Syriack interpreter reads it; "This day give us the portion of bread, which is day by day neceſſary." Give us the bread or ſupport which we ſhall need all our lives; only this day miniſter our preſent part. For we pray for the neceſſary bread or maintenance, which God knows we ſhall need all our days: but that we *be not careful for to-morrow*, we are taught to pray, not that it be all at once repreſented or depoſited, but that God would miniſter it as we need it, how he pleaſes: but our needs are to be the meaſure of our deſires, our deſires muſt not make our needs; that we may be confident of the divine providence, and not at all covetous. For therefore God feeds his people with extemporary proviſions, that by needing always they may learn to pray to him, and by being ſtill ſupplyed

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[a] Coloſ. i. 13. Rev. i. 9. Matth. xiii. 41. Luke vi. 20. Mat. xvi. 28.

[b] Ἐπιούσιος ab ἐπιοῦσα, quod diem poſterum ſignificat. Nazarenorum evangelium (referente S. Hieronymo) legit [panem craſtinum;] S. Lucas [panem diurnum,] ſive in dies neceſſarium, τὸ καθ' ἡμέραν· τουτέστιν [illegible] σύμμετρος πρὸς ἐνδιαμονήν.

Vivitur parvo bene, cui paternum
Splendet in menſa tenui ſalinum,
Nec leves ſomnos timor aut cupido
Sordidus aufert. Horat. l. ii. od. 16.

Fructibus Agrippæ Siculis, quos colligis, Icci,
Si rectè frueris, non eſt ut copia major
Ab Jove donari poſſit tibi; tolle querelas:
Pauper enim non eſt cui rerum ſuppetit uſus.
Si ventri bene, ſi lateri eſt pedibuſque tuis, nil
Divitiæ poterunt regales addere majus.
Horat. ad Iccium, l. ii. ep. 12.

Μὴ μόνον τοῦ ζῆν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ ἀποθνήσκειν τὴν τροφὴν εἶναι ἐφόδιον. Plutarch.

ply'd they may learn to truſt him for the future, and thank him for that is paſt, and rejoice in the preſent. So God rained down manna, giving them their daily portion; and ſo all fathers and maſters miniſter to their children and ſervants, giving them their proportion as they eat it, not the meat of a year at once: and yet no child or ſervant fears want, if his parent or lord be good, and wiſe, and rich. And it is neceſſary for all to pray this prayer. The poor, becauſe they want the bread, and have it not depoſited but in the hands of God: *mercy ploughing the fields of Heaven* (as Job's expreſſion is) brings them corn; and *the cattel upon a thouſand hills are God's*, and they find the poor man meat. The rich alſo need this prayer, becauſe although they have the bread, yet they need the bleſſing; and what they have now, may periſh or be taken from them: and as preſervation is a perpetual creation, ſo the continuing to rich men what God hath already beſtowed is a continual giving it. Young men muſt pray, becauſe their needs are like to be the longer; and old men, becauſe they are preſent. But all theſe are to pray but for the [a] preſent; that which in eſtimation of law is to be reckoned as imminent upon the preſent, and part of this ſtate and condition. But it is great improvidence, and an unchriſtian ſpirit, for old men to heap up proviſions, and load their ſumpters ſtill the more by how much their way is ſhorter. But there is alſo a bread which came down from Heaven, a diviner nutriment of our ſouls, the *food* and *wine of angels*, Chriſt himſelf, as he communicates himſelf in the expreſſes of his word and ſacraments: and if we be deſtitute of this bread, we are miſerable and periſhing people. We muſt pray that our ſouls alſo may feed upon thoſe celeſtial viands prepared for us in the antepaſts of the goſpel, till the great and fuller meal of the ſupper of the Lamb ſhall anſwer all our prayers, and ſatisfy every deſire.

8. *FORGIVE us our treſpaſſes, as we forgive them that treſpaſs againſt us.* Not only thoſe ſins of infirmity, invaſion, and ſudden ſurpriſe, which, like excreſcencies of luxuriant trees, adhere to many actions by inadvertency, and either natural weakneſs or accidental prejudice; but alſo all thoſe great ſins which were waſhed off from our ſouls, and the ſtain taken away in baptiſm; or when by choice and after the uſe of reaſon we gave up our names to Chriſt, when we firſt received the adoption of ſons. For even thoſe things were ſo pardoned, that we muſt for ever confeſs and glory in the divine mercy, and ſtill aſcertain it by performing what we then promiſed, and which were the conditions of our covenant. For although Chriſt hath taken off the guilt, yet ſtill there remains the diſreputation. And St. Paul calls himſelf *the chiefeſt of ſinners*, not referring to his preſent condition, but to his former perſecuting the church of God, which is one of the greateſt crimes in the world, and for ever he asked pardon for it: and ſo muſt we, knowing that they may return; if we ſhake off the yoke of Chriſt, and break his cords from us, the bands of the covenant evangelical, the ſins will return ſo as to undo us. And this we pray with a tacit obligation to forgive: for ſo only and upon that condition we beg pardon to be given or continued reſpectively; that is, as we from our hearts forgive them that did us injury in any kind, never entertaining ſo much as a thought of revenge, but contrary-wiſe loving them that did us wrong; for ſo we beg that God ſhould do to us. And therefore it is but a leſſer revenge to ſay, I will forgive, but I will never have to do with him. For if he become an object of charity, we muſt have to do with him to relieve him; becauſe he needs prayers, we muſt have to do with him, and pray for him: and to refuſe his ſociety when it is reaſonably and innocently offered, is to deny that to him which Chriſtians have been taught to deny only to perſons excommunicate, [b] to perſons under puniſhment, *i. e.* to perſons not yet forgiven. And we ſhall have but an evil portion, if God ſhould forgive our ſins, and ſhould not alſo love us, and do us grace, and beſtow benefits upon us. So we muſt forgive others; ſo God forgives us.

9. *AND lead us not into temptation.* St. Cyprian, out of an old Latin copy, reads it, [c] "Suffer us not to be led into temptation," that is, ſuffer us not to be overcome by temptation. And therefore we are bound to prevent our acceſs to ſuch temptation whoſe very approximation is dangerous, and the contact is irregular and evil; ſuch as are temptations of the fleſh. Yet in other temptations the aſſault ſome-

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[a] Lætus in præſens animus quod ultrà eſt
Oderit curare; & amara læto
Temperet riſu——   Horat. l. ii. od. 16.
——— quid æternis minorem
Conſiliis animum fatigas?   Horat. l. ii. od. 11.
Vitæ ſumma brevis ſpem nos vetat inchoare longam:
Jam te premet nox, fabulæque manes,
Et domus exilis Plutonia———   Horat. l. i. od. 4.
Ἀναγκαιότατον ἐφόδιον. Conc. Nicen.

[b] Parùm eſt nobis non puniri, niſi mereamur & diligi. Hugo de S. Victor. l. ii. Allegat. in Matt.

[c] Τί γάρ; Θεὸς εἰσάγει ἄνθρωπον εἰς πειρασμόν; μὴ γένοιτο· οὐ γὰρ αἴτιος τῶν κακῶν ὁ Θεός· ἀλλὰ [illegible] αὐτὸν, ἵνα τοῖς [illegible] αὐτοῦ οἰκονομικῶς μὴ [illegible] ἡμᾶς [illegible]. S. German. Patr. C. P. περὶ τῆς [illegible].

times makes confident, and hardens a reſolution. For ſome ſpirits, who are ſoftened by fair uſages, are ſteeled and emboldened by a perſecution. But of what nature ſoever the temptations be, whether they be ſuch whoſe approach a Chriſtian is bound to fear, or ſuch which are the certain lot of Chriſtians, (ſuch are troubles and perſecutions, into which *when we enter* we muſt *count it joy*,) yet we are to pray that we enter not into the poſſeſſion of the temptation, that we be not overcome by it.

10. ***BUT deliver us from evil.*** From the aſſaults or violence of evil, from the *wicked one*, who not only preſents us with objects, but heightens our concupiſcence, and makes us imaginative, phantaſtical and paſſionate, ſetting on the temptation, making the luſt active, and the man full of appetite, and the appetite full of energy and power: therefore deliver us from the evil one, who is intereſted as an enemy in every hoſtility and in every danger. Let not Satan have any power or advantage over us; and let not evil men prevail upon us in our danger, much leſs to our ruin. Make us *ſafe under the covering of thy wings* againſt all fraud and every violence, that no temptation deſtroy our hopes, or break our ſtrength, or alter our ſtate, or overthrow our glories. In theſe laſt petitions, which concern our ſelves, the ſoul hath affections proper to her own needs; as in the former proportion, to God's glory. In the firſt of theſe, the affection of a poor, indigent and neceſſitous beggar; in the ſecond, of a delinquent and penitent ſervant; in the laſt, of a perſon in affliction or danger. And after all this the reaſon of our confidence is derived from God.

11. ***FOR thine is the kingdom, the power, and the glory for ever.*** That is, theſe things which we beg are for the honour of thy kingdom, for the manifeſtation of thy power, and the glory of thy name and mercies. And it is an expreſs doxology or adoration, which is apt and fit to conclude all our prayers and addreſſes to God.

12. THESE are the generals and great treaſures of matter to which all our preſent or ſudden needs are reducible. And when we make our prayers more minute and particular, if the inſtance be in matter of duty and merely ſpiritual, there is no danger: but when our needs are temporal, or we are tranſported with ſecular deſires, all [a] deſcending to particulars is a confining the divine providence, a judging for our ſelves, a begging a temptation oftentimes, ſometimes a miſchief: and to beg beyond the neceſſities of our life, is a mutiny againſt that providence which aſſigns to Chriſtians no more but *food and raiment* for their own uſe; all other excreſcencies of poſſeſſions being entruſted to the rich man's diſpenſation only as to a ſteward, and he ſhall be accountable for the coat that lies by him as the portion of moths, and for the ſhooes which are the ſpoils of mouldineſs, and the contumely of plenty. [b] *Grant me, O Lord, not what I deſire, but what is profitable for me.* For ſometimes we deſire that which in the ſucceeding event of things will undo us. This rule is in all things that concern our ſelves. There is ſome little difference in the affairs and neceſſities of other men: for, provided we ſubmit to the divine providence, and pray for good things for others only with a tacit condition, ſo far as they are good, and profitable in order to the beſt ends, though we be particular, there is no covetouſneſs in it: there may be indiſcretion in the particular, but in the general no fault, becauſe it is a prayer and a deſign of charity. *For kings and all that are in authority* we may yet enlarge, and pray for a peaceable reign, [c] true leiges, ſtrong armies, victories and fair ſucceſs in their juſt wars, health, long life, and riches; becauſe they have a capacity which private perſons have not. And whatſoever is good for ſingle perſons, and whatſoever is apt for their uſes as publick perſons, all that we may and muſt pray for; either particularly, for ſo we may, or in general ſignifications, for ſo we muſt at leaſt: *That we may lead a godly, peaceable, and quiet life, in all godlineſs and honeſty*; that is St. Paul's rule, and the preſcribed meaſure and purpoſe of ſuch prayers. And in this inſtance of kings, we may pray for defeating all the king's enemies, ſuch as are truly ſuch. And we have no other reſtraint upon us in this, but that we keep our deſires confined within the limits of the end we are commanded; that is, ſo far to confound the king's enemies, that he may do his duty, and we do ours, and receive the bleſſing; ever as much as we can to diſtinguiſh the malice from the perſon. But if the enemies themſelves will not alſo ſeparate what our intentions diſtinguiſh, that is, if they will not return to their duty, then let the prayers operate as God pleaſes, we muſt be zealous for the end of the king's authority and peaceable government. By enemies I mean rebels or invaders, tyrants

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[a] ——— Pro jucundis aptiſſima quæque dabunt Dii.
Charior eſt illis homo quàm ſibi. Nos, animorum
Impulſu & cæcâ magnâque cupidine ducti,
Conjugium petimus, partúmque uxoris: at illis
Notum qui pueri, qualíſque futura ſit uxor. Juven.

[b] Μή μοι γένοιθ' ἃ βούλομ', ἀλλ' ἃ συμφέρει.

[c] ——— Rege incolumi, mens omnibus una;
Amiſſo, rupêre fidem. Virg.

and uſurpers; for in other wars there are many other conſiderations not proper for this place.

13. THE next conſideration will be concerning the manner; I mean both the manner of our perſons, and the manner of our prayers; that is, with what conditions we ought to approach to God, and with what circumſtances the prayers may or ought to be performed. The conditions to make our prayers holy and certain to prevail are, firſt, That we live good lives, endeavouring to conform by holy obedience to all the divine commandments. This condition is expreſly recorded by St. John: [a] *Beloved, if our hearts condemn us not, then have we confidence towards God; and whatſoever we ask of him, we ſhall obtain.* And St. James affirms, that [b] *the effectual fervent prayer of a righteous man availeth much.* And our Bleſſed Saviour, limiting the confidence of our prayers for forgiveneſs to our charity and forgiving others, plainly tells us, that the uncharitable and unrighteous perſon ſhall not be heard. And the blind man in the goſpel underſtood well what he ſaid, [c] *Now we know that God heareth not ſinners: but if any man be a worſhipper, and doth his will, him he heareth.* And it was ſo decreed and reſolved a point in the doctrine of their religion, that it was a proverbial ſaying. And although this diſcourſe of the blind man was of a reſtrained occaſion, and ſignified, if Chriſt had been a falſe prophet, God would not have atteſted his ſermons with the power of miracles; yet in general alſo he had been taught by David, [d] *If I regard iniquity in my heart, the Lord will not hear my prayer.* And therefore when men *pray in every place,* (for ſo they are commanded,) *let them lift up pure hands without anger and contention.* And indeed, although every ſin entertained with a free choice and a full underſtanding, is an [e] obſtruction to our prayers: yet the ſpecial ſin of uncharitableneſs makes the biggeſt cloud, and is in the proper matter of it an indiſpoſition for us to receive mercy. For he who is ſoftened with apprehenſion of his own needs of mercy, will be tender-hearted towards his brother: and therefore he that hath no bowels here, can have no aptneſs there to receive or heartily to hope for mercy. But this rule is to be underſtood of perſons who perſevere in the habit and remanent affections of ſin; ſo long as they entertain ſin with love, complacency and joy, they are in a ſtate of enmity with God, and therefore in no fit diſpoſition to receive pardon and the entertainment of friends. But penitent ſinners and returning ſouls, loaden and grieved with their heavy preſſures, are, next to holy innocents, the apteſt perſons in the world to be heard in their prayers for pardon: but they are in no farther diſpoſition to large favours, and more eminent charities. A ſinner in the beginning of his penance will be heard for himſelf, and yet alſo he needs the prayers of holy perſons more ſignally than others; for he hath but ſome very few degrees of diſpoſitions to reconciliation; but in prayers of interceſſion or mediation for others, [f] only holy and very pious perſons are fit to be intereſted. All men as matter of duty muſt pray for all men: but in the great neceſſities of a prince, of a church, or kingdom, or of a family, or in a great danger and calamity to a ſingle perſon, only a Noah, a David, a Daniel, a Jeremiah, an Enoch or Job, are fit and proportioned advocates. God ſo requires holineſs in us that our prayers may be accepted, that he entertains them in ſeveral degrees according to the degrees of our ſanctity; to fewer or more purpoſes, according as we are little or great in the kingdom of Heaven. As for thoſe irregular donations of good things which wicked perſons ask for and have, they are either no mercies, but inſtruments of curſing and crime; or elſe they are deſigns of grace, intended to convince them of their unworthineſs; and ſo, if they become not inſtruments of their converſion, they are aggravations of their ruin.

14. SECONDLY, The ſecond condition [g] I have already explained in the deſcription of the matter of our prayers. For although we may lawfully ask for whatſoever we need, and this leave is conſigned to us in thoſe words of our Bleſſed Saviour, *Your Heavenly Father knoweth what you have need of:* yet becauſe God's providence walks in the great deep, that is, his footſteps are in the water, and leave no impreſſion; no former act of grace becomes a precedent that he will give us that in kind which then he ſaw convenient, and therefore gave us, and now he ſees to be inconvenient, and therefore does deny. Therefore in all things, but what are matter of neceſſary and mingled duty, we muſt ſend up our prayers; but humility, mortification and conformity to the divine

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[a] 1 John iii. 21, 22. [b] James v. 16. [c] John ix. 31.
[d] Pſal. lxvi. 18. 1 Tim. ii. 8.

[e] Poſuiſti ut nubem peccatum, ne tranſeat oratio. Lam. v.

[f] Cùm n. is qui diſplicet ad intercedendum mittitur, irati animus ad deteriora provocatur. Gregor. Paſtor.

Immunis aram ſi tetigit manus;
Non ſumptuoſâ blandior hoſtiâ,
Mollibit averſos penates
Farre pio & ſaliente micâ. Hor. l. iii. od. 23.

[g] Εὐχῆς δικαίας ἐκ ἀνήκοος Θεός.

will muſt attend for an anſwer, and bring back, not what the publick embaſſy pretends, but what they have in private inſtructions to deſire; accounting that for the beſt ſatisfaction which God pleaſes, not what I have either unneceſſarily, or vainly, or ſinfully deſired.

15. Thirdly, When our perſons are diſpoſed by ſanctity, and the matter of our prayers is hallowed by prudence and religious intendments, then we are bound to entertain a full perſuaſion and confident hope that God will hear us. [a] *What things ſoever ye deſire when ye pray, believe that ye receive them, and ye ſhall obtain them,* ſaid our Bleſſed Saviour. And St. James taught from that oracle, [b] *If any of you lack wiſdom, let him aſk it of God: but let him aſk in faith, nothing wavering; for he that wavereth, is like a wave of the ſea, driven with the wind, and toſſed to and fro.* Meaning, that when there is no fault in the matter of our prayers, but that we aſk things pleaſing to God, and there is no indiſpoſition and hoſtility in our perſons and manners between God and us, then to doubt were to diſtruſt God: for all being right on our parts, if we doubt the iſſue, the defailance muſt be on that part, which to ſuſpect were infinite impiety. [c] But after we have done all we can, if, out of humility, and fear that we are not truly diſpoſed, we doubt of the iſſue, it is a modeſty which will not at all diſcommend our perſons, nor impede the event: provided we at no hand ſuſpect either God's power or veracity. Putting truſt in God is an excellent advantage to our prayers; *I will deliver him,* (ſaith God) *becauſe he hath put his truſt in me.* And yet diſtruſting ourſelves, and ſuſpecting our own diſpoſitions, as it pulls us back in our actual confidence of the event, ſo becauſe it abates nothing of our confidence in God, it prepares us to receive the reward of humility, and not to loſe the praiſe of a holy truſting in the Almighty.

16. These conditions are eſſential: ſome other there are which are incidents and acceſſories, but at no hand to be neglected. And the firſt is, *actual* or *habitual attention* to our prayers, which we are to procure with moral and ſevere endeavours, that we deſire not God [d] to hear us when we do not hear our ſelves. To which purpoſe we muſt avoid, as much as our duty will permit us, multiplicity of cares and exterior imployments. For a river cut into many rivulets, divides alſo its ſtrength, and grows contemptible, and apt to be forded by a lamb, and drunk up by a ſummer-ſun: ſo is the ſpirit of man buſied in variety, and divided in itſelf; it abates its fervor, cools into indifferency, and becomes trifling by its diſperſion and inadvertency. Aquinas was once aſked, With what compendium a man might beſt become learned? He anſwered, By reading of one book: meaning, that an underſtanding entertained with ſeveral objects is intent upon neither, and profits not. And ſo it is when we pray to God; if the cares of the world intervene, they choak our deſires into an indifferency, and ſuppreſs the flame into a ſmoak, and ſtrangle the ſpirit. But this being an habitual careleſneſs, an intemperance of ſpirit, is an enemy to an habitual attention, and therefore is highly criminal, and makes our prayers to be but the labour of the lips, becauſe our deſires are leſſened by the remanent affections of the world. But beſides an *habitual* attention in our prayers, that is, a deſire in general of all that our prayers pretend to in particular, there is alſo for the accommodation, and to facilitate the acceſs of our prayers, required, that we attend *actually* to the words, or ſenſe of every collect or petition. To this we muſt contend with prayer, with actual dereliction and ſepoſition of all our other affairs, though innocent and good in other kinds, by a preſent ſpirit. And the uſe of it is, that ſuch attention is an actual converſing with God; it occaſions the exerciſe of many acts of virtue, it encreaſes zeal and fervency, and by reflection enkindles love and holy deſires. And although there is no rule to determine the degree of our actual attention, and it is ordinarily impoſſible never to wander with a thought, or to be interrupted with a ſudden immiſſion into our ſpirit in the midſt of prayers: yet our duty is, by mortification of our ſecular deſires, by ſuppreſſion of all our irregular paſſions, by reducing them to indifferency, by ſeverity of ſpirit, by enkindling our holy appetites and deſires of holy things, by ſilence and meditation and repoſe, to get as forward in this excellency

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[a] Mar. xi. 24. [b] James i. 5, 6.

[c] Chryſantio Deus in aurem hunc verſiculum occinuit. Ὅς κε θεοῖς ἐπιπείθηται, μάλα τ' ἔκλυον αὐτοῦ. Eunapius in vita Maximi. Signum futuræ impetrationis eſt, quando ſpiritus ſanctus movet ad petendum cum fiducia, & quaſi ſecuritate impetrandi. Caſſian. Collat. ix. c. 32.

[d] Ecclus. xxxv. 17. Pſal. cii. 17.

[e] Non in pluribus ſint actus tui. Ecclus. xi. 10. Impar quiſque invenitur ad ſingula, dum confuſâ mente dividitur ad multa. S. Gregor. i. p. c. 4. Magnam rem puta, hominem unum agere: præter ſapientem nemo unum agit; cæteri multiformes ſumus. Seneca. Mentem tantæ rei intentam vacare omnibus aliis etiam culpâ carentibus vitiis oportet. Quintil. Inveni Dilectum meum in lectulo, i. e. in quiete; quia quæ cura implicat, quies explicat. S. Bernard. Serm. i. in Cant.

Quis locus ingenio, niſi cùm ſe carmine ſolo
Vexant——————————
Pectora noſtra duas non admittentia curas?
Magnæ mentis opus, nec de lodice paranda
Attonitæ———— Juvenal. ſat. vii.

as we can. To which alſo we may be very much helped by ejaculatory prayers and ſhort breathings: in which as, by reaſon of their ſhort abode upon the ſpirit, there is leſs fear of diverſion; ſo alſo they may ſo often be renewed, that nothing of the devotion may be unſpent or expire for want of oil to feed and entertain the flame. But the determination of the caſe of conſcience is this. 1. Habitual attention is abſolutely neceſſary in our prayers, that is, it is altogether our duty to deſire of God all that we pray for, though our mind be not actually attending to the form of words; and therefore all worldly deſires, that are inordinate, muſt be reſcinded, that we may more earneſtly attend on God than on the world. He that prays to God to give him the gift of chaſtity, and yet ſecretly wiſhes rather for an opportunity of luſt, and deſires God would not hear him, (as St. Auſtin confeſſes of himſelf in his youth,) that man ſins for want of holy and habitual deſires; he prays only with his lips, what he in no ſenſe atteſts in his heart. 2. Actual attention to our prayers is alſo neceſſary, not ever to avoid a ſin, but that the preſent prayer become effectual. He that means to feaſt, and to get thanks of God, muſt invite the poor: and yet he that invites the rich, in that he ſins not, though he hath no reward of God for that. So that prayer periſhes to which the man gives no degree of actual attention: for the prayer is as if it were not, it is no more than a dream, or an act of cuſtom and order, nothing of devotion; and ſo accidentally becomes a ſin, (I mean there where and in what degrees it is avoidable,) by taking God's name in vain. 3. It is not neceſſary to the prevalency of the prayer, that the ſpirit actually accompany every clauſe or word; if it ſays a hearty *Amen*, or in any part of it atteſts the whole, it is ſuch an attention which the preſent condition of moſt men will ſometimes permit. 4. A wandering of the ſpirit through careleſneſs, or any vice, or inordinate paſſion, is in that degree criminal as is the cauſe, and it is heightened by the greatneſs of the interruption. 5. It is only excuſed by our endeavours to cure it, and by our after-acts either of ſorrow, or repetition of the prayer, and re-inforcing the intention. And certainly if we repeat our prayer, in which we have obſerved our ſpirits too much to wander, and reſolve ſtill to repeat it, (as our opportunities permit) it may in a good degree defeat the purpoſe of the enemy, when his own arts ſhall return upon his head, and the wandring of our ſpirits be made the occaſion of a prayer, and the parent of a new devotion. 6. Laſtly, according to the degrees of our actual attention, ſo our prayers are more or leſs perfect: a preſent ſpirit being a great inſtrument and teſtimony of wiſdom, and apt to many great purpoſes; and our continual abode with God being a great indearment of our perſons by increaſing the affections.

17. SECONDLY, The ſecond acceſſory is *intention of ſpirit* or fervency; ſuch as was that of our Bleſſed Saviour, who prayed to his Father *with ſtrong cries* and loud petitions, not clamorous in language, but ſtrong in ſpirit. St. Paul alſo, when he was preſſed with a ſtrong temptation, *prayed thrice*, that is, earneſtly; and St. James affirms this to be of great value and [a] efficacy to the obtaining bleſſings, *The effectual fervent prayer of a juſt perſon avails much*; and Elias, though *a man of like paſſions*, yet by *earneſt prayer* he *obtained rain*, or drought, according as he deſired. Now this is properly produced by the greatneſs of our deſire of heavenly things, our true value and eſtimate of religion, our ſenſe of preſent preſſures, our fears; and it hath ſome accidental increaſes by the diſpoſition of our body, the ſtrength of fancy, and the tenderneſs of ſpirit, and aſſiduity of the dropping of religious diſcourſes; and in all men is neceſſary to be ſo great, as that we prefer Heaven and religion before the world, and deſire them rather, with the choice of our wills and underſtanding. Though there cannot always be that degree of ſenſual, pungent or delectable affections towards religion, as towards the deſires of nature and ſenſe; yet ever we muſt prefer celeſtial objects, reſtraining the appetites of the world, leſt they be immoderate, and heightning the deſires of grace and glory, leſt they become indifferent, and the fire upon the altar of incenſe be extinct. But the greater zeal and fervor of deſire we have in our prayers, the ſooner and the greater will the return of the prayer be, if the prayer be for ſpiritual objects. For other things, our deſires muſt be according to our needs, not by a value derived from the nature of the thing, but the uſefulneſs it is of to us in order to our greater and better purpoſes.

18. THIRDLY, Of the ſame conſideration it is, that we [b] *perſevere and be importunate* in our prayers, by repetition of our deſires, and not remitting either our affections or our offices, till God, overcome by our importunity, give a gracious anſwer. [c] Jacob

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[a] ——— Τὸ δὲ ζητούμενον ἁλωτὸν ἐκφεύγει τ' ἀμελούμενον. Sophocl. Oedip.

[b] Τῇ προσευχῇ προσκαρτεροῦντες, Rom. xii. 12.

[c] Quod olim erat Levitarum & Sacerdotum proprium.

wreſtled with the angel all night, and would not diſmiſs him till he had given him a bleſſing. *Let me alone*, ſaith God; as if he felt a preſſure and burthen lying upon him by our prayers, or could not quit himſelf, nor depart, unleſs we give him leave. And ſince God is detained by our prayers, and we may keep him as long as we pleaſe, and that he will not go away till we leave ſpeaking to him; he that will diſmiſs him till he hath his bleſſing, knows not the value of his benediction, or underſtands not the energy and power of a perſevering prayer. And to this purpoſe Chriſt [a] *ſpake a parable, that men ought always to pray, and not to faint. Praying without ceaſing*, St. Paul calls it, that is, with continual addreſſes, frequent interpolations, never ceaſing the renewing the requeſt till I obtain my deſire. For it is not enough to recommend our deſires to God with one hearty prayer, and then forget to aſk him any more; but ſo long as our needs continue, ſo long in all times, and upon all occaſions, to renew and repeat our deſires: and this is *praying continually*. Juſt as the widow did to the unjuſt judge; ſhe never left going to him, ſhe troubled him every day with her clamorous ſuit: ſo muſt we *pray always*, that is, every day, and many times every day, according to our occaſions and neceſſities, or our devotion and zeal, or as we are determined by the cuſtoms and laws of a church; never giving over through wearineſs or diſtruſt, often renewing our deſires by a continual ſucceſſion of devotions, returning at certain and determinate periods. For God's bleſſings, though they come infallibly, yet not always ſpeedily. Saving only that it is a bleſſing to be delayed, that we may encreaſe our deſire, and renew our prayers, and do acts of confidence and patience, and aſcertain and encreaſe the bleſſing when it comes. For we do not more deſire to be bleſſed, than God does to hear us importunate for bleſſing: and he weighs every ſigh, and bottles up every tear, and records every prayer, and looks through the cloud with delight to ſee us upon our knees; and when he ſees his time, his light breaks through it, and ſhines upon us. Only we muſt not make our accounts for God according to the courſe of the ſun, but the meaſures of eternity. He meaſures us by our needs, and we muſt not meaſure him by our impatience. *God is not ſlack, as ſome men count ſlackneſs*, ſaith the apoſtle; and we find it ſo, when we have waited long. All the elapſed time is no part of the tediouſneſs; the trouble of it is paſſed with it ſelf: and for the future, we know not how little it may be; for ought we know we are already entered into the cloud that brings the bleſſing. However, pray till it comes; for we ſhall never miſs to receive our deſire, if it be holy, or innocent, and ſafe; or elſe we are ſure of a great reward of our prayers.

19. And in this ſo determined, there is no danger of blaſphemy or *vain repetitions*. For thoſe repetitions are vain which repeat the words, not the devotion; which renew the expreſſion, and not the deſire: and he that may pray the ſame prayer to-morrow which he ſaid to-day, may pray the ſame at night which he ſaid in the morning, and the ſame at noon which he ſaid at night; and ſo in all the hours of prayer, and in all the opportunities of devotion. *Chriſt* in his agony *went thrice, and ſaid the ſame words*, but he had intervals for repetition; and his need and his devotion preſſed him forward: And whenever our needs do ſo, it is all one if we ſay the ſame words or others, ſo we expreſs our deſire, and tell our needs, and beg the remedy. In the ſame office and the ſame hour of prayer to repeat the ſame things often, hath but few excuſes to make it reaſonable, and fewer to make it pious. But to think that the prayer is better for ſuch repetition, is the fault which the Holy Jeſus condemned in the Gentiles, [b] who in their hymns would ſay a name over an hundred times. But in this we have no rule to determine us in numbers and proportion, but right reaſon. God loves not any words the more for being ſaid often; and thoſe repetitions which are unreaſonable in prudent eſtimation, cannot in any account be eſteemed pious. But where a reaſonable cauſe allows the repetition, the ſame cauſe that makes it reaſonable, makes it alſo proper for devotion. He that ſpeaks his needs, and expreſſes nothing but his fervor and greatneſs of deſire, cannot be vain or long in his prayers. He that ſpeaks impertinently, that is, unreaſonably and without deſires, is long, though he ſpeak but two ſyllables. He that thinks for ſpeaking much to be heard the ſooner, thinks God is delighted in the labour of the lips. But when reaſon is the guide, and piety is the rule,

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[a] Luke xviii. 1. Χρὴ ἀδιαλείπτως εὔχεσθαι ἐπὶ τῆς περὶ τὸ θεῖον θρησκείας. Proclus ad Timæum.

[b] Ohe! jam deſine Deos, uxor, gratulando obtundere,
Tuam eſſe inventam gnatam: niſi illos tuo ex ingenio judicas,
Ut nil credas intelligere niſi idem dictum eſt centies.
Ter. Heaut.

Λαλεῖν ἄριστος, ἀδυνατώτατος λέγειν.
Τεκμήριον δὲ τοῦδε τὸν Ὅμηρον λάβε·
Οὗτος γὰρ ἡμῖν μυριάδας ἐπῶν γράφει.
Ἀλλ' οὐδὲ εἷς Ὅμηρον εἴρηκεν μακρόν. Philem.
Χωρὶς τό, τ' εἰπεῖν πολλά, καὶ τὰ καίρια. Sophocl. Oedip. 2.

and neceſſity is the meaſure, and deſire gives the proportion, let the prayer be very long; he that ſhall blame it for its length, muſt proclaim his diſreliſh both of reaſon and religion, his deſpite of neceſſity, and contempt of zeal.

20. As a[a] part and inſtance of our importunity in prayer, it is uſually reckoned and adviſed, that in caſes of great, ſudden and violent need, we corroborate our prayers with a vow of doing ſomething holy and religious in an uncommanded inſtance, ſomething to which God had not formerly bound our duty, though fairly invited our will: or elſe, if we chooſe a duty in which we were obliged, then to vow the doing of it in a more excellent manner, with a greater inclination of the will, with a more fervent repetition of the acts, with ſome more noble circumſtance, with a fuller aſſent of the underſtanding; or elſe adding a new promiſe to our old duty, to make it become more neceſſary to us, and to ſecure our duty. In this caſe, as it requires great prudence and caution in the ſuſception, leſt what we piouſly intend obtain a preſent bleſſing, and lay a laſting ſnare; ſo if it be prudent in the manner, holy in the matter, uſeful in the conſequence, and ſafe in all the circumſtances of the perſon, it is an endearing us and our prayer to God by the increaſe of duty and charity, and therefore a more probable way of making our prayers gracious and acceptable. And the religion of vows was not only hallowed by the example of Jacob at Bethel, of Hannah praying for a child and God hearing her, of David vowing a temple to God, and made regular and ſafe by the rules and cautions in Moſes's law; but left by our Bleſſed Saviour in the ſame conſtitution he found it, he having innovated nothing in the matter of vows. And it was practiſed accordingly in the inſtance of St. Paul at Cenchrea; of [b] Ananias and Sapphira, who vowed their poſſeſſions to the uſe of the church; and of the widows in the apoſtolical age, who therefore vowed to remain in the ſtate of widowhood, becauſe concerning them who married after the entry into religion St. Paul ſays, *they have broken their firſt faith*. And ſuch were they of whom our Bleſſed Saviour affirms, *that ſome make themſelves eunuchs for the kingdom of Heaven*, that is, ſuch who promiſe to God a life of chaſtity. And concerning the ſucceſs of prayer ſo ſeconded with a prudent and religious vow, beſides [c] the inſtances of ſcripture, we have the perpetual experience and witneſs of all Chriſtendom: and in particular our Saxon kings have been remarked for this part of importunity in their own chronicles. [d] Oſwy got a great victory with unlikely forces againſt Penda the Dane after his earneſt prayer, and an appendent vow: and Ceadwalla obtained of God power to recover the Iſle of Wight from the hands of Infidels after he had prayed, and promiſed to return the fourth part of it to be imployed in the proper ſervices of God and of religion. This can have no objection or ſuſpicion in it among wiſe and diſabuſed perſons; for it can be nothing but an encreaſing and a renewed act of duty, or devotion, or zeal, or charity, and the importunity of prayer acted in a more vital and real expreſſion.

21. ALL elſe that is to be conſidered concerning prayer is extrinſecal and accidental to it. Firſt, prayer is publick, or private; in the communion or ſociety of ſaints, or in our cloſets: theſe prayers have leſs temptation to vanity; the other have more advantages of charity, example, fervor, and energy. In publick offices we avoid ſingularity, in the private we avoid hypocriſy. Thoſe are of more edification, theſe of great retiredneſs and ſilence of ſpirit: thoſe ſerve the needs of all the world in the firſt intention, and our own by conſequence; theſe ſerve our own needs firſt, and the publick only by a ſecondary intention: theſe have more pleaſure, they more duty: theſe are the beſt inſtruments of repentance, where our confeſſions may be more particular, and our ſhame leſs ſcandalous; the other are better for euchariſt and inſtruction, for edification of the church and glorification of God.

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[a] In re trepida Tullus Hoſtilius duodecim vovit Salios, fanaque Pallori & Pavori. Livius.

Ego me majore religione quàm quiſque fuit ullius voti obſtrictum puto. Cicer. ad Atticum.

Solebant autem & vota fieri gratitudinis indicia.

Voveram dulces epulas & album
Libero caprum propè funeratus
Arboris ictu. Horat. l. iii. od. 8.

Non eſt meum——— ad miſeras preces
Decurrere, & votis paciſci,
Nè Cypriæ Tyriæque merces
Addant avaro divitias mari. Id. lib. iii. od. 29.

Et læta quidem in præſens omnia: ſed benignitati Deorum gratiam referendam; nè ritus ſacrorum inter ambigua culti per proſpera obliterarentur. Tacit. l. xi. Ann.

[b] Ananias & Sapphira ideo condemnati, quia poſt votum abſtulerunt quaſi ſua. S. Hieron. ep. 8. ad Demet.

Quid enim eſt, Fidem primam irritam fecerunt? voverunt, & non reddiderunt. St. Auguſt.

In vita n. æterna eſt quædam egregia gloria non omnibus in æternum victuris, ſed quibuſdam ibi tribuenda: cui conſequendæ parùm eſt liberatum eſſe à peccatis, niſi aliquid liberatori voveatur, quod non ſit criminis non voviſſe, ſed voviſſe ac reddidiſſe ſit laudis.
Idem de S. Virgin. c. 14.

[c] Eccleſ. v. 4, 5. Pſal. cxxxii. 1, 2. Deut. xxiii. 21. Acts xviii. 18.

[d] Oſwy vovit filiam in ſervitutem religionis & vitam cœlibem, ſimúlque duodecim poſſeſſiones ad conſtruendas ædes ſacras.

——— Reddere victimas
Ædemque votivam memento.
Nos humilem feriemus agnum. Horat. l. ii. od. 17.

22. SECONDLY, The poſture of our bodies in prayer had as great variety as the ceremonies and civilities of ſeveral nations came to. The Jews moſt commonly prayed ſtanding: [a] ſo did the Phariſee and the Publican in the temple. So did the primitive Chriſtians in all their greater feſtivals, and intervals of jubilee: in their penances they kneeled. The Monks in Caſſian ſate when they ſang the Pſalter. And in every country, whatſoever by the cuſtom of the nation was a ſymbol of reverence and humility, of ſilence and attention, of gravity and modeſty, that poſture they tranſlated to their prayers. But in all nations bowing the head, that is, a laying down our glory at the feet of God, was the manner of worſhippers. And this was always the more humble and the lower, as their devotion was higher; and was very often expreſſed by proſtration, or lying flat upon the ground: and this all nations did and all religions. Our deportment ought to be grave, decent, humble, apt for adoration, apt to edify: and when we addreſs our ſelves to prayer, not inſtantly to leap into the office, as the judges of the Areopage into their ſentence, *without preface or preparatory affections*; but, conſidering in what preſence we ſpeak, and to what purpoſes, let us balance our fervor with reverential fear: and when we have done, not riſe from the ground as if we vaulted, or were glad we had done; but, as we begin with deſires of aſſiſtance, ſo end with deſires of pardon and acceptance, concluding our longer offices with a ſhorter mental prayer of more private reflection and reverence, deſigning to mend what we have done amiſs, or to give thanks and proceed if we did well, and according to our powers.

23. THIRDLY, In private prayers it is permitted to every man to ſpeak his prayers, or only to think them, which is a ſpeaking to God. Vocal or mental prayer is all one to God, but in order to us they have their ſeveral advantages. The ſacrifice of the heart and the calves of the lips make up a holocauſt to God. But words are the arreſt of the deſires, and keep the ſpirit fixed, and in leſs permiſſions to wander from fancy to fancy: and mental prayer is apt to make the greater fervor, if it wander not. Our office is more determined by words; but we then actually think of God when our ſpirits only ſpeak. Mental prayer, when our ſpirits wander, is like a watch ſtanding ſtill, becauſe the ſpring is down; wind it up again, and it goes on regularly: but in vocal prayer, if the words run on, and the ſpirit wanders, the clock ſtrikes falſe, the hand points not to the right hour, becauſe ſomething is in diſorder, and the ſtriking is nothing but noiſe. In mental prayer we confeſs God's omniſcience; in vocal prayer we call the angels to witneſs. In the firſt, our ſpirits rejoice in God; in the ſecond, the angels rejoice in us. Mental prayer is the beſt remedy againſt lightneſs, and indifferency of affections; but vocal prayer is the apteſt inſtrument of communion. That is more angelical, but yet fitteſt for the ſtate of ſeparation and glory; this is but human, but it is apter for our preſent conſtitution. They have their diſtinct properties, and may be uſed according to ſeveral accidents, occaſions, or diſpoſitions.

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[a] Nehem. ix. 5. Mark xi. 25. Luke xviii. 11. Adoraturi ſedeant, dixit Numa Pompilius apud Plutarch. id eſt, ſint ſedato animo. Et καθῆσθαι προσκυνήσοντας dictum proverbialiter ad eundem ſenſum. Vide S. Aug. l. iii. c. 5. de Cura pro mortuis.

Depoſitiſque ſuis ornamentis pretioſis,
Simplicis & tenuis fruitur velamine veſtis,
Inter ſacratos noctis venerabilis hymnos
Intrans nudatis templi ſacra limina plantis
Et prono ſacram vultu proſtratus ad aram,
Corpus frigoreæ ſociavit nobile terræ.
S. Roſweid de Hen. Imper. & de Othon.

The

The PRAYER.

I.

O HOLY and Eternal God, who haſt commanded us to pray unto thee in all our neceſſities, and to give thanks unto thee for all our inſtances of joy and bleſſing, and to adore thee in all thy attributes and communications, thy own glories and thy eternal mercies; give unto me thy ſervant the ſpirit of prayer and ſupplication, that I may underſtand what is good for me, that I may deſire regularly, and chooſe the beſt things, that I may conform to thy will, and ſubmit to thy diſpoſing, relinquiſhing my own affections and imperfect choice. Sanctify my heart and ſpirit, that I may ſanctify thy name, and that I may be gracious and accepted in thine eyes. Give me the humility and obedience of a ſervant, that I may alſo have the hope and confidence of a ſon, making humble and confident addreſſes to the throne of grace; that in all my neceſſities I may come to thee for aids, and may truſt in thee for a gracious anſwer, and may receive ſatisfaction and ſupply.

II.

GIVE me a ſober, diligent and recollected ſpirit in my prayers, neither choaked with cares, nor ſcattered by levity, nor diſcompoſed by paſſion, nor eſtranged from thee by inadvertency, but fixed faſt to thee by the indiſſoluble bands of a great love and a pregnant devotion. And let the beams of thy holy ſpirit deſcending from above enlighten and enkindle it with great fervors, and holy importunity, and unwearied induſtry: that I may ſerve thee, and obtain thy bleſſing by the aſſiduity and zeal of perpetual religious offices. Let my prayers come before thy preſence, and the lifting up of my hands be a daily ſacrifice, and let the fires of zeal not go out by night or day; but unite my prayers to the interceſſion of thy Holy Jeſus, and to a communion of thoſe offices which angels and beatified ſouls do pay before the throne of the Lamb, and at the celeſtial altar: that my prayers being hallowed by the merits of Chriſt, and being preſented in the phial of the ſaints, may aſcend thither where thy glory dwells, and from whence mercy and eternal benediction deſcends upon the church.

III.

LORD, change my ſins into penitential ſorrow, my ſorrow to petition, my petition to euchariſt; that my prayers may be conſummate in the adorations of eternity, and the glorious participation of the end of our hopes and prayers, the fulneſs of never-failing charity and fruition of thee, O Holy and Eternal God, Bleſſed Trinity, and Myſterious Unity, to whom all honour, and worſhip, and thanks, and confeſſion, and glory, be aſcribed for ever and ever. Amen.

DISCOURSE XIII.

Of the third additional precept of Chriſt,

(viz.)

Of the manner of FASTING.

1. FASTING being directed in order to other ends, as for mortifying the body, taking away that fewel which miniſters to the flame of luſt, or elſe relating to what is paſt, [a] when it becomes an inſtrument of repentance, and a part of that *revenge* which St. Paul affirms to be the effect of *godly ſorrow*, is to take its eſtimate for value, and its rules for practice, by analogy and proportion to thoſe ends to which it does coöperate. Faſting before the holy ſacrament is a cuſtom of the Chriſtian church, and derived to us from great antiquity; and the uſe of it is, that we might expreſs honour to the myſtery, by ſuffering nothing to enter into our mouths before the ſymbols. Faſting to this purpoſe is not an act of mortification, but of reverence and venerable eſteem of the inſtruments of religion, and ſo is to be underſtood. And thus alſo, not to eat or drink before we have ſaid our morning devotions, is eſteemed to be a religious decency, and preference of prayer and God's honour before our temporal ſatisfaction, a ſymbolical atteſtation that we eſteem the words of God's mouth more than our neceſſary food. It is like the zeal of Abraham's ſervant, who would not eat nor drink till he had done his errand. And in purſuance of this act of religion, by the tradition of their father it grew to be a cuſtom of the Jewiſh nation, [b] that they ſhould not eat bread upon their ſolemn feſtivals before the ſixth hour; that they might firſt celebrate the rites of their religious ſolemnities, before they gave ſatisfaction to the leſſer deſires of nature. And therefore it was a reaſonable ſatisfaction of the objection made by the aſſembly againſt the inſpired apoſtles in Pentecoſt, *Theſe are not drunk, as ye ſuppoſe, ſeeing it is but the third hour of the day:* meaning, that the day being feſtival, they knew it was not lawful for any of the nation to break their faſt before the ſixth hour; for elſe they might eaſily have been drunk by the third hour, if they had taken their morning's drink in a freer proportion. And true it is that religion ſnatches even at little things; and as it teaches us to obſerve all the great commandments and ſignifications of duty, ſo it is not willing to pretermit any thing, which, although by its greatneſs it cannot of itſelf be conſiderable, yet by its ſmallneſs may become a teſtimony of the greatneſs of the affection, which would not omit the leaſt minutes of love and duty. And therefore when the Jews were ſcandalized at the diſciples of our Lord for rubbing the ears of corn on the Sabbath-day, as they walked through the fields early in the morning, they intended their reproof, not for breaking the reſt of the day, but the ſolemnity; for eating before the publick devotions were finiſhed. Chriſt excuſed it by the neceſſity and charity of the act; they were hungry, and therefore having ſo great need, they might lawfully do it: meaning, that ſuch particles and circumſtances of religion are not to be neglected, unleſs where greater cauſe of charity or neceſſities does ſupervene.

2. BUT when faſting is in order to greater and more concerning purpoſes, it puts on more religion, and becomes a duty, according as it is neceſſary or highly conducing to ſuch ends, to the promoting of which we are bound to contribute all our ſkill and faculties. Faſting is principally operative to mortification of carnal appetites, to which feaſting and full tables do miniſter aptneſs and power and inclinations. [c] *When I fed them to the full, then they committed adultery, and aſſembled by troops in the harlots houſes.* And if we obſerve all our own vanities, we ſhall find that upon every ſudden joy, or a proſperous accident, or an opulent fortune, [d] or a pampered body, and highly ſpirited and inflamed, we are apt to raſhneſs, levities, inconſiderate expreſſions, ſcorn and pride, idleneſs, wantonneſs, curioſity, niceneſs, and impatience. But faſting is one of thoſe afflictions which reduces our body to want, our ſpirits to ſoberneſs, our condition to ſufferance, our deſires to abſtinence and cuſtoms of denial; and

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[a] Per univerſum orbem mos iſte obſervatur, ut, in honorem tanti ſacramenti, in os Chriſtiani priùs Dominicum corpus intraret quàm cæteri cibi. S. Aug. ep. 18.

[b] Plebs autem non aſſentiebatur horum orationibus; & proculdubio exorta fuiſſet ſeditio, niſi concionem ſolviſſet ſexta hora ſuperveniens, quæ noſtros ad prandium vocare ſolet ſabbatis. Joſeph. in vita ſua.

[c] Jer. v. 7.

[d] Ἐν τῇ κενῇ γαστρὶ τῶν καλῶν ἔρως ὐκ ἔστι· πεινῶσι ἡ Κύπρις πικρά. Achæus apud Athenæum.

Extraordinarios motus in cippo claudit jejunium. S. Cyp.

Jejunia enim nos contra peccata faciunt fortiores, concupiſcentias vincunt, tentationes repellunt, ſuperbiam inclinant, iram mitigant, & omnes bonæ voluntatis affectus ad maturitatem totius virtutis enutriunt. S. Leo, ſerm. iv. de Jejun.

Saginantur pugiles qui xerophagiis invaleſcunt.
Tertul. de Jejun.

ſo, by taking off the inundations of ſenſuality, leaves the enemies within in a condition of being eaſilier ſubdued. Faſting directly advances towards chaſtity; and by conſequence and indirect powers to patience, and humility, and indifferency. But then it is not the faſt of a day that can do this; it is not an act, but a ſtate of faſting, that operates to mortification. A perpetual temperance and frequent abſtinence may abate ſuch proportions of ſtrength and nutriment, as to procure a body mortified and leſſened in deſires. And thus St. Paul kept his *body under*, uſing ſeverities to it for the taming its rebellions and diſtemperatures. And St. Jerom reports of [a] St. Hilarion, that when he had faſted much and uſed coarſe diet, and found his luſt too ſtrong for ſuch auſterities, he reſolved to increaſe it to the degree of maſtery, leſſening his diet and encreaſing his hardſhip, till he ſhould rather think of food than wantonneſs. And many times the faſtings of ſome men are ineffectual, becauſe they promiſe themſelves cure too ſoon, or make too gentle applications, or put leſs proportions into their antidotes. I have read of a maiden, that, ſeeing a young man much tranſported with her love, and that he ceaſed not to importune her with all the violent purſuits that paſſion could ſuggeſt, told him, ſhe had made a vow to faſt forty days with bread and water, of which ſhe muſt diſcharge her ſelf before ſhe could think of correſponding to any other deſire; and deſired of him, as a teſtimony of his love, that he alſo would be a party in the ſame vow. The young man undertook it, that he might give probation of his love: but becauſe he had been uſed to a delicate and nice kind of life, in twenty days he was ſo weakened, that he thought more of death than love; and ſo got a cure for his intemperance, and was wittily cozened into remedy. But St. Jerom's counſel in this queſtion is moſt reaſonable, not allowing violent and long faſts, and then returns to an ordinary courſe; for theſe are too great changes of diet to conſiſt with health, and too ſudden and tranſient to obtain a permanent and natural effect: but [b] *a belly always hungry*, a table never full, a meal little and neceſſary, no extravagance, no freer repaſt, this is a ſtate of faſting, which will be found to be of beſt avail to ſuppreſs pungent luſts and rebellious deſires. And it were well to help this exerciſe with the aſſiſtances of ſuch auſterities which teach patience, and ingenerate a paſſive fortitude, and accuſtom us to a deſpight of pleaſures, and which are conſiſtent with our health. For if faſting be left to do the work alone, it may chance either to ſpoil the body, or not to ſpoil the luſt. Hard lodging, uneaſy garments, laborious poſtures of prayer, journies on foot, ſufferance of cold, paring away the uſe of ordinary ſolaces, denying every pleaſant appetite, rejecting the moſt pleaſant morſels; theſe are in the rank of *bodily exerciſes*, which though (as St. Paul ſays) of themſelves *they profit little*, yet they accuſtom us to acts of ſelf-denial in exterior inſtances, and are not uſeleſs to the deſigns of mortifying carnal and ſenſual luſts. They have [c] *a proportion of wiſdom* with theſe cautions; *viz. in will-worſhip*, that is, in voluntary ſuſception, when they are not impoſed as [d] neceſſary religion; *in humility*, that is, without contempt of others that uſe them not; *in neglecting of the body*, that is, when they are done for diſcipline and mortification, that the *fleſh* by ſuch handlings and rough uſages become leſs *ſatisfied* and more deſpiſed.

3. As faſting hath reſpect to the future, ſo alſo to the preſent; and ſo it operates in giving aſſiſtance to prayer. There is a *kind of Devil* that is *not to be ejected but by prayer and faſting*; that is, prayer elevated and made intenſe by a defecate and pure ſpirit, not loaden with the burthen of meat and vapours. St. [e] Baſil affirms, that there are certain angels deputed by God to miniſter, and to deſcribe all ſuch in every church who mortify themſelves by faſting; as if paleneſs and a meagre viſage were that *mark in the forehead* which the angel obſerved when he ſigned the ſaints in Jeruſalem to eſcape the judgment. Prayer is the [f] wings of the ſoul, and faſting is the wings of prayer. Tertullian calls it, [g] *the nouriſhment of prayer*. But this is a diſcourſe of Chriſtian philoſophy; and he that chooſes to do any act of ſpirit, or underſtanding, or attention, after a full meal, will then perceive that abſtinence had been the better diſpoſition to any intellectual and ſpiritual action. And therefore the church of God ever joined faſting to their more ſolemn offices of prayer. The apoſtles [h] *faſted and prayed* when *they laid hands* and invocated the Holy Ghoſt upon Saul and Barnabas. And theſe

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[a] Hieron. in vita S. Hilarion.

[b] Parcus cibus, & venter ſemper eſuriens triduana jejunia ſuperant. S. Hieron. ep. 8. ad Demetriad.

[c] Coloſ. ii. 23. Λόγον σοφίας.

[d] Εἴ τις ἐπίσκοπος, &c. γάμου, καὶ κρεῶν, καὶ οἴνου, οὐ δι' ἄσκησιν, ἀλλὰ διὰ βδελυγίαν ἀπέχεται, ἢ διορθούσθω, ἢ καθαιρείσθω. Can. Apoſt. 50.

[e] Serm. v. de Jejun.

[f] Jejunium animæ noſtræ alimentum, leves ei pennas producens. S. Bern. Serm. in Vigil. S. Andreæ.

Ἀκρίδας ἐσθίοντα Ἰωάννην, καὶ πτεροφυήσαντα τὴν ψυχὴν, dixit S. Chryſoſt.

[g] Jejuniis preces alere, lacrymari, & mugire noctes dieſque ad Dominum. Tertull.

[h] Acts xiii. 3.

alſo, [a] *when they had prayed with faſting, ordained elders in the churches of Lyſtra and Iconium.* And the vigils of every holy-day tells us, that the devotion of the feſtival is promoted by the faſt of the vigils.

4. BUT when faſting relates to what is paſt, [b] it becomes an inſtrument of repentance, it is a punitive and an afflictive action, an effect of godly ſorrow, a teſtimony of contrition, *a judging of our ſelves*, and *chaſtening* our bodies, *that we be not judged of the Lord.* The faſt of the Ninevites, and the faſt the prophet Joel calls for, and the diſcipline of the Jews in the rites of expiation, proclaim this uſefulneſs of faſting in order to repentance. And indeed it were a ſtrange repentance that had no ſorrow in it, and a ſtranger ſorrow that had no affliction; but it were the ſtrangeſt ſcene of affliction in the world, when the ſad and afflicted perſon ſhall [c] eat freely, and delight himſelf, and to the banquets of a full table ſerve up the chalice of tears and ſorrow, and no bread of affliction. Certainly he that makes much of himſelf, hath no great indignation againſt the ſinner, when himſelf is the man. And it is but a gentle revenge and an eaſy judgment, when the ſad ſinner ſhall do penance in good meals, and expiate his ſin with ſenſual ſatisfaction. So that faſting relates to religion in all variety and difference of time: It is an antidote againſt the poiſon of ſenſual temptations, an advantage to prayer, and an inſtrument of extinguiſhing the guilt and the affections of ſin, by judging our ſelves, and repreſenting in a judicatory of our own, even our ſelves being judges, that ſin deſerves condemnation, and the ſinner merits a high calamity. Which excellencies I repeat in the words of [d] Baruch the Scribe, he that was amanuenſis to the prophet Jeremiah: *The ſoul that is greatly vexed, which goeth ſtooping and feeble, and the eyes that fail, and the hungry ſoul, will give thee praiſe and righteouſneſs, O Lord.*

5. BUT now as faſting hath divers ends, ſo alſo it hath divers laws. If faſting be intended as an inſtrument of prayer, it is ſufficient that it be of that quality and degree that the ſpirit be clear, and the head undiſturbed; [e] an ordinary act of faſt, an abſtinence from a meal, or a deferring it, or a leſſening it when it comes, and the ſame abſtinence repeated according to the ſolemnity and intendment of the offices. And this is evident in reaſon, and the former inſtances, and the practice of the church, diſſolving ſome of her faſts which were in order only to prayer by noon, and as ſoon as the great and firſt ſolemnity of the day is over. But if faſting be intended as a punitive act, and an inſtrument of repentance, it muſt be greater. St. Paul at his converſion continued three days without eating or drinking. It muſt have in it ſo much affliction as to expreſs the indignation, and to condemn the ſin, and to judge the perſon. And although the meaſure of this cannot be exactly determined, yet the general proportion is certain: for a greater ſin there muſt be a greater ſorrow, and a greater ſorrow muſt be atteſted with a greater penalty. And [f] Ezra declares his purpoſe thus: *I proclaimed a faſt, that we might afflict ourſelves before God.* Now this is no farther required, nor is it in this ſenſe farther uſeful, but that it be a trouble to the body, an act of judging and ſeverity; and this is to be judged by proportion to the ſorrow and indignation, as the ſorrow is to the crime. But this affliction needs not to leave any remanent effect upon the body; but ſuch tranſient ſorrow which is conſequent to the abſtinence of certain times deſigned for the ſolemnity, is ſufficient as to this purpoſe. Only it is to be renewed often, as our repentance muſt be habitual and laſting: but it may be commuted with other actions of ſeverity and diſcipline, according to the cuſtoms of a church, or the capacity of the perſons, or the opportunity of circumſtances. But if the faſting be intended for mortification, then it is fit to be more ſevere, and medicinal by continuance, and quantity, and quality. To repentance, total abſtinences without interruption, that is, during the ſolemnity, ſhort and ſharp, are moſt apt: but towards the mortifying a luſt thoſe ſharp and ſhort faſts are not reaſonable; but a diet of faſting, an habitual ſubtraction of nutriment from the body, a long and laſting auſterity, increaſing in degrees, but not violent in any. And in this ſort of faſting we muſt be highly careful we do not violate a duty by fondneſs of an inſtrument; and becauſe we intend faſting as a help to mortify the luſt, let it not deſtroy the body, or retard the ſpirit, or violate our health, or impede us in any part of our neceſſary duty. As we muſt be careful that our faſt be reaſonable, ſerious and apt to the end of our deſigns,

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[a] Acts xiv. 23.

[b] Μετάνοια χωρὶς νηστείας ἀργή. S. Baſil. Joel ii. 15. Levit. xxiii. 27, &c. Iſai. xxii. 12.

[c] Οὐ σιτίον, οὐ ποτὸν ἔξεστι προσενέγκασθαι. Philo. Pœnitentia de ipſo quoque habitu ac victu mandat, ſacco & cineri incubare, corpus ſordibus obſcurare, animum mœroribus dejicere, atque illa quæ peccavit triſti tractatione mutare. Tertull. de Pœnit. c. 9.

[d] Baruch ii. 18. Lautè edere & meracius bibere ruſticitatis erat apud veteres. Unde ἐπισκυθίζειν, & Θρηΐκιην ἄμυστις, apud Callimachum: & in proverbium abiit, ἡ πλησμονὴ τῶν βαρβάρων· & apud Theophraſtum, δεινῶς φαγεῖν καὶ ζωρότερον πιεῖν, ruſticorum eſſe notatur, Περὶ ἀγροικίας.

[e] Παχεῖα γαστὴρ λεπτὸν οὐ τίκτει νόον.

[f] Ezra viii. 21. Vid. Dan. x. 12. Pſal. xxxv. 13. Levit. xvi. 29, 30, 31. Iſai. lviii. 3.

ſo we muſt be curious, that by helping one duty uncertainly, it do not certainly deſtroy another. Let us do it like honeſt perſons and juſt, without artifices and hypocriſy: but let us alſo do it like wiſe perſons, that it be neither in it ſelf unreaſonable, nor by accident become criminal.

6. In the purſuance of this diſcipline of faſting, the doctors of the church and guides of ſouls have not unuſefully preſcribed other annexes and circumſtances; as that all the other acts of deportment be ſymbolical to our faſting. If we faſt for mortification, let us entertain nothing of temptation or ſemblance to invite a luſt; no ſenſual delight, no freer entertainments of our body, to countenance or corroborate a paſſion. If we faſt that we may pray the better, let us remove all ſecular thoughts for that time: for it is vain to alleviate our ſpirits of the burthen of meat and drink, and to depreſs them with the loads of care. If for repentance we faſt, let us be moſt curious that we do nothing contrary to the deſign of repentance; knowing that a ſin is more contrary to repentance, than faſting is to ſin: and it is the greateſt ſtupidity in the world, to do that thing which I am now mourning for, and for which I do judgment upon my ſelf. And let all our actions alſo purſue the ſame deſign, helping one inſtrument with another, and being ſo zealous for the grace, that we take in all the aids we can to ſecure the duty. For to faſt from fleſh, and to eat delicate fiſh; not eat meat but to drink rich wines freely; to be ſenſual in the objects of our other appetites, and reſtrained only in one; to have no dinner, and that day to run on hunting, or to play at cards; are not handſome inſtances of ſorrow, or devotion, or ſelf-denial. It is beſt to accompany our faſting with the retirements of religion, and the enlargements of charity, giving to others what we deny to our ſelves. Theſe are proper actions; and although not in every inſtance neceſſary to be done at the ſame time; (for a man may give his alms in other circumſtances, and not amiſs;) yet as they are very convenient and proper to be joined in that ſociety, ſo to do any thing contrary to religion or to charity, to juſtice or to piety, to the deſign of the perſon or the deſign of the ſolemnity, is to make that become a ſin which of it ſelf was no virtue, but was capable of being hallowed by the end and the manner of its execution.

7. This diſcourſe hath hitherto related to private faſts, or elſe to faſts indefinitely. For what rules ſoever every man is bound to obſerve in private for faſting piouſly, the ſame rules the governors of a church are to intend in their publick preſcription. And when once authority hath intervened, and proclaimed a faſt, there is no new duty incumbent upon the private, but that we obey the circumſtances, letting them chooſe the time and the end for us. And though we muſt prevaricate neither, yet we may improve both; we muſt not do leſs, but we may enlarge: and when faſting is commanded only for repentance, we may alſo uſe it to prayers, and to mortification. And we muſt be curious that we do not obey the letter of the preſcription, and violate the intention, but obſerve all that care in publick faſts which we do in private; knowing that our private ends are included in the publick, as our perſons are in the communion of ſaints, and our hopes in the common inheritance of ſons: and ſee that we do not faſt in order to a purpoſe, and yet uſe it ſo as that it ſhall be to no purpoſe. Whoſoever ſo faſts as that it be not effectual in ſome degree towards the end, or ſo faſts that it be accounted of it ſelf a duty and an act of religion, without order to its proper end, makes his act vain, becauſe it is unreaſonable; or vain, becauſe it is ſuperſtitious.

The PRAYER.

O Holy and Eternal Jeſu, who didſt for our ſake faſt forty days and forty nights, and haſt left to us thy example, and thy prediction, that in the days of thy abſence from us, we thy ſervants and children of thy bride-chamber ſhould faſt; teach us to do this act of diſcipline ſo, that it may become an act of religion. Let us never be like Eſau, valuing a diſh of meat above a bleſſing; but let us deny our appetites of meat and drink, and accuſtom our ſelves to the yoke, and ſubſtract the fewel of our luſts, and the incentives of all our unworthy deſires: That our bodies being free from the intemperances of nutriment, and our ſpirits from the load and preſſure of appetite, we may have no deſires but of thee: that our outward man daily decaying by the violence of time, and mortified by the abatements of its too free and unneceſſary ſupport; it may by degrees reſign to the entire dominion of the ſoul, and may paſs from vanity to piety, from weakneſs to ghoſtly ſtrength, from darkneſs and mixtures of impurity to great tranſparence and clarity in the ſociety of a beatified ſoul, reigning with thee in the glories of eternity, O Holy and Eternal Jeſu. Amen.

DISCOURSE XIV.

Of the miracles, which Jeſus wrought for confirmation of his doctrine, during the whole time of his preaching.

1. WHEN Jeſus had ended his ſermon on the Mount, he deſcended into the vallies, to conſign his doctrine by the power of miracles and the excellency of a rare example; that he might not lay a yoke upon us which himſelf alſo would not bear: but as he became *the author*, ſo alſo *the finiſher of our faith*; what he deſigned in propoſition, he repreſented in his [a] own practice; and by theſe acts made a new ſermon, teaching all prelates and ſpiritual perſons to deſcend from their eminency of contemplation, and the authority and buſineſs of their diſcourſes, to apply themſelves to do more material and corporal mercies to afflicted perſons, and to preach by example as well as by their homilies. For he that teaches others well, and practiſes contrary, is like a fair candleſtick bearing a goodly and bright taper, which ſends forth light to all the houſe, but round about it ſelf there is a ſhadow and circumſtant darkneſs. The prelate ſhould be *the light* conſuming and ſpending it ſelf to enlighten others, ſcattering his rays round about from the angles of contemplation and from the corners of practice, but himſelf always tending upwards, till at laſt he expires into the element of love and celeſtial fruition.

2. BUT the miracles which Jeſus did were next to infinite; and every circumſtance of action that paſſed from him, as it was intended for mercy, ſo alſo for doctrine; and the impotent or diſeaſed perſons were not more cured, than we inſtructed. But becauſe there was nothing in the actions but what was a purſuance of the doctrines delivered in his ſermons, in the ſermon we muſt look after our duty, and look upon his practice as a verification of his doctrine, and inſtrumental alſo to other purpoſes. Therefore in general if we conſider his miracles, we ſhall ſee that he did deſign them to be a compendium of faith and charity. For he choſe to inſtance his miracles in actions of mercy, [b] that all his powers might eſpecially determine upon bounty and charity; and yet his acts of charity were ſo miraculous, that they became an argument of the divinity of his perſon and doctrine. Once he turned water into wine, which was a mutation by a ſupernatural power in a natural ſuſcipient, where a perſon was not the ſubject, but an element: and yet this was done to reſcue the poor bridegroom from affront and trouble, and to do honour to the holy rite of marriage. All the reſt, (unleſs we except his walking upon the waters,) during his natural life, were actions of relief and mercy, according to the deſign of God, manifeſting his power moſt chiefly in ſhewing mercy.

3. THE great deſign of miracles was to prove his miſſion from God, to convince the world of ſin, to demonſtrate his power of forgiving ſins, to endear his precepts, and that his diſciples [c] *might believe in him, and that believing they might have life through his name*. For he to whom God, by doing miracles, gave teſtimony from Heaven, muſt needs be ſent from God; and he who had received power to reſtore nature, and to create new organs, and to extract from incapacities, and from privations to reduce habits, was Lord of nature, and therefore of all the world. And thus could not but create great confidences in his diſciples, that himſelf would verify thoſe great promiſes upon which he eſtabliſhed his law. But that the argument of miracles might be infallible, and not apt to be reproved, we may obſerve its eminency by divers circumſtances of probability heightened up to the degree of moral demonſtration.

4. FIRST, The Holy Jeſus [d] *did miracles which no man* (before him, or at that time) *ever did*. Moſes ſmote the rock and water guſhed out; but he could not turn that water into wine. Moſes cured no diſeaſes by the empire of his will, or the word of his mouth; but Jeſus *healed all infirmities*. Eliſha raiſed a dead child to life; but Jeſus raiſed one who had been dead four days, and buried, and corrupted. Elias and Samuel, and all the prophets, and the ſucceſſion of the high-prieſts, in both the temples, put all together, never did ſo many or ſo great miracles as Jeſus did. He cured leprous perſons by his touch. He reſtored ſight to the blind, who were ſuch not by any intervening accident hindring the act of the organ, but by nature, who were *born blind*, and

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[a] Nec monſtravit tantùm, ſed etiam præceſſit, nè quis difficultatis gratiâ iter virtutis horreret. Lactant.

Ἅπαντες ἐσμεν τὸ νουθετεῖν σοφοὶ,
Αὐτοὶ δὲ ἁμαρτάνοντες οὐ γινώσκομεν. Menand.

Ennodius in vita Epiphanii; Pingebat actibus ſuis paginam quam legiſſet, & quod liber docuerat, vita ſignabat.

[b] Acts x. 38.

[c] John xx. 31. x. 38. v. 36.

[d] John xv. 24.

whoſe eyes had not any natural poſſibility to receive ſight; who could never ſee without creating of new eyes for them, or ſome integral part co-operating to viſion: and therefore the miracle was wholly an effect of a divine power, for nature did not at all co-operate; or, that I may uſe the elegant expreſſion of Dante, it was ſuch

" ——— à cui natura
" Non ſcaldo ferro mai, ne batte ancude,"

for which nature never did heat the iron, nor beat the anvil. He made crooked limbs become ſtraight, and the lame to walk; and habitual diſeaſes and inveterate of 18 years continuance (and one of 38) did diſappear at his ſpeaking, like darkneſs at the preſence of the ſun. He caſt out Devils, who by the majeſty of his perſon were forced to confeſs and worſhip him; and yet by his humility and reſtraints were commanded ſilence, or to go whither he pleaſed: and without his leave all the powers of Hell were as infirm and impotent as a withered member, and were not able to ſtir. He raiſed three dead perſons to life: he fed thouſands of people with two ſmall fiſhes and five little barley-cakes: and as a conſummation of all power and all miracles, he foretold, and verified it, that himſelf would riſe from the dead after three days ſepulture. But when himſelf had told them, he *did* miracles *which no man elſe ever did*, they were not able to reprove his ſaying with one ſingle inſtance: but the poor blind man found him out one inſtance to verify his aſſertion, *It was yet never heard, that any man opened the eyes of one that was born blind.*

5. SECONDLY, The ſcene of his preaching and miracles was Judea, which was the pale of the church, and God's incloſed portion, *of whom were the oracles and the fathers, and of whom, as concerning the fleſh, Chriſt was to come*, and to whom he was promiſed. Now ſince theſe miracles were for verification of his being the Chriſt, the promiſed Meſſias, they were then to be eſteemed a convincing argument, when all things elſe concurring, as the predictions of the prophets, the ſynchroniſms, and the capacity of his perſon, he brought miracles to atteſt himſelf to be the perſon ſo declared and ſignified. God would not ſuffer his people to be abuſed by miracles, nor from Heaven would ſpeak ſo loud in teſtimony of any thing contrary to his own will and purpoſes. They to whom he gave the oracles, and the law, and the predictions of the Meſſias, and declared before-hand, that at the [a] *coming* of the *Meſſias the blind ſhould ſee, the lame ſhould walk, and the deaf ſhould hear, the lepers ſhould be cleanſed, and to the poor the goſpel ſhould be preached*, could not expect a greater conviction for acceptation of a perſon, than when that happened which God himſelf by his prophets had conſigned as his future teſtimony; and if there could have been deception in this, it muſt needs have been culpable in the deceived perſon, to whoſe error a divine prophecy had been both nurſe and parent. So that taking the miracles Jeſus did in that conjunction of circumſtances, done to that people to whom all their oracles were tranſmitted by miraculous verifications, miracles ſo many, ſo great, ſo accidentally, and yet ſo regularly, to all comers and neceſſitous perſons that prayed for it, after ſuch predictions and cleareſt prophecies, and theſe prophecies owned by himſelf, and ſent by way of ſymbol and myſterious anſwer to John the Baptiſt, to whom he deſcribed his office by recounting his miracles in the words of the prediction; there cannot be any fallibility or weakneſs pretended to this inſtrument of probation, applied in ſuch circumſtances, to ſuch a people, who, being dear to God, would be preſerved from invincible deceptions; and being commanded by him to expect the Meſſias in ſuch an equipage of power and demonſtration of miracles, were therefore not deceived, nor could they, becauſe they were bound to accept it.

6. THIRDLY, So that now we muſt not look upon theſe miracles as an argument primarily intended to convince the Gentiles, but the Jews. It was a high probability to them alſo, and ſo it was deſigned alſo in a ſecondary intention: but it could not be an argument to them ſo certain, becauſe it was deſtitute of two great ſupporters. For they neither believed the prophets foretelling the Meſſias to be ſuch, nor yet ſaw the miracles done. So that they had no teſtimony of God before-hand, and were to rely upon human teſtimony for the matter of fact; which, becauſe it was fallible, could not infer a neceſſary concluſion alone and of it ſelf, but it put on degrees of perſuaſion, as the teſtimony had degrees of certainty or univerſality; that they alſo *which ſee not, and yet have believed*, might *be bleſſed*. And therefore Chriſt ſent his apoſtles to convert the Gentiles, and ſupplied in their caſe what in his own could not be applicable, or ſo concerning them. For, he ſent them to do miracles in the ſight of the nations, that they might not doubt the matter of fact; and prepared them alſo with a prophecy, fore-

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[a] Iſai. xxxv. 4, 5, 6. Matth. xi. 5.

foretelling that they ſhould do the ſame and greater miracles than he did. They had greater prejudices to conteſt againſt, and a more unequal diſtance from belief and aptneſſes to credit ſuch things; therefore it was neceſſary that the apoſtles ſhould do greater miracles to remove the greater mountains of objection. And they did ſo; and by doing it in purſuance and teſtimony of the ends of Chriſt and Chriſtianity, verified the fame and celebrity of their maſter's miracles, and repreſented to all the world his power, and his veracity, and his divinity.

7. FOURTHLY, For when the Holy Jeſus appeared upon the ſtage of Palæſtine, all things were quiet and at reſt from prodigy and wonder: nay, John the Baptiſt, who by his excellent ſanctity and auſterities had got great reputation to his perſon and doctrines, yet *did no miracle:* And no man elſe did any, ſave ſome few exorciſts among the Jews cured ſome demoniacks and diſtracted people. So that in this ſilence a prophet appearing with ſigns and wonders had nothing to leſſen the arguments, no oppoſite of like power, or appearances of a contradictory deſign. And therefore it perſuaded infinitely, and was certainly operative upon all perſons, whoſe intereſt and love of the world did not deſtroy the piety of their wills, and put their underſtanding into fetters. And Nicodemus, a doctor of the law, being convinced, ſaid, [a] *We know that thou art a doctor ſent from God: for no man can do thoſe things which thou doeſt, unleſs God be with him.* But when the Devil ſaw what great affections and confidences theſe miracles of Chriſt had produced in all perſons, he too late ſtrives to leſſen the argument by playing an after-game; and weakly endeavours to abuſe vicious perſons (whoſe love to their ſenſual pleaſures was of power to make them take any thing for argument to retain them) by ſuch low, few, inconſiderable, uncertain and ſuſpicious inſtances, that it grew to be the greateſt confirmation and extrinſecal argument in behalf of religion, that either friend or foe upon his own induſtry could have repreſented. Such as were the making an image ſpeak, or fetching fire from the clouds; and that the images of Diana Cyndias and Veſta among the Jaſiæans would admit no rain to wet them, or cloud to darken them; and that the bodies of them who entred into the temple of Jupiter in Arcadia would caſt no ſhadow. Which things [b] Polybius himſelf, one of their own ſuperſtition, laughs at as impoſtures, and ſays they were no way to be excuſed, unleſs the pious purpoſe of the inventors did take off from the malice of the lye. But the miracles of Jeſus were confeſſed, and wondred at by Joſephus; were publiſhed to all the world by his own diſciples, who never were accuſed, much leſs convicted of forgery; they were acknowledged by [c] Celſus and [d] Julian, the greateſt enemies of Chriſt.

8. BUT farther yet, themſelves gave it out, that one Caius was cured of his blindneſs by Æſculapius, and ſo was Valerius Aper; and at Alexandria, Veſpaſian cured a man of the gout by treading upon his toes, and a blind man with ſpittle. And when [e] Adrian the emperor was ſick of a fever, and would have killed himſelf, it is ſaid, two blind perſons were cured by touching him, whereof one of them told him, that he alſo ſhould recover. But although Veſpaſian by the help of Apollonius Tyaneus, who was his familiar, who alſo had the Devil to be his, might do any thing within the power of nature, or by permiſſion might do much more: yet beſides that this was of an uncertain and leſs credible report, if it had been true, it was alſo infinitely ſhort of what Chriſt did, and was a weak, ſilly imitation, and uſurping of the argument which had already prevailed upon the perſuaſions of men, beyond all poſſibility of confutation. And for that of Adrian, to have reported it is enough to make it ridiculous. And it had been a ſtrange power to have cured two blind perſons, and yet be ſo unable to help himſelf, as to attempt to kill himſelf by reaſon of anguiſh, impatience, and deſpair.

9. FIFTHLY, When the Jews and Phariſees believed not Chriſt for his miracles, and yet perpetually called for a ſign, he refuſed to give them a ſign which might be leſs than their prejudice, or the perſuaſions of their intereſt; but gave them one which alone is greater than all the miracles which ever were done, or ſaid to be done, by any Antichriſt, or the enemies of the religion put all together: a miracle which could have no ſuſpicion of impoſture, a miracle without inſtance, or precedent, or imitation. And that is, Jeſus's lying in the grave three days and three nights, and then riſing again, and appearing to many, and converſing for forty days together, giving probation of his riſing, of the verity of his body, making a glorious promiſe, which at Pentecoſt was verified, and ſpeaking ſuch things which became precepts and parts of the law for ever after.

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[a] John iii. 2.

[b] Lib. xvi. hiſt.

[c] Ἐνομίσατε αὐτὸν εἶναι υἱὸν Θεοῦ, ἐπεὶ χωλοὺς ϗ τυφλοὺς ἐθεράπευσε dixit Celſus apud Origen.

[d] Εἰ μή τις οἴεται τοὺς κυλλοὺς ϗ τυφλοὺς ἰάσασθαι, ϗ δαιμονῶντας ἐφορκίζειν, τῶν μεγίστων ἔργων εἶναι, &c. verba Juliani apud Cyril. l. vi.

[e] Spartianus in Adriano; qui addit Marium Maxumum dixiſſe, hæc facta fuiſſe per ſimulationem.

10. SIXTHLY, I add two things more to this conſideration. Firſt, that the apoſtles did ſuch miracles, which were infinitely greater than the pretenſions of any adverſary, and inimitable by all the powers of man or darkneſs. They raiſed the dead, they cured all diſeaſes by their very ſhadow paſſing by, and by the touch of garments; they converted nations, they foretold future events, they themſelves ſpake with tongues, and they gave the Holy Ghoſt by impoſition of hands, which enabled others to ſpeak languages which immediately before they underſtood not, and to cure diſeaſes, and to eject Devils. Now ſuppoſing miracles to be done by Gentile philoſophers and magicians after; yet when they fall ſhort of theſe in power, and yet teach a contrary doctrine, it is a demonſtration that it is a leſſer power, and therefore the doctrine not of divine authority and ſanction. And it is remarkable, that among all the Gentiles none ever reaſonably pretended to a power of caſting out Devils. For the Devils could not get ſo much by it, as things then ſtood: and beſides, in whoſe name ſhould they do it who worſhipped none but Devils and falſe Gods? Which is too violent preſumption, that the Devil was the architect in all ſuch buildings. And when the ſeven ſons of Sceva, who was a Jew,[a] (amongſt whom it was ſometimes granted to cure demoniacks) offered to exorciſe a poſſeſſed perſon, the Devil would by no means endure it, but beat them for their pains. And although it might have been for his purpoſe to have enervated the reputation of St. Paul, and by a voluntary ceſſion equalled St. Paul's enemies to him; yet either the Devil could not go out but at the command of a Chriſtian; or elſe to have gone out would have been a diſſervice and ruin to his kingdom: either of which declares, that the power of caſting out Devils is a teſtimony of God, and a probation of the divinity of a doctrine, and a proper argument of Chriſtianity.

11. SEVENTHLY, But, beſides this, I conſider, that the Holy Jeſus, having firſt poſſeſſed upon juſt title all the reaſonableneſs of human underſtanding by his demonſtration of a miraculous power, in his infinite wiſdom knew that the Devil would attempt to gain a party by the ſame inſtrument, and therefore ſo ordered it, that the miracles which ſhould be done, or pretended to, by the Devil, or any of the enemies of the croſs of Chriſt, ſhould be a confirmation of Chriſtianity, not do it diſſervice: For he foretold that Antichriſt and other enemies *ſhould come in prodigies and lying wonders, and ſigns.* Concerning which, although it may be diſputed whether they were truly miracles, or mere deceptions and magical pretences; yet becauſe they were ſuch which the people could not diſcern from miracles really ſuch, therefore it is all one, and in this conſideration they are to be ſuppoſed ſuch. But certainly, he that could fore-tell ſuch a future contingency, or ſuch a ſecret of predeſtination, was able alſo to know from what principle it came. And we have the ſame reaſon to believe that Antichriſt ſhall do miracles to evil purpoſes, as that he ſhall do any at all: he that fore-told us of the man, fore-told us alſo of the impoſture, and commanded us not to truſt him. And it had been more likely for Antichriſt to prevail upon Chriſtians by doing no miracles, than by doing any: For if he had done none, he might have eſcaped without diſcovery; but by doing miracles, as he verified the wiſdom and preſcience of Jeſus, ſo he declared to all the church, that he was the enemy of their Lord, and therefore leſs likely to deceive. For which reaſon it is ſaid, that *he ſhall deceive, if it were poſſible, the very elect*: that is therefore not poſſible, becauſe that by which he inſinuates himſelf to others, is by the elect, the church and choſen of God, underſtood to be his ſign and mark of diſcovery, and a warning. And therefore as the prophecies of Jeſus were an infinite verification of his miracles; ſo alſo this prophecy of Chriſt concerning Antichriſt diſgraces the reputation and faith of the miracles he ſhall act. The old prophets fore-told of the Meſſias, and of his miracles of power and mercy, to prepare for his reception and entertainment: Chriſt alone, and his apoſtles from him, fore-told of Antichriſt, and that he ſhould come in all miracles of deception and lying, that is, with true or falſe miracles to perſuade a lye:[b] and this was to prejudice his being accepted, according to the law of Moſes. So that as all that ſpake of Chriſt bad us believe him for his miracles; ſo all that foretold of Antichriſt bad us diſbelieve him the rather for his. And the reaſon of both is the ſame, becauſe the mighty and *ſurer word of prophecy* (as St. Peter calls it) being the greateſt teſtimony in the world of a divine principle, gives authority, or reprobates with the ſame power. They who are the predeſtinate of God, and they that are the *præſciti*, the fore-known and marked people, muſt needs ſtand or fall to the divine ſentence; and ſuch muſt this be acknowledged; for no *enemy of the croſs*, not the Devil himſelf, ever fore-told ſuch a contingency, or ſo rare, ſo perſonal, ſo voluntary, ſo unnatural an event, as this of the great Antichriſt.

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[a] Acts xix.

[b] Deut. xiii. 1, 2, 3.

12. AND thus the Holy Jeſus, having *ſhewed forth the treaſures of* his Father's *wiſdom* in revelations and holy precepts, and upon the ſtock of his father's greatneſs having diſpenſed and demonſtrated great power in miracles, and theſe being inſtanced in acts of mercy, he mingled the glories of Heaven to tranſmit them to earth, to raiſe us up to the participations of Heaven. He was pleaſed, by healing the bodies of infirm perſons, to invite their ſpirits to his diſcipline, and by his power to convey healing, and by that mercy to lead us into the treaſures of revelation; that both bodies and ſouls, our wills and underſtandings, by divine inſtruments, might be brought to divine perfections in the participations of a divine nature. It was a miraculous mercy that God ſhould look upon us in our blood, and a miraculous condeſcenſion that his Son ſhould take our nature; and even this favour we could not believe without many miracles: and ſo contrary was our condition to all poſſibilities of happineſs, that if ſalvation had not marched to us all the way in miracle, we had periſhed in the ruins of a ſad eternity. And now it would be but reaſonable, that, ſince God for our ſakes hath reſcinded ſo many laws of natural eſtabliſhment, we alſo for his, and for our own, would be content to do violence to thoſe natural inclinations, which are alſo criminal when they derive into action. Every man living in the ſtate of grace is a perpetual miracle, and his paſſions are made reaſonable, as his reaſon is turned into faith, and his ſoul to ſpirit, and his body to a temple, and earth to Heaven: and leſs than this will not diſpoſe us to ſuch glories, which being the portion of ſaints and angels, and the neareſt communications with God, are infinitely above what we ſee, or hear, or underſtand.

The PRAYER.

O Eternal Jeſu, who didſt receive great power, that by it thou mighteſt convey thy Father's mercies to us impotent and wretched people, give me grace to believe that heavenly doctrine which thou didſt ratify with arguments from above, that I may fully aſſent to all thoſe myſterious truths which integrate that doctrine and diſcipline, in which the obligations of my duty and the hopes of my felicity are depoſited. And to all thoſe glorious verifications of thy goodneſs and thy power add alſo this miracle, that I, who am ſtained with leproſy of ſin, may be cleanſed, and my eyes may be opened, that I may ſee the wonderful things of thy law: and raiſe thou me up from the death of ſin to the life of righteouſneſs, that I may for ever walk in the land of the living, abhorring the works of death and darkneſs. That as I am by thy miraculous mercy partaker of the firſt, ſo alſo I may be accounted worthy of the ſecond reſurrection: and as by faith, hope, charity and obedience, I receive the fruit of thy miracles in this life; ſo in the other I may partake of thy glories, which is a mercy above all miracles. Lord, if thou wilt, thou canſt make me clean. Lord, I believe; help mine unbelief. And grant that no indiſpoſition or incapacity of mine may hinder the wonderful operations of thy grace: but let it be thy firſt miracle to turn my water into wine, my barrenneſs into fruitfulneſs, my averſations from thee into unions and intimate adheſions to thy infinity, which is the fountain of mercy and power. Grant this for thy mercy's ſake, and for the honour of thoſe glorious attributes in which thou haſt revealed thy ſelf and thy Father's excellencies to the world, O Holy and *Eternal Jeſu.* Amen.

The End of the Second Part.

ἍΓΙΟΣ ἸΣΧΥΡΟΣ.

BRITISH MUSEUM 5 AU 70

THE HISTORY OF THE Liſe and Death OF THE HOLY JESUS:

BEGINNING
At the Second Year of His PREACHING, until His
ASCENSION.

WITH
CONSIDERATIONS and DISCOURSES
Upon the ſeveral Parts of the Story;
And PRAYERS fitted to the ſeveral MYSTERIES.

The THIRD PART.

Seneca *apud* Lactant. *lib.* vi. *c.* 17.

Hic eſt ille homo qui, ſive toto corpore tormenta patienda ſunt, ſive flamma ore recipienda eſt, ſive extendenda per patibulum manus, non quærit quid patiatur, ſed quam bene.

13. And thus the Holy Jesus, having [illegible] forth the treasures of his Father's wisdom in revelations and holy precepts, and [illegible] dignified and demonstrated great power in miracles, and [illegible] of mercy, he mingled the glories of Heaven, to transmit them [illegible] to the participations of Heaven. [illegible] persons, to invite their spirits to his discipline; and by his power to convert [illegible] and by that mercy to lead us into the [illegible] of revelations, that both [illegible] out with [illegible] of a divine nature. [illegible] should [illegible] blood [illegible] condition that [illegible] take our natures; and even this [illegible] we could not believe without many [illegible] and so contrary was our condition to all possibilities of happiness, that if salvation had not [illegible] to us all the way in miracles [illegible] it the fruits of a sad [illegible]. And now it would be but reasonable, that, since God for our sakes hath rescinded so many laws of natural establishment, we also for his, and for our own, would be content to do violence to those natural [illegible] which they derive into action [illegible] and his passions are [illegible] spirit, and his body to a temple, and earth to Heaven; and [illegible] pose us to such glories, which being the portion of saints and angels, [illegible] communications with God, are infinitely [illegible] to hear, or understand.

O Eternal Jesus, who didst receive great power, that [illegible] Father's mercies to us [illegible] that heavenly doctrine which thou didst verify with arguments from heaven, [illegible] may [illegible] feelings in which the obligations of my duty and the hopes of my felicity are deposited. And in all those glorious [illegible] rule, that I, who am leprous with [illegible] be cleansed, and my eyes may be opened, that I may [illegible] the wondrous [illegible] raise thou me up from the death of sin to the life of righteousness, [illegible] for ever walk in the [illegible] the [illegible] culous [illegible] surrection; and as by faith, hope, charity and perseverance, I receive the fruit of the mysteries in this life [illegible] all miracles. Lord, if thou wilt, thou canst make me clean. Lord, I believe [illegible] wonderful operations of thy grace; but let it be thy first miracle to turn my [illegible] into water, my barrenness into fruitfulness, my [illegible] from thee into union and intimate adherence to thy majesty, which is the fountain of mercy and power. Grant this for thy mercy's sake, and for the honour of those glorious attributes in which thou hast revealed thyself and thy Father's excellencies to the world, O Holy and Eternal Jesus. Amen.

The End of the Second Part.

TO THE
Right Honourable and Virtuous Lady,
THE
LADY FRANCES,
Counteſs of *CARBERY.*

MADAM,

S*INCE the Divine Providence hath been pleaſed to bind up the great breaches of my little fortune by your charity and nobleneſs of a religious tenderneſs, I account it an excellent circumſtance and handſomneſs of condition, that I have the fortune of St.* Athanaſius, *to have my perſecution relieved and comforted by an honourable and excellent Lady: And I have nothing to return for this honour done to me, but to do as the poor Paralyticks and infirm people in the Goſpel did, when our bleſſed Saviour cured them, they went and told it to all the country, and made the vicinage full of the report, as themſelves were of health and joy. And although I know the modeſty of your perſon and religion had rather do favours than own them; yet give me leave to draw aſide the curtain and retirement of your charity. For I had rather your virtue ſhould bluſh, than my unthankfulneſs make me aſhamed.* Madam, *I intended by this addreſs not only to return you ſpirituals for your temporals, but to make your noble uſages of me and mine to become, like your other charities, productive of advantages to the ſtanders-by. For although the beams of the Sun reflected from a marble, return not home to the body and fountain of light; yet they that walk below feel the benefit of a doubled heat. So whatever reflexions or returns of your favours I can make, although they fall ſhort of what your worth does moſt reaſonably challenge, and can proceed but towards you with forward deſires and diſtant approaches; yet I am deſirous to believe that thoſe who walk between us may receive aſſiſtances from this intercourſe, and the following papers may be auxiliary to the enkindling of their piety, as to the confirming and eſtabliſhing yours. For although the great prudence of your moſt noble Lord, and the modeſties of your own temperate and ſweeter diſpoſitions, become the great endearments of virtue to you; yet becauſe it is neceſſary that you make religion the buſineſs of your life, I thought it not an impertinent application, to expreſs my thankfulneſs to your Honour by that which may beſt become my duty and my gratitude, becauſe it may do you the greateſt ſervice.* Madam, *I muſt beg your pardon, that I have opened the ſanctuary of your retired virtues; but I was obliged to publiſh the endearments and favours of your noble Lord and your ſelf towards me and my relatives. For as your hands are ſo claſp'd, that one ring is the ligature of them both; ſo I have found emanations from that conjuncture of hands with a conſent ſo forward and apt, that nothing can ſatisfy for my obligations, but my being, in the greateſt eminency of thankfulneſs and humility of perſon,*

Madam,

Your Honour's moſt Obliged,

And moſt Humble Servant,

JER. TAYLOR.

TO THE
Right Honourable and Virtuous Lady,
THE
LADY ALICE,
Counteſs of CARBERY.

MADAM,

BY the Divine Providence, which diſpoſes all things wiſely and charitably, you are in the affections of your nobleſt Lord, ſucceſſor to a very dear and moſt excellent Perſon, and deſigned to fill up thoſe offices of piety to her dear pledges, which the haſte which God made to glorify and ſecure her would not permit her to finiſh. I have much ado to refrain from telling great ſtories of her wiſdom, piety, judgment, ſweetneſs, and religion; but that it would renew the wound and make our ſins bleed afreſh at the memory of that dear Saint: And we hope that much of the ſtorm of the Divine anger is over, becauſe He hath repaired the breach by ſending You to go on upon her account, and to give countenance and eſtabliſhment to all thoſe graces which were warranted and derived from her example. Madam, *the nobleneſs of your family, your education, and your excellent principles, your fair diſpoſitions, and affable comportment, have not only made all your ſervants confident of your worthineſs and great virtues, but have diſpoſed you ſo highly and neceſſarily towards an active and a zealous religion, that we expect it ſhould grow to the height of a great example, that you may draw others after you, as the eye follows the light in all the angles of its retirement, or open ſtages of its publication. In order to this, I have choſen your Honour into a new relation, and have endeared you to this inſtrument of piety; that if you will pleaſe to do it countenance, and employ it in your counſels and pious offices, it may miniſter to your appetites of religion; which as they are already fair and proſperous, ſo they may ſwell up to a vaſtneſs large enough to entertain all the ſecrets and pleaſures of religion, that ſo you may add, to the bleſſings and proſperities which always dwell in that family where you are now fixed, new title to more upon the ſtock of all thoſe promiſes which have ſecured and entailed felicities upon ſuch perſons who have no vanities, but very many virtues.* Madam, *I could not do you any ſervice but by doing my ſelf this honour, to adorn my Book with this faireſt title and inſcription of your name. You may obſerve, but cannot blame, my ambition; ſo long as it is inſtanced in a religious ſervice, and means nothing but this, that I may ſignify how much I honour that perſon who is deſigned to bring new bleſſings to that family which is ſo honourable in itſelf, and for ſo many reaſons dear to me.* Madam, *upon that account, beſides the ſtock of your own worthineſs, I am,*

Your Honour's moſt Humble,

And Obedient Servant,

JER. TAYLOR.

SECT. XIII.

BRITISH MUSEUM 5 AU

[illegible]

Joh. Iani Sartor fecit Londini.

When Jeſus *saw him, and knew that he had been now a long time in that Case,* he *saith unto him, wilt thou be made whole? The Impotent Man answered* him, *Sir, I have no Man, when the Water is troubled, to put me into the Pool; but while I am coming, another stepeth down before me,* Jeſus *saith unto him, Rise, take up thy Bed & walk. S^t. John. Chap. 5th. Ver. 6th. 7th. 8th.*

SECT. XIII.

Of the Second Year of the Preaching of JESUS.

1. WHEN the firſt year of Jeſus, the year of peace and undiſturbed preaching, was expired, [a] *there was a feaſt of the Jews, and Jeſus went up to Jeruſalem.* This feaſt was the ſecond paſſover he kept after he began to preach; not the feaſt of Pentecoſt or Tabernacles, both which were paſſed before Jeſus came laſt from Judea. Whither when he was now come, he finds an *impotent perſon lying at the pool of Betheſda, waiting till the Angel ſhould move the waters, after which whoſoever firſt ſtepped in, was cured of his Infirmity.* The poor man had waited *thirty eight Years,* and ſtill was prevented by ſome other of the hoſpital that needed a phyſician. But Jeſus ſeeing him, had pity on him, cured him, and bad him *take up his bed and walk.* This cure happened to be wrought *upon the ſabbath-day*; for which the Jews were ſo moved with indignation, that they *thought to ſlay him.* And their anger was enraged by his calling himſelf *the Son of God,* and *making himſelf equal with God.*

2. UPON occaſion of this offence, which they ſnatched at before it was miniſtred, Jeſus diſcourſes upon [b] "his miſſion, and derivation of his authority from the Father; "of the union between them, and the excellent communications of power, participa"tion of dignity, delegation of judicature, reciprocations and reflections of honour "from the Father to the Son, and back again to the Father. He preaches of life and "ſalvation to them that believe in him; prophecies of the reſurrection of the dead by "the efficacy of the voice of the Son of God; ſpeaks of the day of judgment, the dif"fering conditions after, of ſalvation and damnation reſpectively; confirms his "words and miſſion by the teſtimony of John the Baptiſt, of Moſes, and the other "ſcriptures, and of God himſelf. And ſtill the ſcandal riſes higher; [c] *for in the ſecond ſabbath after the firſt,* that is, in the firſt day of unleavened bread, which happened the next day after the weekly ſabbath, the Diſciples of Jeſus pull ripe ears of corn, rub them in their hands, and eat them to ſatisfy their hunger. For which he offered ſatisfaction to their ſcruples, convincing them, that works of neceſſity are to be permitted even to the breach of a poſitive temporary conſtitution; and that works of mercy are beſt ſerving of God upon any day whatſoever, or any part of the day that is vacant to other offices, and proper for a religious feſtival.

3. BUT when neither reaſon nor religion would give them ſatisfaction, but that they went about to kill him, he withdrew himſelf from Jeruſalem, and returned to Galilee: whither the Scribes and Phariſees followed him, obſerving his actions, and whether or no he would proſecute that which they called prophanation of their ſabbath, by doing acts of mercy upon that day. He ſtill did ſo. For entring into one of the ſynagogues of Galilee upon the ſabbath, Jeſus ſaw a Man (whom [d] St. Hierom reports to have been a Maſon) coming to Tyre, and complaining that his hand was withered, and deſiring help of him, that he might again be reſtored to the uſe of his hand, leſt he ſhould be compelled with miſery and ſhame to beg his bread. Jeſus reſtored his hand as whole as the other in the midſt of all thoſe ſpies and enemies. Upon which act, being confirmed in their malice, the Phariſees went forth, and joined with the Herodians, (a ſect of people who ſaid Herod was the Meſſias, becauſe by the decree of the Roman Senate, when the ſceptre departed from Judah, [e] he was declared king,) and both together took counſel how they might kill him.

4. JESUS therefore departed again to the ſea-coaſt, and his companies encreaſed as his fame: For he was now *followed by* new *multitudes from Galilee, from Judea, from Jeruſalem, from Idumæa, from beyond Jordan, from about Tyre and Sidon*; who hearing the report of his miraculous power to cure all diſeaſes by the word of his mouth, or the touch of his hand, or the handling his garment, came with their ambulatory hoſpital of their ſick and poſſeſſed: and they preſſed on him, but to touch

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[a] John 5. 1, &c. Iren. l. 2. c. 10. [b] John 5. 19, &c.

[c] Suidas, Voc. Σάββατον.

[d] Evangel. Naz. quod S. Hieron. ex Hebr. in Græcum tranſtulit. Ἥμισύ μου τέθνηκε, τὸ δ' ἥμισυ λιμὸς ἐλέγχει· Σῶσόν με βασιλεῦ, μυστικὸν ἡμίσεον.

[e] Sic Tertullianus, Epiphanius, Chryſoſtomus, & Theophylactus, & Hieron. dialog. adverſ. Lucif. uno ore affirmant.

him, and were all immediately cured. The Devils confeſſing publickly, that he was *the Son of God*, till they were upon all ſuch occaſions reſtrained and compelled to ſilence.

5. BUT now Jeſus having commanded a ſhip to be in readineſs againſt any inconvenience or troubleſome preſſures of the multitude, *went up into a mountain to pray, and continued in prayer all night*, intending to make the firſt ordination of Apoſtles: which the next day he did, chuſing out of the number of his Diſciples theſe [a] twelve to be Apoſtles; Simon Peter and Andrew, James and John, the ſons of Thunder, Philip and Bartholomew, Matthew and Thomas, James the ſon of Alphæus, and Simon the Zelot, Judas the brother of James, and Judas Iſcariot. With theſe deſcending from the mountain to the plain, he repeated the ſame ſermon, or much of it, which he had before preached in the firſt beginning of his propheſyings; that he might publiſh his Goſpel to theſe new auditors, and alſo more particularly inform his Apoſtles in the *doctrine of the kingdom*. For now, becauſe he *ſaw Iſrael ſcattered like ſheep, having no ſhepherd*, he did purpoſe to ſend theſe twelve abroad to preach repentance and the approximation of the kingdom; and therefore firſt inſtructed them in the myſterious parts of his holy doctrine, and gave them alſo particular inſtructions together with their temporary commiſſion for that journey.

6. “FOR *Jeſus ſent them out by two and two, giving them power over unclean ſpirits, and to heal all manner of ſickneſs and diſeaſes*; telling them they were *the light*, and *the eyes*, and *the ſalt of the world*, ſo intimating their duties of diligence, holineſs, and incorruption; giving them in charge to preach the Goſpel, to diſpenſe their Power and miracles freely, as they had received it, to anoint ſick perſons with oil, not to enter into any Samaritan Town, but to *go rather to the loſt ſheep of the houſe of Iſrael*, to provide no Viaticum for their journeys, but to put themſelves upon the religion and piety of their proſelytes. He arms them againſt perſecutions, gives them leave to fly the ſtorm from city to city, promiſes them the aſſiſtances of his ſpirit, encourages them, by his own example of long-ſufferance, and by inſtances of divine Providence expreſſed even to creatures of ſmalleſt value, and by promiſe of great rewards, to the confident confeſſion of his name; and furniſhes them with ſome propoſitions, which are like ſo many bills of Exchange, upon the truſt of which they might take up neceſſaries; promiſing great retributions not only to them who quit any thing of value for the ſake of *Jeſus*, but to them that offer a cup of water to a thirſty Diſciple. And with theſe inſtructions they departed to preach in the cities.

7. AND Jeſus returning to Capernaum, received the addreſs of a faithful Centurion of the legion called [b] *the iron legion* (which uſually quartered in Judea) in behalf of his ſervant, whom he loved, and who was grievouſly afflicted with the palſy; and healed him, as a reward and honour to his faith. And from thence going to the city Naim, he raiſed to life the only ſon of a widow, whom the mourners followed in the ſtreet, bearing the corpſe ſadly to his funeral. Upon the fame of theſe and divers other miracles, John the Baptiſt, who was ſtill in priſon, (for he was not put to death till the latter end of this year,) ſent two of his diſciples to him by divine Providence, or elſe by John's deſignation, to miniſter occaſions of his greater publication, enquiring if he was the Meſſias. To whom Jeſus returned no anſwer, but a demonſtration taken from the nature of the thing, and the glory of the miracles, ſaying, Return to John, and *tell* him *what you ſee*; [c] for *the deaf hear, the blind ſee, the lame walk, the dead are raiſed, and the lepers are cleanſed, and to the poor the goſpel is preached.* Which were the characteriſtick notes of the Meſſias, according to the predictions of the holy Prophets.

8. WHEN John's Diſciples were gone with this anſwer, Jeſus began to ſpeak concerning John, “of the auſterity and holineſs of his perſon, the greatneſs of his function, the divinity of his commiſſion; ſaying, that he was *greater than a Prophet, a burning and ſhining light, the* Elias *that was to come*, and the conſummation or ending of the old Prophets. Adding withal, that the perverſeneſs of that age was moſt notorious in the entertainment of himſelf and the Baptiſt: For neither could the Baptiſt, who *came neither eating nor drinking*, (that by his auſterity and mortified deportment, he might invade the judgment and affections of the people) nor Jeſus, who *came both eating and drinking*, (that by a moderate and an affable life, framed to the compliance and common uſe of men, he might ſweetly inſinuate into the affections of the multitude,) obtain belief amongſt them. They could object againſt every thing, but nothing could pleaſe them. But wiſdom and righteouſneſs had a theatre in its own family,

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[a] Sic et Apoſtolici ſemper duodenus honoris
Fulget apex, numero menſis imitatus et horas,
Omnibus ut rebus ſemper tibi militet annus. Sedul.

[b] Dio hiſt. Rom. lib. 55.

[c] Iſa. xxxv. 4, 5, 6.

Pag. 276. 1st

XXII.

And Jeſus came and ſpake unto them, saying, all Power is given unto me both in Heaven, and in Earth. Go ye therefore and teach all Nations. &c. St. Matt. Chap. 28th. Ver. 18th. 19th.

BRITISH 5 AU 70 MUSEUM

Now when John *heard in Prison the Works of* CHRIST, *he sent two of his Disciples. And said unto* him, *art thou* he *that should come, or do we look for another.* S.t Matt. Chap. 11th Ver. 2d. & 3d.

Sturt sc.

BRITISH
5 AU 70
MUSEUM

“ mily, and *is juſtified of all her children.* Then he proceeds to a more applied repre-
“ henſion of Capernaum and Chorazin, and Bethſaida, for being pertinacious in their
“ ſins and infidelity, in defiance and reproof of all the mighty works which had been
“ wrought in them. But theſe things were not revealed to all diſpoſitions; the wiſe
“ and the mighty of the world were not ſubjects prepared for the ſimplicity and ſofter
“ impreſſes of the Goſpel, and the downright Severity of its ſanctions. And therefore
“ Jeſus glorified God for the magnifying of his mercy, in that theſe things, which were
“ *hid from the great ones*, were *revealed to babes*; and concludes this ſermon with an in-
“ vitation of all *wearied* and diſconſolate perſons, laden with ſin and miſery, to *come to*
“ *him*, promiſing *eaſe to their burthens*, and *refreſhment to their wearineſs*, and to ex-
“ change their heavy preſſures into an *eaſy yoke*, and a *light burthen*.

9. WHEN Jeſus had ended this ſermon, one of the [a] phariſees named Simon, invited him to *eat with him*: Into whoſe houſe when he was entred, a certain *woman that was a ſinner*, abiding there in the city, heard of it; her name was Mary. She had been married to a noble perſonage, a native of the town and caſtle of Magdal, from whence ſhe had her name of Magdalen, though ſhe herſelf was born in Bethany. A widow ſhe was, and prompted by her wealth, liberty and youth, to an intemperate life, and too free entertainments. She came to Jeſus into the Phariſee's houſe; not (as did the ſtaring multitude) to glut her eyes with the ſight of a miraculous and glorious perſon; nor (as did the Centurion, or the Syro-phœnician, or the Ruler of the ſynagogue) for cure of her ſickneſs, or in behalf of her friend, or child, or ſervant; but (the only example of ſo coming) ſhe came in remorſe and regret for her ſins. She came to Jeſus to lay her burthen at his feet, and to preſent him with a broken heart, and a weeping eye, and great affection, and a box of Nard Piſtick, ſalutary and precious. For ſhe came trembling, and fell down before him, weeping bitterly for her ſins, pouring out a flood great enough [b] to *waſh the feet* of the bleſſed Jeſus, and *wiping them with the hairs of her head*: After which ſhe *brake the box*, and *anointed his feet with ointment*. Which expreſſion was ſo great an ecſtaſie of love, ſorrow, and adoration, that to anoint the feet even of the greateſt monarch was long unknown, and in all the pomps and greatneſſes of the Roman prodigality, it was not uſed till Otho taught it to Nero; in whoſe inſtance it was by Pliny [c] reckoned for a prodigy of unneceſſary profuſion: And in it ſelf without the circumſtance of ſo free a diſpenſation, it was a preſent for a prince, and an Alabaſter-box of Nard Piſtick was ſent as a preſent from Cambyſes to the king of Æthiopia.

10. WHEN Simon obſerved this ſinner ſo buſy in the expreſſes of her religion and veneration to Jeſus, he thought with himſelf that this was *no prophet*, that did *not know her to be a ſinner*, or no juſt perſon, that would ſuffer her to *touch him*. For although the Jews religion did permit harlots of their own nation to live, and enjoy the privileges of their nation, ſave that their oblations were refuſed; yet the Phariſees, who pretended to a greater degree of ſanctity than others, would not admit them to civil uſages, or the benefits of ordinary ſociety; and thought religion itſelf, and the honour of a prophet, was concerned in the intereſts of the ſame ſuperciliouſneſs. And therefore Simon made an objection within himſelf. Which Jeſus knowing (for he underſtood his thoughts as well as his words) made her apology and his own in a civil queſtion expreſſed in a parable of two debtors, to whom a greater and leſs debt reſpectively was forgiven; both of them concluding, that they would love their merciful creditor in proportion to his mercy and donative. And this was the caſe of Mary Magdalen, to whom, becauſe *much was forgiven, ſhe loved much*, and expreſſed it in characters ſo large, that the Phariſee might read his own incivilities and inhoſpitable entertainment of the Maſter, when it ſtood confronted with the magnificency of Mary Magdalene's penance and charity.

11. WHEN Jeſus had dined, he was preſented with the ſad ſight of a poor demoniack poſſeſſed with a blind and dumb devil; in whoſe behalf his friends entreated Jeſus, that he would caſt the devil out: Which he did immediately, and *the blind man ſaw, and the dumb ſpake*, ſo much to the amazement of the people, that they ran in ſo prodigious companies after him, and ſo ſcandalized the Phariſees, who thought that by means of this Prophet their reputation would be leſſened, and their ſchools empty, that firſt a rumour was ſcattered up and down from an uncertain principle, but communi-

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[a] Luke vij.

[b] ——— ——— ——— purgata receſſit
Per gemitum; propriique lavans in gurgite fletus,
Munda ſuis lachrymis redit, et deterſa capillis.
Sedul. l. 3.

[c] Plin. natur. hiſt. lib. 13. c. 3. Vide Athen. Deipnoſoph. l. 12. c. 30. Herodotus in Thalia.

cated with tumult and apparent noiſes, that Jeſus was *beſide himſelf*. Upon which rumour his friends and kindred came together to ſee, and to make proviſions accordingly; and the holy Virgin-mother came herſelf, but without any apprehenſions of any ſuch horrid accident. The words and things ſhe had from the beginning laid up in her heart, would furniſh her with principles excluſive of all apparitions of ſuch fancies: But ſhe came to ſee what that perſecution was, which under that colour, it was likely the Phariſees might commence.

12. WHEN the mother of Jeſus and his kindred came, they found him in an houſe encircled with people full of wonder and admiration. And there the holy Virgin-mother might hear part of her own prophecy verified, That the generations of the earth ſhould call her bleſſed: For a woman worſhipping Jeſus cried out, *Bleſſed is the womb that bare thee, and the paps that gave thee ſuck.* To this Jeſus replied, not denying her to be highly bleſſed who had received the honour of being the mother of the Meſſias, but advancing the dignities of ſpiritual excellencies far above this greateſt temporal honour in the world; *Yea rather, bleſſed are they that hear the word of God, and do it.* For in reſpect of the iſſues of ſpiritual perfections and their proportionable benedictions, all immunities and temporal honours are empty and hollow bleſſings; and all relations of kindred diſband and empty themſelves into the great channels and floods of divinity.

13. FOR when Jeſus being in the houſe, they told him, *his mother and his brethren ſtaid for him without*; he told them, thoſe relations were leſs than the ties of duty and religion. For thoſe dear names of mother and brethren, which are hallowed by the laws of God and the endearments of nature, are made far more ſacred when a ſpiritual cognation does ſupervene, when the relations are ſubjected in perſons religious and holy: But if they be abſtract and ſeparate, the conjunction of perſons in ſpiritual bands, in the ſame faith, and the ſame hope, and the union of them in the ſame myſtical Head, is an adunation nearer to identity than thoſe diſtances between parents and children, which are only cemented by the actions of nature, as it is of diſtinct conſideration from the ſpirit. For Jeſus pointing to his Diſciples, ſaid, *Behold my mother and my brethren, for whoſoever doeth the will of my Father which is in Heaven, he is my brother, and ſiſter, and mother.*

14. BUT the Phariſees upon the occaſion of the miracles, renewed the old quarrel; *He caſteth out devils by Beelzebub.* Which ſenſeleſs and illiterate objection Chriſt having confuted, charged them highly upon the guilt of an unpardonable crime, telling them, that the ſo charging thoſe actions of his done in the virtue of the divine Spirit, is a ſin againſt the Holy Ghoſt: And however they might be bold with the Son of Man, and prevarications againſt his words, or injuries to his perſon, might, upon repentance and baptiſm, find a pardon; yet it was a matter of greater conſideration to ſin againſt the Holy Ghoſt; that would find no pardon here, nor hereafter. But taking occaſion upon this diſcourſe, he by an ingenious and myſterious parable gives the world great caution of recidivation and backſliding after repentance. For if the *devil returns into an houſe once ſwept and garniſhed, he bringeth ſeven ſpirits more impure than himſelf; and the laſt eſtate of that man is worſe than the firſt.*

15. AFTER this, Jeſus went from the houſe of the Phariſee, and coming to the ſea of Tiberias or Genezareth, (for it was called the ſea of Tiberias from a town on the banks of the lake,) taught the people upon the ſhore, himſelf ſitting in the ſhip. But he taught them by parables, under which were hid myſterious ſenſes, which ſhined through their veil, like a bright ſun through an eye cloſed with a thin eye lid: It being light enough to ſhew their infidelity, but not to diſpel thoſe thick Egyptian darkneſſes which they had contracted by their habitual indiſpoſitions and pertinacious averſations. By the parable *of the ſower ſcattering his ſeed by the way-ſide*, and *ſome on ſtony*, *ſome on thorny*, *ſome on good ground*, he intimated the ſeveral capacities or indiſpoſitions of men's hearts, the careleſſneſs of ſome, the frowardneſs and levity of others, the eaſineſs and ſoftneſs of a third, and how they are ſpoiled with worldlineſs and cares, and how many ways there are to miſcarry, and that but one ſort of men receive the word, and bring forth the fruits of a holy life. By the parable of *tares permitted to grow amongſt the wheat*, he intimated the toleration of diſſenting opinions not deſtructive of piety or civil ſocieties. By the three parables of the *ſeed growing inſenſibly*, of the *grain of muſtard-ſeed ſwelling up to a tree*, of *a little leven qualifying the whole lump*, he ſignified the increment of the Goſpel, and the bleſſings upon the Apoſtolical ſermons.

Behold a Sower went forth to sow, and when he had sowed some Seeds fell by the Way side, and the Fowls came and devoured them up.

St. Matt. Chap. 13th. Ver. 3d. & 4th.

BRITISH
5 AU 70
MUSEUM

16. WHICH parables when he had privately to his Apoſtles rendered into their proper ſenſes, he added to them two parables concerning the dignity of the Goſpel, comparing it to *treaſure hid in a field*, and *a jewel of great price, for the purchaſe* of which every good merchant muſt *quit all that he hath* rather than miſs it: Telling them withal, that however purity and ſpiritual perfections were intended by the Goſpel, yet it would not be acquired by every perſon; but the publick profeſſors of Chriſtianity ſhould be a mixed multitude, *like a net incloſing fiſhes good and bad.* After which diſcourſes he retired from the ſea-ſide, and went to his own city of Nazareth; where he preached ſo excellently upon certain words of the Prophet [a] Iſaiah, that all the people wondred at the wiſdom which he expreſſed in his divine diſcourſes. But the men of Nazareth did not do honour to the Prophet, that was their country-man, becauſe they knew him in all the diſadvantage of youth, and kindred, and trade, and poverty, ſtill retaining in their minds the infirmities and humilities of his firſt years, and keeping the ſame apprehenſions of him a Man and a glorious Prophet, which they had to him a Child in the ſhop of a carpenter. But when Jeſus in his ſermon had reproved their infidelity, at which he wondred, and therefore did but few miracles there in reſpect of what he had done at Capernaum, and intimated the prelation of that city before Nazareth; *they thruſt him out of the city, and led him to the brow of the hill on which the city was built*, intending *to throw him down headlong*. But his work was not yet finiſhed, therefore he *paſſing through the midſt of them, went his way.*

17. JESUS therefore departing from Nazareth, went up and down to all the towns and caſtles of Galilee, attended by his Diſciples, and certain women out of whom he had caſt unclean ſpirits; ſuch as were Mary Magdalene, Johanna wife to Chuza Herod's Steward, Suſanna, and ſome others, who did for him offices of proviſion, and *miniſtred to him out of their own ſubſtance*, and became part of that holy college which about this time began to be full; becauſe now the Apoſtles were returned from their preaching, full of joy that the devils were made ſubject to the word of their mouth, and the empire of their prayers, and invocation of the holy name of Jeſus. But their maſter gave them a lenitive to aſſwage the tumour and excreſcency, intimating that ſuch privileges are not ſolid foundations of a holy joy, but ſo far as they co-operate toward the great end of God's glory and their own ſalvation; [b] to which when they are conſigned, and *their names written in Heaven*, in the book of Election and Regiſters of Predeſtination, then their joy is reaſonable, holy, true, and perpetual.

18. BUT when Herod had heard theſe things of Jeſus, preſently his apprehenſions were ſuch as derived from his guilt: [c] He thought it was John the Baptiſt who was *riſen from the dead*, and that theſe *mighty works* were demonſtrations of his power, increaſed by the ſuperadditions of immortality and diviner influences made proportionable to the honour of a martyr, and the ſtate of ſeparation. For a little before this time Herod had ſent to the caſtle of Macheruns, where John was priſoner, and cauſed him to be beheaded. His head Herodias buried in her own palace, thinking to ſecure it againſt a re-union, leſt it ſhould again diſturb her unlawful luſts, and diſquiet Herod's conſcience. But the body the diſciples of John gathered up, and carried it with honour and ſorrow, and buried it in Sebaſte, in the confines of Samaria, making his grave between the bodies of Elizeus and Abdias the Prophets. And about this time was the Paſſover of the Jews.

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[a] Iſaiah lxi. 1. [b] Vid. Diſcourſe of the Certainty of Salvation, Num. 3. [c] Virtutem incolumem odimus, ſublatam ex oculis quærimus invidi. Horat. l. 3. Od. 24.

DISCOURSE XV.

Of the Excellency, Eaſe, Reaſonableneſs and Advantages of bearing Chriſt's *Yoke, and living according to his Inſtitution.*

1. THE holy Jeſus came to break from off our necks two great yokes; the one of ſin, by which we were fettered and impriſoned in the condition of ſlaves and miſerable perſons; the other of Moſes's law, by which we were kept in pupilage and minority, and a ſtate of imperfection; and aſſerted us into *the glorious liberty of the ſons of God.* The firſt was a deſpotick empire, and the government of a tyrant: The ſecond was of a School-maſter, ſevere, abſolute, and imperious, but it was in order to a farther good; yet nothing pleaſant in the ſufferance and load. And now Chriſt having taken off theſe two, hath put on a third. He quits us of our burthen, but not of our duty; and hath changed the former tyranny and the leſs perfect diſcipline into the ſweetneſs of paternal regiment, and the excellency of ſuch an inſtitution, whoſe every precept carries part of its reward in hand, and aſſurances of after-glories. Moſes's law was like ſharp and unpleaſant phyſick, certainly painful, but uncertainly healthful. For it was not then communicated to them by promiſe and univerſal revelations, that the end of their obedience ſhould be life eternal: But they were full of hopes it might be ſo, as we are of health when we have a learned and wiſe phyſician. But as yet the reward was in a cloud, and the hopes in fetters and confinement. But the law of Chriſt is like Chriſt's healing of diſeaſes; he does it eaſily, and he does it infallibly. The event is certainly conſequent, and the manner of cure is by a *touch* of his hand, or a *word* of his mouth, or an approximation to the *hem of his garment*, without pain and vexatious inſtruments. My meaning is, that chriſtianity is by the aſſiſtance of Chriſt's ſpirit, which he promiſed us, and gave us in the goſpel, made very eaſy to us: And yet a reward ſo great is promiſed, as were enough to make a lame man to walk, and a broken arm endure the burthen; a reward great enough to make us willing to do violence to all our inclinations, paſſions, and deſires. A hundred weight to a giant is a light burthen, becauſe his ſtrength is diſproportionably great, and makes it as eaſy to him as an ounce is to a child. And yet if we had not the ſtrength of giants, if the hundred weight were of gold or jewels, a weaker perſon would think it no trouble to bear that burthen, if it were the reward of his portage, and the hire of his labours. The Spirit is given to us to enable us, and Heaven is promiſed to encourage us: The firſt makes us able, and the ſecond makes us willing: And when we have power and affections, we cannot complain of preſſure. And this is the meaning of our bleſſed Saviour's invitation; [a] *Come unto me, for my burthen is light, my yoke is eaſy.* Which St. John alſo obſerved, [b] *For this is the love of God, that we keep his commandments; and his commandments are not grievous.* For *whatſoever is born of God, overcometh the world: and this is the victory that overcometh, even our faith*; that is, our belief of God's promiſes, the promiſe of the Spirit for preſent aid, and of heaven for the future reward, is ſtrong enough to overcome all the World.

2. BUT beſides that, God hath made his yoke eaſy by exterior ſupports more than ever was in any other religion; Chriſtianity is of itſelf, according to human eſtimate, a religion more eaſy and deſireable by our natural and reaſonable appetites, than ſin in the midſt of all its pleaſures and imaginary felicities. Virtue hath more pleaſure in it than ſin, and hath all ſatisfactions to every deſire of man in order to humane and prudent ends; which I ſhall repreſent in the conſideration of theſe particulars: 1. To live according to the laws of Jeſus, is in ſome things moſt natural and proportionable to the deſires and firſt intentions of nature. 2. There is in it leſs trouble than in ſin. 3. it conduces infinitely to the content of our lives, and natural and political ſatisfactions. 4. It is a means to preſerve our temporal lives long and healthy. 5. It is moſt reaſonable; and he only is prudent that does ſo, and he is a fool that does not. And all this beſides the conſiderations of a glorious and happy eternity.

3. CONCERNING the firſt I conſider, that we do very ill, when inſtead of making our natural infirmity an inſtrument of humility, and of recourſe to the grace of God, we pretend the ſin of Adam to countenance our actual ſins, natural infirmity to excuſe our malice; either laying Adam in fault, for deriving the diſability upon us, or God,

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[a] Mat. xi. 28, 30. [b] 1 John v. 3, 4.

for putting us into the neceſſity. But the evils that we feel in this, are from the rebellion of the inferior appetite againſt reaſon, or againſt any religion that puts reſtraint upon our firſt deſires. And therefore in carnal and ſenſual inſtances accidentally we find the more natural averſeneſs, becauſe God's laws have put our iraſcible and concupiſcible faculties in fetters and reſtraints. Yet in matters of duty, which are of immaterial and ſpiritual concernment, all our natural reaſon is a perfect enemy and contradiction to, and a law againſt vice. It is natural for us to love our parents, and they who do not are unnatural; they do violence to thoſe diſpoſitions which God gave us to the conſtitution of our nature, and for the deſigns of virtue: And all thoſe tenderneſſes of affection, thoſe bowels and relenting diſpoſitions, which are the endearments of parents and children, are alſo the bands of duty. Every degree of love makes duty delectable; and therefore either by nature we are inclined to hate our parents, which is againſt all reaſon and experience; or elſe we are by nature inclined to do them all that which is the effect of love to ſuch ſuperiors, and principles of being and dependency: And every prevarication from the rule, effects and expreſſes of love, is a contradiction to nature, and a mortification; to which we cannot be invited by any thing from within, but by ſomething from without, that is violent and preternatural. There are alſo many other virtues even in the matter of ſenſual appetite, which none can loſe, but by altering in ſome degree the natural diſpoſition. And I inſtance in the matter of carnality and uncleanneſs, to which poſſibly ſome natures may think themſelves apt and diſpoſed: But yet God hath put into our mouths a bridle to curb the licentiouſneſs of our ſpeedy appetite, putting into our very natures a principle as ſtrong to reſtrain it, as there is in us a diſpoſition apt to invite us. And this is alſo in perſons who are moſt apt to the vice, women and young perſons, to whom God hath given a modeſty and ſhame of nature, that the entertainments of luſt may become contradictions to our retreating and backward modeſty, more than they are ſatisfactions to our too-forward appetites. It is as great a mortification and violence to nature to bluſh, as to loſe a deſire: And we find it true, when perſons are invited to confeſs their ſins, or to aſk forgiveneſs publickly, a ſecret ſmart is not ſo violent as a publick ſhame. And therefore to do an action which brings ſhame all along, and opens the ſanctuaries of nature, and makes all her retirements publick, and diſmantles her incloſure, as luſt does, and the ſhame of carnality, hath in it more aſperity and abuſe to nature, than the ſhort pleaſure to which we are invited can repay. There are unnatural luſts, luſts which are ſuch in their very condition and conſtitution, that a man muſt turn a woman, and a woman become a beaſt in acting them: And all luſts that are not unnatural in their own complexion, are unnatural by a conſequent and accidental violence. And if luſt hath in it diſſonancies to nature, there are but few apologies left to excuſe our ſins upon nature's ſtock: And all that ſyſtem of principles and reaſonable inducements to virtue, which we call the law of nature, is nothing elſe but that firm ligature and incorporation of virtue to our natural principles and diſpoſitions, which whoſo prevaricates, does more againſt nature than he that reſtrains his appetite. And beſides theſe particulars, there is not in our natural diſcourſe any inclination directly and by intention of it ſelf contrary to the love of God: Becauſe by God we underſtand that [a] fountain of Being which is infinitely perfect in it ſelf, and of great good to us; and whatſoever is ſo apprehended, it is as natural for us to love, as to love any thing in the world; for we can love nothing but what we believe to be good in it ſelf, or good to us. And beyond this, [b] there are in nature many principles and reaſons to make an aptneſs to acknowledge and confeſs God; and by the conſent of nations, which they alſo have learned from the dictates of their nature, all men in ſome manner or other worſhip God. And therefore when this our nature is determined in its own indefinite principle to the manner of worſhip, all acts againſt the love, the obedience, and the worſhip of God, are alſo againſt nature, and offer it ſome rudeneſs and violence. And I ſhall obſerve this, and refer it to every man's reaſon and experience, that the greateſt difficulties of virtue commonly apprehended, commence not ſo much upon the ſtock of nature, as of [c] education and evil habits. Our virtues are difficult, becauſe we at firſt get ill habits; and theſe habits muſt be unrooted before we do well, and that's our trouble. But if by the ſtrictneſs of diſcipline and wholſome education we begin at firſt in our duty and the practice of virtuous principles, we ſhall find virtue made as natural to us, while it is cuſtomary and habitual, as we pretend infirmity to be and propenſity to vicious practices. And this we are taught by that excellent Hebrew, who ſaid, [a] *Wiſdom is eaſily ſeen of them that love her, and found of ſuch as ſeek her. She preventeth them that deſire her, in making herſelf firſt known unto them. Whoſo ſeeketh her early ſhall have no great travail; for he ſhall find her ſitting at his doors.*

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[a] Ἐγὼ γὰρ οὐκ ἂν οὐδὲ ἄλλο περὶ θεοῦ ὅ, τι ἂν εἴποιμι ἔχω, ἢ ὅτι ἀγαθός τε παντάπασιν εἴη, καὶ ξύμπαντα ἐν τῇ ἐξουσίᾳ τῇ αὐτοῦ ἔχει· λεγέτω δὲ ὥσπερ γινώσκειν ἕκαστος ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν οἴεται, καὶ ἱερεὺς καὶ ἰδιώτης. Procop. Gothic. 1.

[b] Τοιοῦτος μὲν οὖν ὁ τοῖς λογικοῖς γένεσιν ἐνουσιωμένος ὅρκος, ἔχεσθαι τοῦ πατέρος αὐτῶν καὶ ποιητοῦ, καὶ μὴ παραβαίνειν μηδαμῆ τοὺς ὑπ' ἐκείνου διορισθέντας νόμους. Hierocl.

[c] Siquidem Leonides Alexandri pædagogus quibuſdam eum vitiis imbuit, quæ robuſtum quoque & jam maximum regem ab illa inſtitutione puerili ſunt proſecuta. Quintil. l. 1. c. 1.

4. SECONDLY, In [b] the ſtrict obſervances of the law of Chriſtianity, there is leſs trouble than in the habitual courſes of ſin. For if we conſider the general deſign of Chriſtianity, it propounds to us in this world nothing that is of difficult purchaſe, nothing beyond that God allots us by the ordinary and common Providence, ſuch things which we are to receive without care and ſolicitous vexation: So that the ends are not big, and the way is eaſy; and this walked over with much ſimplicity and ſweetneſs, and thoſe obtained without difficulty. He that propounds to himſelf to live low, pious, humble, and retired, his main employment is nothing but ſitting quiet and undiſturbed with variety of impertinent affairs. But he that loves the world and its acquiſitions, entertains a thouſand buſineſſes, and every buſineſs hath a world of employment, and every employment is multiplied and made intricate by circumſtances, and every circumſtance is to be diſputed, and he that diſputes ever hath two ſides in enmity and oppoſition; and by this time there is a genealogy, a long deſcent and cognation of troubles, branched into ſo many particulars, that it is troubleſome to underſtand them, and much more to run through them. The ways of virtue are very much upon the defenſive, and the work one, uniform and little: they are like watch within a ſtrong caſtle, if they ſtand upon their guard, they ſeldom need to ſtrike a ſtroke. But vice is like ſtorming of a Fort, full of noiſe, trouble, labour, danger, and diſeaſe. How eaſy a thing is it to reſtore the pledge? but if a man means to defeat him that truſted him, what a world of arts muſt he uſe to make pretences? to delay firſt, then to excuſe, then to object, then to intricate the buſineſs, next to quarrel, then to forſwear it, and all the way to palliate his crime, and repreſent himſelf honeſt? And if an oppreſſing and greedy perſon have a deſign to couzen a young heir, or to get his neighbour's land, the cares of every day, and the interruptions of every night's ſleep, are more than the purchaſe is worth: Whereas he might buy virtue at half that watching, and the leſs painful care of a fewer number of days. [c] A plain ſtory is ſooneſt told, and beſt confutes an intricate lye. And when a perſon is examined in judgment, one falſe anſwer asks more wit for its ſupport and maintenance than a hiſtory of truth. And ſuch perſons are put to ſo many ſhameful retreats, falſe colours, fucus's, and daubings with untempered mortar, to avoid contradiction or diſcovery, that the labour of a falſe ſtory ſeems in the order of things to be deſigned the beginning of its puniſhment. And if we conſider how great a part of our religion conſiſts in prayer, and how eaſy a thing God requires of us when he commands us to pray for bleſſings, the duty of a Chriſtian cannot ſeem very troubleſome.

5. [d] AND indeed I can hardly inſtance in any vice, but there is viſibly more pain in the order of acting and obſerving it, than in the acquiſt or promotion of virtue. I have [e] ſeen drunken perſons in their ſeas of drink and talk dread every cup as a blow, and they have uſed devices and private arts to eſcape the puniſhment of a full draught; and the poor wretch being condemned by the laws of drinking to his meaſure, was forced and haled to execution; and he ſuffered it, and thought himſelf engaged to that perſon, who with much kindneſs and importunity invited him to a fever: But certainly there was more pain in it than the ſtrictneſs of holy and ſevere temperance. And he that ſhall compare the troubles and dangers of an ambitious war, with the gentleneſs and eaſineſs of peace, will ſoon perceive that every tyrant and uſurping prince, that ſnatches at his neighbour's rights, hath two armies, one of men, and the other of cares. Peace ſheds no blood, but of the pruned vine; and hath no buſineſs, but modeſt and quiet entertainments of the time, opportune for piety, and circled with reward. But God often

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[a] Wiſdom vi. 12, 13, 14.

[b] Multo difficilius eſt facere iſta quæ facitis. Quid enim quiete otioſius eſt animi? Quid ira laborioſius? Quid clementia remiſſius? Quid crudelitate negotioſius? Vacat pudicitia, libido occupatiſſima eſt. Omnium denique virtutum tutela facilior eſt; vitia magno coluntur. *Seneca.* In vitiis abit voluptas, manet turpitudo; cum in recte factis abeat labor, maneat honeſtas. *Muſon.*

[c] Nam ſtatum cujuſque ad ſecuritatem melius innocentia tueor, quam eloquentia. *Quintil.* Dial. de orat.

[d] Quid namque a nobis exigit (religio,) quid præſtari ſibi a nobis jubet, niſi ſolam tantummodo fidem, caſtitatem, humilitatem, ſobrietatem, miſericordiam, ſanctitatem? quæ utique omnia non onerant nos, ſed ornant. *Salvian.*

[e] Ἡ ἀρετὴ φαντασίᾳ μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν πρόχειρον ἔντευξιν ἀργαλέον εἶναι δοκεῖ, μελέτῃ δὲ ἥδιστον, καὶ ἐξ ἐπιλογισμοῦ συμφέρον. Δυσκολώτερον ἡ κακία τῆς ἀρετῆς. S. Chryſ. Ὁ πολλὰ πίνων καὶ ἐξαμαρτάνει.

ten puniſhes ambition and pride with luſt; and he ſent a thorn in the fleſh as a corrective to the elevations and grandezza of St. Paul, growing up from the multitude of his revelations: and it is likely the puniſhment ſhould have leſs trouble than the crime, whoſe pleaſures and obliquity this was deſigned to puniſh. And [a] indeed every experience can verifie, that an adulterer hath in him the impatience of deſires, the burnings of luſt, the fear of ſhame, the apprehenſions of a jealous, abuſed and an inraged Huſband. He endures affronts, miſs-timings, tedious waitings, the dulneſs of delay, the regret of interruption, the confuſion and amazements of diſcovery, the ſcorn of a reproached vice, the debaſings of contempt upon it; unleſs the Man grows impudent, and then he is more miſerable upon another ſtock. But David was ſo put to it to attempt, to obtain, to enjoy Bathſheba, and to prevent the ſhame of it, that the difficulty was greater than all his wit and power, and it drove him into baſe and unworthy arts, which diſcovered him the more, and multiplied his crime. But while he enjoyed the innocent pleaſures of his lawful bed, he had no more trouble in it than there was in inclining his head upon his pillow. The ways of ſin are crooked, deſart, rocky and uneven. They are [b] *broad* indeed, and there is variety of ruins, and allurements to entice fools, and a large theatre to act the bloody tragedies of ſouls upon; but they are nothing ſmooth, or ſafe, or delicate. The ways of virtue are *ſtrait*, but not crooked; *narrow*, but not unpleaſant. There are two vices for one virtue; and therefore the way to hell muſt needs be of greater extent, latitude and diſſemination: But becauſe virtue is but one way, therefore it is eaſie, regular, and apt to walk in without error or diverſions. *Narrow is the gate, and ſtrait is the way.* It is true, conſidering our evil cuſtoms and depraved natures, by which we have made it ſo to us. But God hath made it more paſſable by his grace and preſent aids: and St. John Baptiſt receiving his commiſſion to preach repentance, it was expreſſed in theſe words, *make plain the paths of the Lord.* Indeed repentance is a rough and a ſharp virtue, and like a mattock and ſpade breaks away all the roughneſſes of the paſſage, and hindrances of ſin: but when we enter into the diſpoſitions which Chriſt hath deſigned to us, the way is more plain and eaſy than the ways of Death and Hell. Labour it hath in it, juſt as all things that are excellent; but no confuſions no diſtractions of thoughts, no amazements, no labyrinths, and intricacy of counſels: But it is like the labours of agriculture, full of health and ſimplicity, plain and profitable, requiring diligence, but ſuch in which crafts and painful ſtratagems are uſeleſs and impertinent. But Vice hath oftentimes ſo troubleſome a retinue, and ſo may objections in the event of Things, is ſo entangled in difficult and contradictory circumſtances, hath in it parts ſo oppoſite to each other, and ſo inconſiſtent with the preſent Condition of the Man, or ſome ſecret deſign of his, that thoſe little pleaſures which are its Fucus and pretence are leſs perceived and leaſt enjoyed, while they begin in phantaſtick ſemblances, and riſe up in ſmoak, vain and hurtful, and end in diſſatisfaction.

6. BUT it is conſiderable, that God, and the ſinner, and the devil, all join in increaſing the difficulty and trouble of ſin; upon contrary deſigns indeed, but all co-operate to the verification of this diſcourſe. For God by his reſtraining grace, and the checks of a tender conſcience, and the bands of publick honeſty, and the Senſe of honour and reputation; and the cuſtoms of nations, and the ſeverities of laws, makes that in moſt men the choice of vice is imperfect, dubious and troubleſome, and the pleaſures abated, and the apprehenſions various and in differing degrees; and men act their crimes while they are diſputing againſt them, and the balance is caſt by a few grains, and ſcruples vex and diſquiet the poſſeſſion: And the difference is perceived to be ſo little, that inconſideration and inadvertency is the greateſt means to determine many men to the entertainment of a ſin. And this God does with a deſign to leſſen our choice, and to diſabuſe our perſwaſions from arguments and weak pretences of vice, and to invite us to the trials of virtue, when we ſee its enemy giving us ſo ill conditions. And yet the ſinner himſelf makes the buſineſs of ſin greater: For its nature is ſo loathſome, and its pleaſure ſo little, and its promiſes ſo unperformed, that when it lies open, eaſy and apt to be diſcerned, there is no argument in it ready to invite us: And men hate a vice which is every day offered and proſtitute; and when they ſeek for pleaſure, unleſs difficulty preſents it, as there is nothing in it really to perſwade a choice, ſo there is nothing ſtrong or witty enough to abuſe a man. And to this purpoſe (amongſt ſome others, which are malicious and crafty) the devil gives aſſiſtance, knowing that men deſpiſe what is cheap and common, and ſuſpect a latent excellency to

[a] ————— Et Cecropiæ domûs
Æternum opprobrium quod male barbaras
Regum eſt ulta libidines. *Horat.* l. 4. Od. 12.

[b] Διοδεύειν ἐρήμους ἀβάτους. Wiſdom v. 7.

be in difficult and forbidden objects: And therefore the devil ſometimes croſſes an opportunity of ſin, knowing that the deſire is the iniquity and does his work ſufficiently; and yet the croſſing the deſire by impeding the act heightens the appetite, and makes it more violent and impatient. But by all theſe means, ſin is made more troubleſome than the pleaſures of the temptation can account for: And it will be a ſtrange imprudence to leave *virtue* upon pretence of its difficulty, when for that very reaſon we the rather entertain the inſtances of ſin, deſpiſing a cheap ſin and a coſtly virtue; chuſing to walk through the brambles of a deſart, rather than to climb the fruit-trees of Paradiſe.

7. THIRDLY, [a] *virtue* conduces infinitely to the content of our lives, to ſecular felicities, and political ſatisfactions; and vice does the quite contrary. For the bleſſings of this life are theſe that make it happy, peace and quietneſs, content and ſatisfaction of deſires, riches, love of friends and neighbours, honour and reputation abroad, a healthful body, and a long life. This laſt is a diſtinct conſideration, but the other are proper to this title. For the firſt it is certain, *peace* was ſo deſigned by the holy *Jeſus*, that he framed all his laws in compliance to that deſign. He that returns good for evil, a ſoft anſwer to the aſperity of his enemy, kindneſs to injuries, leſſens the contention always, and ſometimes gets a friend, and when he does not, he [b] ſhames his enemy. Every little accident in a family to peeviſh and angry perſons is the matter of a quarrel, and every quarrel diſcompoſes the peace of the houſe, and ſets it on fire, and no man can tell how far that may burn, it may be to a diſſolution of the whole fabrick. But whoſoever obeys the laws of *Jeſus*, bears with the infirmities of his relatives and ſociety, ſeeks with ſweetneſs to remedy what is ill, and to prevent what it may produce, and throws water upon a ſpark, and lives ſweetly with his wife, affectionately with his children, providently and diſcreetly with his ſervants; and they all love the major-domo, and look upon him as their parent, their guardian, their friend, their patron, their proveditore. But look upon a perſon angry, peaceleſs, and diſturbed, when he enters upon his threſhold, it gives an alarm to his houſe, and puts them to flight, or upon their defence; and the wife reckons the joy of her day is done, when he returns; and the children enquire into their father's age, and think his life tedious; and the ſervants curſe privately, and do their ſervice as ſlaves do, only when they dare not do otherwiſe; and they ſerve him as they ſerve a lion, they obey his ſtrength, and fear his cruelty, and deſpiſe his manners, and hate his perſon. No man enjoys content in his family but he that is peaceful and charitable, juſt and loving, forbearing and forgiving, careful and provident. He that is not ſo, his houſe may be his caſtle, but it is manned by enemies: His *houſe is built*, not *upon the ſand*, but upon the Waves, and upon a tempeſt: The foundation is uncertain, but his ruin is not ſo.

8. AND if we extend the relations of the man beyond his own walls, he that does his duty to his neighbour, that is, all offices of kindneſs, gentleneſs and humanity, nothing of injury and affront, is certain never to meet with a wrong ſo great as is the inconvenience of a law-ſuit, or the contention of neighbours, and all the conſequent dangers and inconvenience. Kindneſs will create and invite kindneſs; and injury provokes an injury. And ſince *the love of Neighbours* is one of thoſe beauties which Solomon did admire, and that this beauty is within the combination of precious things which adorn and reward a peaceable, charitable diſpoſition; he that is in love with ſpiritual excellencies, with intellectual rectitudes, with peace and with bleſſings of ſociety, knows they grow amongſt the roſe-buſhes of virtue and holy obedience to the laws of *Jeſus*. And *for a good man ſome will even dare to die*; and a ſweet and charitable diſpoſition is received with fondneſs, and all the endearments of the neighbourhood. He [c] that obſerves how many families are ruined by contention, and how many ſpirits are broken by the care, and contumely, and fear, and ſpite, which are entertained as advocates to promote a ſuit of law, will ſoon confeſs that a great loſs and peaceable quitting of a conſiderable intereſt, is a purchaſe and a gain, in reſpect of a long ſuit and a vexatious quarrel. And ſtill if the proportion riſes higher, the reaſon ſwells, and grows more neceſſary and determinate. For if we would live according to the diſcipline of Chriſtian Religion, one of the great plagues which vex the world would be no more. That there ſhould be no wars, was one of the deſigns of Chriſtianity: and the living according to that inſtitution which is able to prevent all

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[a] Ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ ἐςιν εὐσεβὲς ϗ συμφέρον. Arrian.

[b] Malignum hunc eſſe hominem, forſan credas. Ego eſſe miſerum credo, cui placet nemo. *Mart. Ep.*

[c] Ὅπου γὰρ ζῆλος ϗ ἐριθεία, ἐκεῖ ἀκαταστασία, ϗ πᾶν φαῦλον πρᾶγμα. Jac. 3. 16.

wars, and to eſtabliſh an univerſal and eternal peace, when it is obeyed, is the uſing an infallible inſtrument toward that part of our political happineſs which conſiſts in peace. This world would be an image of Heaven, if all men were charitable, peaceable, juſt and loving. To this excellency all thoſe precepts of *Chriſt* which conſiſt in forbearance and forgiveneſs do co-operate.

9. BUT the next inſtance of the reward of holy obedience and conformity to Chriſt's laws is itſelf a duty, and needs no more but a mere repetition of it. We muſt be content [a] in every ſtate; and becauſe Chriſtianity teaches us this leſſon, it teaches us to be happy: for nothing from without can make us miſerable, unleſs we joyn our conſents to it, and apprehend it ſuch, and entertain it in our ſad and melancholick retirements. A priſon is but a retirement, and opportunity of ſerious thoughts, to a perſon whoſe ſpirit is confined, and apt to ſit ſtill, and deſires no enlargement beyond the cancels of the body, till the ſtate of ſeparation calls it forth into a fair liberty. But every retirement is a priſon to a looſe and wandring fancy, for whoſe wildneſs no precepts are reſtraint, no band of duty is confinement; who, when he hath broken the firſt hedge of duty, can never after endure any encloſure ſo much as in a ſymbol. But this precept is ſo neceſſary, that it is not more a duty than a rule of prudence, and in many accidents of our lives it is the only cure of ſadneſs. For it is certain that no providence leſs than divine can prevent evil and croſs accidents: but that is an excellent remedy to the evil, that receives the accident within its power, and takes out the ſting, paring the nails, and drawing the teeth of the wild beaſt, that it may be tame, or harmleſs, and medicinal. For all content conſiſts in the proportion of the object to the appetite: and becauſe external accidents are not in our power, and it were nothing excellent that things happened to us according to our firſt deſires; God hath by his grace put it into our own power to make the happineſs, by making our deſires deſcend to the event, and comply with the chance, and combine with all the iſſues of divine providence. And then we are noble perſons, when we borrow not our content from things below us, but make our ſatisfactions from [b] within. And it may be conſidered, that every little care may diſquiet us, and may encreaſe itſelf by reflection upon its own acts, and every diſcontent may diſcompoſe our ſpirits, and put an edge, and make afflictions poynant, but cannot take off one from us, but makes every one to be two. But content removes not the accident, but complies with it, takes away the ſharpneſs and diſpleaſure of it, and by ſtooping down makes the loweſt equal, proportionable and commenſurate. Impatience makes an ague to be a fever, and every fever to be a calenture, and that calenture may expire in madneſs: But a quiet ſpirit is a great diſpoſition to health, and for the preſent does alleviate the ſickneſs. And this alſo is notorious in the inſtance of covetouſneſs. [c] *The love of money is the root of all evil, which while ſome have coveted after, they have pierced themſelves with many ſorrows.* Vice makes poor, and does ill endure it.

10. FOR he that in the ſchool of [d] Chriſt hath learned to determine his deſires when his needs are ſerved, and to judge of his needs by the proportions of nature, hath nothing wanting towards riches. Virtue makes poverty become rich, and no riches can ſatisfie a covetous mind, or reſcue him from the affliction of the worſt kind of poverty. He only wants that is not ſatisfied. And there is a great infelicity in a family

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[a] Αὐτάρκεια τοῦ βίου φιλοσοφία αὐτοδίδακτος. Poli. Dixit M. Cato apud Aul. Gel. *l.* 13. c. 22. Vitio vertunt quia multa egeo; at ego illis, quia nequeunt egere.

Neque mala vel bona, quæ vulgus putat: multos qui conflictari adverſis videantur, beatos, ac pleroſque, quamquam magnas per opes, miſerrimos, ſi illi gravem fortunam conſtanter tolerent, hi proſperâ inconſulte utantur. *Tacit. An. l.* 6.

——— Si celeres (fortuna) quatit
Pennas, reſigno quæ dedit, & meâ
Virtute me involvo, probamque
Pauperiem ſine dote quæro. *Hor. l.* 3. *od.* 29.
Κάλλιστόν ἐστι τοὔνδικον πεφυκέναι,
Λῷστον δὲ ζῆν ἄνοσον· ἥδιστον δ' ὅτῳ
Πάρεστι λῆψις ὧν ἐρᾷ καθ' ἡμέραν.
Sophocl. Creüſa.

[b] Non enim gazæ, neque conſularis
Summovet lictor miſeros tumultus
Mentis, & curas laqueata circum
Tecta volantes. *Hor. l.* 2. *od.* 16.

Quemcunque fortem videris, miſerum neges. *Senec. Trag.*
Τίκτουσι γάρ τοι καὶ νόσους δυσθυμίαι. Sophocl. Tereus.
Μή σύ γε αὔξανε τὴν εἱμαρμένην. Zoroaſt.

[c] 1 Tim. vi. 10.

[d] Cum perjura patris fides
Conſortem ſocium fallat & hoſpitem,
Indignoque pecuniam
Hæredi properet: ſcilicet improbæ
Creſcunt divitiæ, tamen
Curtæ neſcio quid ſemper abeſt rei.
Horat. l. 3. *od.* 24.

——— Vel dic, quid referat intra
Naturæ fines viventi, jugera centum, an
Mille aret ———
Ut, tibi ſi ſit opus liquidi non amplius urna,
Vel cyatho; & dicas, Magno de flumine mallem,
Quam ex hoc fonticulo tantundem ſumere: eo fit,
Plenior ut ſi quos delectet copia juſto,
Cum ripa ſimul avulſos ferat Aufidus acer.
At qui tantulo eget quanto eſt opus, is neque limo
Turbatam haurit aquam, neque vitam amittit in undis.
Horat. Serm. l. 1. *Sat.* 1.

——— Προνοίας οὐδὲν ἀνθρώποις ἔφυ
Κέρδος λαβεῖν ἄμεινον, οὐδὲ νοῦ σοφοῦ.
Sophocl. Elect.

where Poverty dwells with diſcontent: there the huſband and wife quarrel for want of a full table and a rich wardrobe; and their love, that was built upon falſe arches, ſinks when ſuch temporary ſupporters are removed; they are like two milſtones, which ſet the mill on fire when they want corn: and then their combinations and ſociety were unions of luſt, or not ſupported with religious love. But we may eaſily ſuppoſe St. Joſeph and the holy Virgin-mother in Egypt poor as hunger, forſaken as baniſhment, diſconſolate as ſtrangers: and yet their preſent lot gave them no affliction, becauſe the Angel fed them with a neceſſary hoſpitality, and their deſires were no larger than their tables, and their eyes looked only upwards, and they were careleſs of the future and careful of their duty, and ſo made their life pleaſant by the meaſures and diſcourſes of divine philoſophy. When Eliſha ſtretched upon the body of the child, and laid hands to hands, and applied mouth to mouth, and ſo ſhrunk himſelf into the poſture of commenſuration with the child, he brought life into the dead trunk: and ſo may we, by applying our ſpirits to the proportions of a narrow fortune, bring life and vivacity into our dead and loſt condition, and make it live till it grows bigger, or elſe returns to health and ſalutary uſes.

11 AND beſides this philoſophical extraction of gold from ſtones, and riches from the dungeon of poverty, a holy life does moſt probably procure ſuch a proportion of riches which can be uſeful to us, or conſiſtent with our felicity. For beſides that the holy Jeſus hath promiſed all things which *our heavenly Father knows we need*, (provided we do our duty,) and that we find great ſecurities and reſt from care when we have once caſt our cares upon God, and placed our hopes in his boſom; beſides all this, the temperance, ſobriety and prudence of a Chriſtian is a great in-come, and by not deſpiſing it, a ſmall revenue combines its parts till it grows to a heap big enough for the emiſſions of charity, and all the offices of juſtice, and the ſupplies of all neceſſities: whilſt vice is unwary, prodigal and indiſcreet, throwing away great revenues as tributes to intemperance and vanity, and ſuffering diſſolution and forfeiture of eſtates as a puniſhment and curſe. Some ſins are direct improvidence and ill-huſbandry. I reckon in this number intemperance, luſt, ligitiouſneſs, ambition, bribery, prodigality, [a] gaming, pride, ſacrilege; which is the greateſt ſpender of them all, and makes a fair eſtate evaporate like camphir, turning it into nothing, no man knows which way. But what the Roman gave as an eſtimate of a rich man, ſaying, *He that can maintain an army is rich*, was but a ſhort account: for he that can maintain an army may be beggared by one vice, and it is a vaſt revenue that will pay the debt-books of intemperance or luſt.

12. To theſe if we add that virtue is [b] honourable, and a great advantage to a fair reputation; that it is [c] praiſed by them that love it not; that it is honoured by the followers and family of vice, that it forces glory out of ſhame, honour from contempt; that it reconciles men to the fountain of honour, the almighty God, who *will honour them that honour him*: there are but a few more excellencies in the world to make up the roſary of temporal felicity. [d]And it is ſo certain that religion ſerves even our temporal ends, that no great end of ſtate can well be ſerved without it; not ambition, not deſires of wealth, not any great deſign, but religion muſt be made its uſher or ſupport. If a new opinion be commenced, and the author would make a ſect, and draw diſciples after him, at leaſt he muſt be thought to be religious: which is a demonſtration how great an inſtrument of reputation piety and religion is. And if the pretence will do us good offices amongſt men, the reality will do the ſame, beſides the advantages which we ſhall receive from the divine benediction. The *power of godlineſs* will certainly do more than the form alone. And it is moſt notorious in the affairs of the clergy, whoſe lot it hath been to fall from great riches to poverty, when their wealth made them leſs curious of their duty: but when humility and chaſtity and exemplary ſanctity have been the enamel of their holy order, the people, like the Galatians, would *pull out their own eyes* to do them benefit. And indeed God hath ſingularly bleſſed ſuch inſtruments to the being the only remedies to repair the breaches made by ſacrilege and irreligion. But certain it is, [e] no man was ever honoured for that which was eſteemed vicious. Vice hath got money, and a curſe many times; and

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[a] Aleam exercent tanta lucrandi perdendive temeritate, ut cum omnia defecerunt, noviſſimo jactu de libertate & de corpore contendant. *Tacit. de mor. Germ.*

[b] Virtus repulſæ neſcia ſordidæ
Intaminatis fulget honoribus;
Nec ſumit aut ponit ſecures
Arbitrio popularis auræ. *Horat. l. 3. od. 2.*

[c] —— Virtus laudatur et alget. *Juven.*

[d] Præcipuam imperatoriæ majeſtatis curam eſſe proſpicimus, religionis indaginem; cujus ſi cultum retinere potuerimus, iter proſperitatis humanis aperitur inceptis. *Theod. & Valent. in Cod. Theod.*

[e] Dedit enim providentia hominibus munus, ut honeſta magis juvarent. *Quint. l. 1. c. 12.*

vice hath adhered to the inſtruments and purchaſes of honour: But among all nations whatſoever, thoſe called honourable put on the face and pretence of virtue. But I chuſe to inſtance in the proper cogniſance of a Chriſtian, *humility*, which ſeems contradictory to the purpoſes and reception of honour; and yet in the world nothing is a more certain means to purchaſe it. Do not all the world hate a proud man? And therefore what is contrary to humility is alſo contradictory to honour and reputation. And when the Apoſtle had given command, that *in giving honour* we ſhould *one go before another*, he laid the foundation of praiſes, and panegyricks, and triumphs. And as humility is ſecure againſt affronts and tempeſts of deſpite, becauſe it is below them: ſo when by employment or any other iſſue of divine providence it is drawn from its ſheath and ſecrecy, it ſhines clear and bright as the pureſt and moſt poliſhed metals. Humility is like a tree, whoſe root, when it ſets deepeſt in the earth, riſes higher, and ſpreads fairer, and ſtands ſurer, and laſts longer: every ſtep of its deſcent is like a rib of iron combining its parts in unions indiſſoluble, and placing it in the chambers of ſecurity. No wiſe man ever loſt any thing by ceſſion, but he receives the hoſtility of violent perſons into his embraces, like a ſtone into a lap of wooll; it reſts and ſits down ſoft and innocently: but a ſtone falling upon a ſtone makes a colliſion, and extracts fire, and finds no reſt. And juſt ſo are two proud perſons, deſpiſed by each other, contemned by all, living in perpetual diſſonancies, always fighting againſt affronts, jealous of every perſon, diſturbed by every accident, a perpetual ſtorm within, and daily hiſſings from without.

13. Fourthly, Holineſs and obedience is an excellent preſervative of life, and makes it long and healthful. In order to which diſcourſe, becauſe it is new, material and argumentative, apt to perſuade men who prefer life before all their other Intereſts, I conſider many things. Firſt, in the Old Teſtament, a long and proſperous life were the great promiſes of the covenant, their hopes were built upon it, and that was made the ſupport of all their duty. [a] *If thou wilt diligently hearken unto the voice of the LORD thy God, I will put none of the diſeaſes upon thee which I brought upon the Egyptians: for I am the LORD that healeth thee.* And more particularly yet, that we may not think piety to be ſecurity only againſt the plagues of Egypt, God makes his promiſe more indefinite and unconfined; [b] *Ye ſhall ſerve the LORD your God, and I will take ſickneſs away from the midſt of thee, and will fulfil the number of thy days*: that is, the period of nature ſhall be the period of thy perſon; thou ſhalt live long, and die in a ſeaſonable ripe age. And this promiſe was ſo verified by a long experience, that by David's time it grew up to a rule; [c] *What man is he that deſireth life, and loveth many days, that he may ſee good? Keep thy tongue from evil, and thy lips that they ſpeak no guile.* And the ſame argument was preſſed by Solomon, who was an excellent Philoſopher, and well ſkilled in the natural and accidental means of preſervation of our lives. [d] *Fear the LORD, and depart from evil; and it ſhall be health to thy navel, and marrow to thy bones. Length of days is in the right hand of wiſdom:* For *ſhe is a tree of life to them that lay hold upon her.* Meaning, that the tree of life and immortality which God had planted in paradiſe, and which if man had ſtood he ſhould have taſted, and have lived for ever, the fruit of that tree is offered upon the ſame conditions: If we will keep the commandments of God, our obedience, like the tree of life, ſhall conſign us to immortality hereafter by a long and a healthful life here. And therefore although in Moſes's time the days of man had been ſhortened, till they came to *threeſcore* [e] *years and ten, or fourſcore years, and then their ſtrength is but labour and ſorrow*: (for Moſes was the author of that Pſalm:) yet to ſhew the great privilege of thoſe perſons whoſe piety was great, Moſes himſelf attained to one hundred and twenty years, which was almoſt double to the ordinary and determined period. But Enoch and Elias never died, and became great examples to us, that a ſpotleſs and holy life might poſſibly have been immortal.

14. I ſhall add no more examples, but one great conjugation of precedent obſerved by the Jewiſh writers, who tell us, that in the ſecond temple there were 300 High-prieſts, (I ſuppoſe they ſet down a certain number for an uncertain, and by 300 they mean very many,) and yet that temple laſted but 420 years: The reaſon of this ſo rapid and violent abſciſſion of their Prieſts being their great and ſcandalous impieties. And yet in the firſt temple, whoſe abode was within ten years as long as the ſecond,

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[a] Exod. xv. 26. [b] Exod. xxiii. 25, 26. [c] Pſal. xxxiv. 12, 13. [d] Prov. iii. 7, 8. Verſe 16, 18. [e] Pſal. xc. 10.

there was a ſucceſſion but of 18 High-prieſts: For they being generally very pious, and the preſervers of their rites and religion againſt the ſchiſm of Jeroboam, and the defection of Iſrael, and the idolatry and irreligion of many of the kings of Judah, God took delight to reward it with a long and honourable old age. And Balaam knew well enough what he ſaid, when in his ecſtaſie and prophetick rapture he made his prayer to God, [a] *Let my ſoul die the death of the righteous.* It was not a prayer that his ſoul might be ſaved, or that he might repent at laſt; for repentance and immortality were revelations of a later date: But he in his prophetick ecſtaſie ſeeing what God had propoſed to the Moabites, and what bleſſings he had reſerved for Iſrael, prays that he might not die, as the Moabites were like to die, with an untimely death, by the ſword of their enemies, diſpoſſeſſed of their country, ſpoiled of their goods, in the period and laſt hour of their nation: [b] But let my ſoul die the death of the juſt, the death deſigned for the faithful Iſraelites; ſuch a death which God promiſed to Abraham, that he ſhould return to his fathers in peace, and in a good old age. For the death of the righteous is like the deſcending of ripe and wholſome fruits from a pleaſant and florid tree; our ſenſes entire, our limbs unbroken, without horrid tortures, after proviſion made for our children, with a bleſſing entailed upon poſterity, in the preſence of our friends, our deareſt relative cloſing up our eyes, and binding our feet, leaving a good name behind us. O let my ſoul die ſuch a death! for this, in whole or in part, according as God ſees it good, is the manner that the righteous die. And this was Balaam's prayer. And this was the ſtate and condition in the Old Teſtament.

15. IN the Goſpel the caſe is nothing altered: For beſides that thoſe auſterities, rigours and mortifications which are in the Goſpel adviſed or commanded reſpectively, are more ſalutary or of leſs corporal inconvenience, than a vicious life of intemperance, or luſt, or carefulneſs, or tyrant covetouſneſs; there is no accident or change to the ſufferance of which the Goſpel hath engaged us, but in the very thing our life is carefully provided for, either in kind, or by a gainful exchange. [c] *He that loſeth his life for my ſake, ſhall find it; and he that will ſave his life, ſhall loſe it.* And although God, who promiſed long life to them that obey, did not promiſe that himſelf would never call for our life, borrowing it of us, and repaying it in a glorious and advantageous exchange; yet this very promiſe of giving us a better life in exchange for this, when we expoſed it in martyrdom, does confirm our title to this, this being the inſtrument of permutation with the other. For God obliging himſelf to give us another in exchange for this, when in caſes extraordinary he calls for this, ſays plainly, that this is our preſent right by grace, and the title of the divine promiſes. But the promiſes are clear: For S. Paul calls children to the obſervation of the fifth commandment, by the ſame argument which God uſed in the firſt promulgation of it. [d] *Honour thy father and thy mother, (which is the firſt commandment with promiſe,) that it may be well with thee, and that thou mayeſt live long upon the earth.* [e] For although the Goſpel be built upon better promiſes than the law, yet it hath the ſame too, not as its foundation, but as appendages and adjuncts of Grace, and ſupplies of need. [f] *Godlineſs hath the promiſe of this life, as well as of the life that is to come.* That is plain. And although Chriſt revealed his Father's mercies to us in new expreſſes and great abundance; yet he took nothing from the world which ever did in any ſenſe invite piety, or endear obedience, or co-operate towards felicity. And therefore the promiſes which were made of old, are alſo preſuppoſed in the new, and mentioned by intimation and implication within the greater. When our bleſſed Saviour in ſeven of the eight beatitudes had inſtanced in new promiſes and rewards, as [g] *Heaven, ſeeing of God, life eternal*; in one of them, to which Heaven is as certainly conſequent as to any of the reſt, he did chuſe to inſtance in a temporal bleſſing, and in the very words of the Old Teſtament: [h] To ſhew, that that part of the old covenant which concerns morality, and the rewards of obedience, remains firm and included within the conditions of the Goſpel.

16. TO this purpoſe is that ſaying of our bleſſed Saviour, [i] *Man liveth not by bread alone, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God:* Meaning, that

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[a] Numb. xxiii. 10.

[b] Μηδέ μοι ἄκλαυστος θάνατος μόλοι, ἀλλὰ φίλοισι
Καλλείποιμι θανὼν ἄλγεα καὶ στοναχάς. Solon.
Cicero in Tuſcul. 1. ſic reddit.
Mors mea non careat lachrymis: linquamus amicis
Mœrorem, ut celebrent funera cum gemitu.

[c] Mat. x. 39.

[d] Epheſ. vi. 2, 3.

[e] —— Οὐ γὰρ εὐσέβεια συνθνήσκει βροτοῖς,
Κἂν ζῶσι κἂν θάνωσιν, οὐκ ἀπόλλυται.
Sophocl. Philoct.

[f] 1 Tim. iv. 8.

[g] Mat. v. 3. & Verſ. 5.

[h] Pſal. xxxvii. 11.

[i] Mat. iv. 4. Deut. viii. 3.

beſides natural means ordained for the preſervation of our lives, there are means ſupernatural and divine. God's bleſſing does as much as bread. Nay, it is *every word proceeding out of the mouth of God:* That is, every precept and commandment of God is ſo for our good, that it is intended as food and phyſick to us, a means to make us live long. And therefore God hath done in this as in other graces and iſſues evangelical, which he propoſed to continue in his church for ever. He firſt gave it in miraculous and extraordinary manner, and then gave it by way of perpetual miniſtry. The Holy Ghoſt appeared at firſt like a prodigy, and with miracle; he deſcended in viſible repreſentments, expreſſing himſelf in revelations and powers extraordinary: But it being a promiſe intended to deſcend upon all ages of the church, there was appointed a perpetual miniſtry for its conveyance; and ſtill, though without a ſign or miraculous repreſentment, it is miniſtred in Confirmation by impoſition of the biſhop's hands. And thus alſo health and long life, which by way of ordinary benediction is conſequent to piety, faith, and obedience evangelical, was at firſt given in a miraculous manner; that ſo the ordinary effects, being at firſt confirmed by miraculous and extraordinary inſtances and manners of operation, might for ever after be confidently expected without any dubitation, ſince it was in the ſame manner conſigned by which all the whole religion was, by a voice from Heaven, and a verification of miracles, and extraordinary ſupernatural effects. That the gift of Healing, and preſervation and reſtitution of life, was at firſt miraculous, needs no particular probation. All the ſtory of the Goſpel is one entire argument to prove it: And amongſt the fruits of the Spirit, St. Paul reckons *gifts of healing, and government, and helps,* or exterior aſſiſtances and advantages; to repreſent that it was intended the life of chriſtian people ſhould be happy and healthful for ever. Now that this grace alſo deſcended afterwards in an ordinary miniſtry, is recorded by St. James. [a] *Is any man ſick amongſt you? let him call for the elders of the church, and let them pray over him, anointing him with oil in the name of the Lord:* That was then the ceremony, and the bleſſing and effect is ſtill: For [b] *the prayer of faith ſhall ſave the ſick, and the Lord ſhall raiſe him up.* For it is obſervable, that the bleſſing of healing and recovery is not appendant to the anealing, but to the prayer of the church: To manifeſt, that the ceremony went with the firſt miraculous and extraordinary manner; yet that there was an ordinary miniſtry appointed for the daily conveyance of the bleſſing: The faithful prayers and offices of holy Prieſts ſhall obtain life and health to ſuch perſons who are receptive of it, and in ſpiritual and apt diſpoſitions. And when we ſee, by a continual flux of extraordinary benediction, that even ſome chriſtian Princes are inſtruments of the Spirit not only in the *government*, but in the *gifts of healing* too, as a reward for their promoting the juſt intereſts of Chriſtianity; [c] we may acknowledge ourſelves convinced, that a holy life in the faith and obedience of Jeſus Chriſt, may be of great advantage for our health and life, by that inſtance to entertain our preſent deſires, and to eſtabliſh our hopes of life eternal.

17. FOR I conſider that the fear of God is therefore the beſt antidote in the world againſt ſickneſs and death, 1. Becauſe it is the direct enemy to ſin, which brought in ſickneſs and death; and beſides this, that God by ſpiritual means ſhould produce alterations natural, is not hard to be underſtood by a chriſtian Philoſopher, take him in either of the two capacities. 2. For there is a rule of proportion and analogy of effects, that if ſin deſtroys not only the ſoul but the body alſo, then may piety preſerve both, and that much rather. For [d] *if ſin,* that is, the effects and conſequents of ſin, *hath abounded, then ſhall grace ſuperabound;* that is, Chriſt hath done us more benefit than the fall of Adam hath done us injury; and therefore the effects of ſin are not greater upon the body, than either are to be reſtored or prevented by a pious life. 3. There is ſo near a conjunction between ſoul and body, that it is no wonder if God, meaning to glorify both by the means of a ſpiritual life, ſuffers ſpirit and matter to communicate in effects and mutual impreſſes. Thus the waters of baptiſm purify the ſoul; and the holy Euchariſt, not the ſymbolical, but the myſterious and ſpiritual part of it, makes the body alſo partaker of the death of Chriſt and a holy union. The flames of hell, whatſoever they are, torment accurſed ſouls; and the ſtings of conſcience vex and diſquiet the body. 4. And if we conſider that in the glories of Heaven, when we ſhall live a life purely ſpiritual, our bodies alſo are ſo clarified and made ſpiritual, that they are alſo become immortal; that ſtate of glory being nothing elſe but a perfection of the ſtate of grace, it is not unimaginable but that the ſoul may have ſome proportion of the ſame operation

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[a] James v. 14.

[b] Verſe 15.

[c] Futuræ nobis reſurrectionis vigorem in te Dominus oſtendit, ut peccati ſciamus eſſe quod cæteri adhuc viventes præmoriuntur in carne; juſtitiæ, quod tu adoleſcentiam in aliena ætate mentiris, dixit S. *Hieron.* Paulo Concordienſi vegeto et pio ſeni, l. 1. c. 8.

[d] Rom. v. 20.

upon the body as to conduce to its prolongation, as to an antepaſt of immortality. 5. For ſince the body hath all its life from its conjunction with the ſoul, why not alſo the perfection of life according to its preſent capacity, that is, health and duration from the perfection of the ſoul, I mean, from the ornaments of grace? And as the bleſſedneſs of the ſoul (ſaith the Philoſopher) conſiſts in the ſpeculation of honeſt and juſt things; ſo the perfection of the body and of the whole man, conſiſts in the practick, the exerciſe and operations of virtue.

18. BUT this Problem in chriſtian philoſophy is yet more intelligible, and will be reduced to certain experience, if we conſider good life in union and concretion with particular, material, and circumſtantiate actions of piety. For theſe have great powers and influences even in nature to reſtore health and preſerve our lives. Witneſs the ſweet ſleeps of temperate perſons, and their conſtant appetite; which Timotheus the ſon of Conon obſerved, when he dieted in Plato's academy with ſevere and moderated diet, [a] *They that ſup with Plato are well the next day.* Witneſs the ſymmetry of paſſions in meek men, their freedom from the violence of enraged and paſſionate indiſpoſitions; the admirable harmony and ſweetneſs of content which dwells in the retirements of a holy conſcience. To which if we add thoſe joys which they only underſtand truly who feel them inwardly, the joys of the Holy Ghoſt, the content and joys which are attending upon the lives of holy perſons are moſt likely to make them long and healthful. [b] *For now we live,* (ſaith St. Paul) *if ye ſtand faſt in the Lord.* It would prolong St. Paul's life to ſee his ghoſtly children perſevere in holineſs: And if we underſtood the joys of it, it would do much greater advantage to ourſelves. But if we conſider a ſpiritual life abſtractedly and in itſelf, piety produces our life, not by a natural efficiency, but by divine benediction. God gives a healthy and a long life as a reward and bleſſing to crown our piety even before the ſons of men: [c] *For ſuch as be bleſſed of him ſhall inherit the earth; but they that be curſed of him ſhall be cut off.* So that this whole matter is principally to be referred to the act of God, either by ways of nature, or by inſtruments of ſpecial providence, rewarding piety with a long life. And we ſhall more fully apprehend this, if, upon the grounds of ſcripture, reaſon and experience, we weigh the contrary [d] *Wickedneſs* is the way to *ſhorten our days.*

19. SIN brought death in firſt; and yet man lived almoſt a thouſand years. But he ſinned more, and then death came nearer to him; for when all the world was firſt drowned in wickedneſs, and then in water, God cut him ſhorter by one half, and five hundred years was his ordinary period. And man ſinned ſtill, and had ſtrange imaginations, and built towers in the air; and then about Peleg's time God cut him ſhorter by one half yet, two hundred and odd years was his determination. And yet the generations of the world returned not unanimouſly to God; and God cut him off another half yet, and reduced him to one hundred and twenty years. And by Moſes's time one half of the final remanent portion was pared away, reducing him to threeſcore years and ten: ſo that, unleſs it be by ſpecial diſpenſation, men live not beyond that term, or thereabout. But if God had gone on ſtill in the ſame method, and ſhortened our days as we multiplied our ſins, we ſhould have been but as an *Ephemeron,* Man ſhould have lived the life of a fly or a gourd; the morning ſhould have ſeen his birth, his life have been the term of a day, and the evening muſt have provided him with a ſhrowd. But God ſeeing *man's thoughts were only evil continually,* he was reſolved *no longer* ſo *to ſtrive with him,* nor deſtroy the kind, but puniſh individuals only and ſingle perſons; and if they ſinned, or if they did not obey regularly, their life ſhould be proportionable. This God ſet down for his rule. [e] *Evil ſhall ſlay the wicked perſon:* and, [f] *He that keepeth the commandments keepeth his own ſoul; but he that deſpiſeth his own ways ſhall die.*

20. BUT that we may ſpeak more exactly in this Problem, we muſt obſerve, that in ſcripture three general cauſes of natural death are aſſigned, Nature, Providence, and Chance. By theſe three I only mean the ſeveral manners of divine influence and operation. For God only predetermines; and what is changed in the following events by divine permiſſion, to this God and man in their ſeveral manners do cooperate. The ſaying of David concerning Saul, with admirable philoſophy deſcribes the three ways of ending man's life. *David ſaid furthermore,* [g] *As the LORD liveth, the LORD ſhall ſmite him, or his day ſhall come to die, or he ſhall deſcend into battle and periſh.* The firſt is ſpecial Providence. The ſecond means the term of Nature. The third is that which in our want of words we call Chance or Accident, but is

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[a] Ὅτι οἱ παρ' Πλάτωνι δειπνήσαντες καὶ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ καλῶς γίνονται. Μήτε ἑορτὴν ἄλλο τι ἡγεῖσθαι, ἢ τὸ τὰ δέοντα πράττειν. De Athenienſibus dictum apud Thucyd.

[b] 1 Theſ. iii. 8.

[c] Pſal. xxxvii. 22.

[d] Prov. x. 27.

[e] Pſal. xxxiv. 21.

[f] Prov. xix. 16.

[g] 1 Sam. xxvi. 10.

in effect nothing elſe but another manner of the divine Providence. That in all theſe ſin does interrupt and retrench our lives, is the undertaking of the following periods.

21. FIRST, [a] In Nature ſin is a cauſe of dyſcraſies and diſtempers, making our bodies healthleſs, and our days few. For although God hath prefixed a period to nature by an univerſal and antecedent determination, and that naturally every man that lives temperately, and by no ſupervening accident is interrupted, ſhall arrive thither: Yet becauſe the greateſt part of our lives is governed by will and underſtanding, and there are temptations to intemperance, and to violations of our health, the period of nature is ſo diſtinct a thing from the period of our perſon, that few men attain to that which God had fixed by his firſt law and preceding purpoſe, but end their days with folly, and in a period which God appointed them with anger, and a determination ſecondary, conſequent and accidental. And therefore ſays David, *Health is far from the ungodly, for they regard not thy ſtatutes.* And to this purpoſe is that ſaying of [b] Aben-Ezra: "He that is united to God, the Fountain of life, his ſoul being improved by grace, communicates to the body an eſtabliſhment of its radical moiſture and natural heat, to make it more healthful, that ſo it may be more inſtrumental to the ſpiritual operations and productions of the ſoul, and itſelf be preſerved in perfect conſtitution." Now how this bleſſing is contradicted by the impious life of a wicked perſon, is eaſy to be underſtood, if we conſider, that from [c] drunken ſurfeits come diſſolution of members, head-aches, apoplexies, dangerous falls, fracture of bones, drenchings and dilution of the brain, inflammation of the liver, crudities of the ſtomach, and thouſands more, which Solomon ſums up in general terms; [d] *Who hath woe? who hath ſorrow? who hath redneſs of eyes? they that tarry long at the Wine.* I ſhall not need to inſtance in the ſad and uncleanly conſequents of luſts; the wounds and accidental deaths which are occaſioned by jealouſies, by vanity, by peeviſhneſs, vain reputation, and animoſities, by melancholy, and the deſpair of evil conſciences: And yet theſe are abundant argument, that when God ſo permits a man to run his courſe of nature, that himſelf does not intervene by an extraordinary influence, or any ſpecial acts of Providence, but only gives his ordinary aſſiſtance to natural cauſes, a very great part of men make their natural period ſhorter, and by ſin make their days miſerable and few.

22. SECONDLY, Oftentimes Providence intervenes, and makes the way ſhorter; God, for the iniquity of man, not ſuffering nature to take her courſe, but ſtopping her in the midſt of her journey. Againſt this David prayed, [e] *O my God, cut me not off in the midſt of my days.* But in this there is ſome variety. For God does it ſometimes in mercy, ſometimes in judgment. [f] *The righteous die, and no man regardeth; not conſidering that they are taken away from the evil to come.* God takes the righteous haſtily to his crown, leſt temptation ſnatch it from him by interrupting his hopes and ſanctity. And this was the caſe of the old world. For from Adam to the flood by the Patriarchs were eleven generations, but by Cain's line there were but eight, ſo that Cain's poſterity were longer-lifed; becauſe God, intending to bring the flood upon the world, took delight to reſcue his elect from the dangers of the preſent impurity and the future deluge. Abraham lived five years leſs than his ſon Iſaac, it being (ſay the doctors of the Jews) intended for mercy to him, that he might not ſee the iniquity of his grand-child Eſau. And this the church for many ages hath believed in the caſe of baptized infants dying before the uſe of reaſon. For beſides other cauſes in the order of divine Providence, one kind of mercy is done to them too; for although their condition be of a lower form, yet it is ſecured by that timely (ſhall I call it?) or untimely death. But theſe are caſes extra-regular; ordinarily and by rule God hath revealed his purpoſes of interruption of the lives of ſinners to be in anger and judgment. For when men commit any ſignal and grand impiety, God ſuffers not nature to take her courſe, but ſtrikes a ſtroke with his own hand. To which purpoſe I think it a remarkable inſtance which is reported by Epiphanius,

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[a] Audax omnia perpeti
Gens humana ruit per vetitum nefas.
Poſt ignem æthereâ domo
Subductum, macies et nova febrium
Terris incubuit cohors;
Semoti quæ prius tarda neceſſitas
Lethi corripuit gradum.
Horat. l. 1. carm. Od 3.

[b] In Exod. 23. Quicunque unitur Deo, ipſi corroboratur calidum & humidum per vim animæ, & tunc vivit homo ultra limitatum tempus.

[c] *Eubulus* apud *Athenæum*, l. 7. c. 1. introducit Bacchum loquentem in hunc modum;
Tres tantum ſanis ego crateras miſceo;
Unum valetudinis, & hunc primum Oedipum;
Secundum amoris; et ſoporis tertium:
Quo, qui ſapere ſolent, eunt hauſto domum.
Nam quartus eſt haud amplius crater meus
Sed contumeliæ; velut huic proximus
Clamoris, &c.
Nam plurimum vini inditum in vas parvulum
Sternit ſine omni, quem replet, negotio.

[d] Prov. xxiii. 29, 30.

[e] Pſal. cii. 24.

[f] Iſai. lvii. 1.

phanius, [a] that for 3332 years, even to the twentieth age, there was not one example of a ſon that died before his father, but the courſe of nature was kept, that he who was firſt born in the deſcending line did die firſt; (I ſpeak of natural death, and therefore Abel cannot be oppoſed to this obſervation;) till that Terah the father of Abraham taught the people to make images of clay, and worſhip them: And concerning him it was firſt remarked, [b] that *Haran died before his father Terah in the land of his nativity:* God by an unheard-of judgment, and a rare accident, puniſhed his newly-invented crime. And whenever ſuch interciſion of a life happens to a vicious perſon, let all the world acknowledge it for a judgment: And when any man is guilty of evil habits or unrepented ſins, he may therefore expect it, becauſe it is threatned and deſigned for the lot and curſe of ſuch perſons. This is threatned to covetouſneſs, injuſtice and oppreſſion. [c] *As a partridge ſitteth on eggs, and hatcheth them not; ſo he that getteth riches, and not by right, ſhall leave them in the midſt of his days, and at his end ſhall be a fool.* The ſame is threatned to voluptuous perſons in the higheſt careſſes of delight; and Chriſt told a parable with the ſame deſign. The rich man ſaid, *Soul, take thy eaſe: But God anſwered, O fool, this night ſhall thy ſoul be required of thee.* Zimri and Cozbi were ſlain in the trophies of their luſt. And it was a ſad ſtory that was told by Thomas Cantipratanus; Two religious perſons tempted by each other in the vigour of their youth, in their very firſt pleaſures and opportunities of ſin, were both ſtruck dead in their embraces and poſture of entertainment. God [d] ſmote Jeroboam for his uſurpation and tyranny, and he died. [e] Saul died for diſobedience againſt God, and asking counſel of a Pythoniſſe. God ſmote [f] Uzziah with a leproſy for his profaneneſs; and diſtreſſed [g] Ahaz ſorely for his ſacrilege; and [h] ſent a horrid diſeaſe upon Jehoram for his idolatry. Theſe inſtances repreſent voluptuouſneſs and covetouſneſs, rapine and injuſtice, idolatry and luſt, profaneneſs and ſacrilege, as remarked by the ſignature of exemplary judgments to be the means of ſhortning the days of man; God himſelf proving the executioner of his own fierce wrath. I inſtance no more, but in the ſingular caſe of Hananiah the falſe prophet: [i] *Thus ſaith the LORD, Behold I will cut thee from off the face of the earth; this year thou ſhalt die, becauſe thou haſt taught rebellion againſt the LORD.* That is the curſe and portion of a falſe Prophet, a ſhort life, and a ſudden death of God's own particular and more immediate infliction.

23. AND thus alſo the ſentence of the divine anger went forth upon criminal perſons in the NEW Teſtament. Witneſs the diſeaſe of Herod, Judas's hanging himſelf, the blindneſs of Elymas, the ſudden death of Ananias and Sapphira, the buffettings with which Satan afflicted the bodies of perſons excommunicate. Yea, the bleſſed ſacrament of Chriſt's body and blood, which is intended for our ſpiritual life, if it be unworthily received, proves the cauſe of a natural death. [k] *For this cauſe many are weak and ſickly among you, and many are fallen aſleep,* ſaith St. Paul to the Corinthian church.

24. THIRDLY, But there is yet another manner of ending man's life, by way of chance or contingency; meaning thereby the manner of God's Providence and event of things which is not produced by the diſpoſition of natural cauſes, nor yet by any particular and ſpecial act of God; but the event which depends upon accidental cauſes, not ſo certain and regular as nature, not ſo concluſive and determined as the acts of decretory Providence, but comes by diſpoſition of cauſes irregular to events rare and accidental. This David expreſſes by *entring into battel.* And in this, as in the other, we muſt ſeparate caſes extraordinary and rare from the ordinary and common. Extra-regularly and, upon extraordinary reaſons and permiſſions, we find that holy perſons have miſcarried in battel. So the Iſraelites fell before Benjamin; and Jonathan and Uriah, and many of the Lord's champions, fighting againſt the Philiſtines. But in theſe deaths as God ſerved other ends of providence, ſo he kept to the good men that fell all the mercies of the Promiſe, by giving them a greater bleſſing of event and compenſation. In the more ordinary courſe of divine diſpenſation, they that prevaricate the laws of God, are put out of protection; God withdraws his ſpecial Providence, or their tutelar Angel, and leaves them expoſed to the influences of Heaven, to the power of a conſtellation, to the accidents of humanity, to the chances of a battel, which are ſo many and various, that it is ten thouſand to one, a man in that caſe never eſcapes. And in ſuch variety of contingencies there is no probable way to aſſure our ſafety, but by a holy life to endear the Providence of God to be our guardian. It was a remarkable ſaying of Deborah, [l] *The ſtars*

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[a] Lib. 1. Tom. 1. Panar. Sect. 6. [b] Gen. xi. 28. [c] Jer. xvii. 11. [d] 2 Chron. xiii. 20. [e] 1 Chron. x. 13. [f] 2 Chron. xxvi. 19. [g] 2 Kings xvi. [h] 2 Chron. xxi. 18. [i] Jer. xxviii. 16. [k] 1 Cor. xi. 30. [l] Judg. v. 20.

ſtars fought in their courſes, or *in their orbs, againſt Siſera*. *Siſera* fought when there was an evil aſpect, or malignant influence of Heaven upon him. For even the ſmalleſt thing that is in oppoſition to us is enough to turn the chance of a battel; that although it be neceſſary for defence of the godly that a ſpecial Providence ſhould intervene, yet to confound the impious no ſpecial act is requiſite. If God expoſes them to the ill aſpect of a Planet, or any other caſualty, their days are interrupted, and they die. And that is the meaning of the Prophet[a] Jeremiah, *Be not ye diſmayed at the ſigns of Heaven, for the Heathen are diſmayed at them:* Meaning, that God will over-rule all inferior cauſes for the ſafety of his ſervants, but the wicked ſhall be expoſed to chance and human accidents; and the ſigns of Heaven, which of themſelves do but ſignify, or at moſt but diſpoſe and encline towards events, ſhall be enough to actuate and conſummate their ruin. And this is the meaning of that proverb of the Jews, [b] *Iſrael hath no planet:* which they expounded to mean, If they obſerve the law, the Planets ſhall not hurt them, God will over-rule all their influences; but if they prevaricate and rebel, the leaſt ſtar in the firmament of Heaven ſhall bid them battel, and overthrow them. A ſtone ſhall lie in a wicked man's way, and God ſhall ſo expoſe him to it, leaving him ſo unguarded and defenceleſs, that he ſhall ſtumble at it and fall, and break a bone, and that ſhall produce a fever, and the fever ſhall end his days. For not only every creature, when it is ſet on by God, can prove a ruin: But if we be not by the Providence of God defended againſt it, we cannot behold the leaſt atome in the ſun without danger of loſing an eye, nor eat a grape without fear of choaking, nor ſneeze without breaking of a vein. And Arius going to the ground, purged his entrails forth, and fell down upon the earth, and died. Such and ſo miſerable is the great inſecurity of a ſinner. And of this [c] Job had an excellent meditation. [d] *How oft is the candle of the wicked put out? and how oft cometh their deſtruction upon them? God diſtributeth ſorrows in his anger.* [e] *For what pleaſure hath he in his houſe after him, when the number of his months is cut off in the midſt?* This is he that *dieth in his full ſtrength, being wholly at eaſe and quiet.*

25. I ſum up this diſcourſe with an obſervation that is made concerning the family of Eli, upon which, for remiſſneſs of diſcipline on the father's part, and for the impiety and profaneneſs of his ſons, God ſent this curſe, [f] *All the increaſe of their houſe ſhall die in the flower of their age.* According to that ſad malediction it happened for many generations; the heir of the family died as ſoon as he begat a ſon to ſucceed him; till the family being wearied by ſo long a curſe, by the counſel of Rabbi Johanan Ben Zachary, betook themſelves univerſally to a ſedulous and moſt devout meditation of the law, that is, to an exemplary devotion and ſtrict religion: But then the curſe was turned into a bleſſing, and the line maſculine lived to an honourable old age. For the Doctors of the Jews ſaid, that God often changes his purpoſes concerning the death of man, when the ſick perſon is *liberal in alms*, or *fervent in prayer*, or *changes his name*, that is, gives up his name to God by the ſerious purpoſes and religious vows of holy obedience. [g] *He that followeth after righteouſneſs* (alms it is in the vulgar Latin) *and mercy, findeth life*; that verifies the firſt: And the fervent prayer of Hezekiah is a great inſtance of the ſecond: And all the precedent diſcourſe was intended for probation of the third, and proves that no diſeaſe is ſo deadly as a deadly ſin; and the ways of righteouſneſs are therefore advantages of health, and preſervatives of life, (when health and life are good for us) becauſe they are a certain title to all God's promiſes and bleſſings.

26. UPON ſuppoſition of theſe premiſſes, I conſider there is no cauſe to wonder, that tender perſons and the ſofteſt women endure the violences of art and phyſick, ſharp pains of cauſticks and cupping-glaſſes, the abſciſſion of the moſt ſenſible part, for preſervation of a mutilous and imperfect body: But it is a wonder that, when God hath appointed a remedy in grace apt to preſerve nature, and that a dying unto ſin ſhould prolong our natural life, yet few men are willing to try the experiment. They will buy their life upon any conditions in the world but thoſe which are the beſt and eaſieſt,

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[a] Jer. x. 2. Gentes ſigna dierum & numerum menſis aut hebdomadæ cum metu ſuperſtitioſo obſervarunt. Quarta luna infauſta reputabatur, unde proverbium, Ἐν τετράδι γεννηθῆναι. Hujuſmodi dies Græci ἀποφράδας vocant; Latini, *nefaſtos*. Heſiodus quintas omnino ſuſpectas habet. Πέμπτας δ' ἐξαλέασθαι, ἐπεὶ χαλεπαί τε καὶ αἰναί. Ἐν πέμπτῃ γάρ φασιν Ἐρινύας ἀμφιπολεύειν.

[b] Non eſt planeta Iſraeli.

Μία φυλακὴ ἡ εὐσέβεια. εὐσεβοῦς γὰρ ἀνθρώπου οὐ δαίμων κακὸς, οὔτε εἱμαρμένη κρατεῖ· Θεὸς γὰρ ῥύεται τὸν εὐσεβῆ ἐκ παντὸς κακοῦ. τὸ γὰρ ἓν, καὶ μόνον ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἀγαθόν ἐστιν εὐσέβεια. Apud Lactant.

Δύναται ὁ ἐπιστήμων πολλὰς ἀποστρέψαι ἐνεργείας τῶν ἀστέρων. Ptolem. id eſt,
Sapiens dominabitur aſtris.

[c] Job xxi. 17. [d] Verſe 21. [e] Verſe 23.

[f] 1 Sam. ii. 33. [g] Prov. xxi. 21.

any thing but religion and ſanctity; although for ſo doing they are promiſed that immortality ſhall be added to the end of a long life, to make the life of a mortal partake of the eternal duration of an Angel or of God himſelf

27. FIFTHLY, [a] The laſt teſtimony of the excellency and gentleneſs of Chriſt's yoke, the fair load of chriſtianity, is the reaſonableneſs of it, and the unreaſonableneſs of its contrary. For whatſoever the wiſeſt men in the world in all nations and religions did agree upon as moſt excellent in itſelf, and of greateſt power to make political, or future and immaterial felicities, all that and much more the holy Jeſus adopted into his law. For they receiving ſparks or ſingle irradiations from the regions of light, or elſe having fair tapers ſhining indeed excellently in repreſentations and expreſſes of morality, were all involved and ſwallowed up into the body of light, the Sun of Righteouſneſs. Chriſt's diſcipline was the breviary of all the wiſdom of the beſt men, and a fair copy and tranſcript of his father's wiſdom: And there is nothing in the laws of our religion but what is perfective of our ſpirits, excellent rules of religion, and rare expedients of obeying God by the neareſt ways of imitation, and ſuch duties which are the proper ways of doing benefits to all capacities and orders of men. But I remember, my deſign now is not to repreſent Chriſtianity to be a better religion than any other; for I ſpeak to Chriſtians, amongſt whom we preſuppoſe that; but I deſign to invite all Chriſtians in name to be ſuch as they are called, upon the intereſt of ſuch arguments which repreſent the advantages of obedience to our religion as it is commanded us by God. And this I ſhall do yet farther, by conſidering, as touching thoſe chriſtian names, who apprehend religion as the faſhion of their country, and know no other uſe of a church but cuſtomary, or ſecular and profane, that ſuppoſing chriſtian religion to have come from God, as we all profeſs to believe, there are no greater fools in the world, than ſuch whoſe life conforms not to the pretence of their baptiſm and inſtitution. They have all the ſigns and characters of fools, and undiſcreet, unwary perſons.

28. FIRST, Wicked perſons, like children and fools, chuſe the preſent, whatſoever it is, and neglect the infinite treaſures of the future. They that have no faith nor foreſight have an excuſe for ſnatching at what is now repreſented, becauſe it is that *all* which can move them. But then, ſuch perſons are infinitely diſtant from wiſdom, whoſe underſtanding neither reaſon nor revelation hath carried farther than the preſent adherences: Not only becauſe they are narrow ſouls who cannot look forward, and have nothing to diſtinguiſh them from beaſts, who enjoy the preſent, being careleſs of what is to come; but alſo [b] becauſe whatſoever is preſent is not fit ſatisfaction to the ſpirit, nothing but gluttings of the ſenſe and ſottiſh appetites. Moſes was a wiſe perſon, and ſo eſteemed and reported by the Spirit of God, becauſe *he deſpiſed the pleaſures of Pharaoh's court, having an eye to the recompence of reward*; that is, becauſe he deſpiſed all the preſent arguments of delight, and preferred thoſe excellencies which he knew ſhould be infinitely greater, as well as he knew they ſhould be at all. He that would have rather choſen to ſtay in the theatre and ſee the ſports out, than quit the preſent ſpectacle, upon aſſurance to be adopted into Cæſar's family, had an offer made him too great for a fool; and yet his misfortune was not big enough for pity, becauſe he underſtood nothing of his felicity, and rejected what he underſtood not. But he that prefers moments before eternity, and deſpiſes the infinite ſucceſſions of eternal ages, that he may enjoy the preſent, not daring to truſt God for what he ſees not, and having no objects of his affections, but thoſe which are the objects of his eyes, hath the impatience of a child, and the indiſcretion of a fool, and the faithleſſneſs of an unbeliever. The faith and hope of a chriſtian are the graces and portions of ſpiritual wiſdom, which Chriſt deſigned as an antidote againſt this folly.

29. SECONDLY, Children and fools chuſe to pleaſe their ſenſes rather than their reaſon, becauſe they ſtill dwell within the regions of ſenſe, and have but little reſidence amongſt intellectual eſſences. And becauſe the needs of nature firſt employ our ſenſual appetites, theſe being firſt in poſſeſſion would alſo fain retain it, and therefore for ever continue their title, and perpetually fight for it. But becauſe the inferior faculty fighting againſt the ſuperior is no better than a rebel, and that it takes reaſon for its enemy, it ſhews ſuch actions which pleaſe the ſenſe, and do not pleaſe the reaſon, to be unnatural, monſtrous and unreaſonable. And it is a greater diſreputation to the underſtanding of a man to be ſo cozened and deceived, as to chuſe money before a moral virtue; to pleaſe that which is common to him and beaſts, rather than that part which is a com-

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[a] Religio ſapientiam adauget, et ſapientia religionem. *Lactant.* Σοφῷ γὰρ αἰσχρὸν ἐξαμαρτάνειν. Æſch. Prometh.

[b] Εἰ μὲν γὰρ πράξειας τι μεθ' ἡδονῆς αἰσχρὸν, ἡ μὲν ἡδονὴ παρῆλθε, τὸ δὲ κακὸν μένει. Hierocl.

munication of the divine nature; to ſee him run after a bubble which himſelf hath made, and the Sun hath particoloured, and to deſpiſe a treaſure, which is offered to him to call him off from purſuing that emptineſs and nothing. But ſo does every vicious perſon, he feeds upon husks, and loaths Manna; worſhips cats and onions, the beggarly and baſeſt Egyptian Deities, and neglects to adore and honour the eternal God: He prefers the ſociety of drunkards before the communion of ſaints; or the fellowſhip of harlots before a choir of pure, chaſte and immaterial angels: The ſickneſs and filth of luxury before the health and purities of charity and temperance; a diſh of red lentil pottage before a beniſon; drink before immortality; money before mercy; wantonneſs before the ſevere precepts of chriſtian philoſophy; earth before heaven; and folly before the crowns and ſceptres and glories of a kingdom. . Againſt this folly chriſtian religion oppoſes contempt of things below, and ſetting our affections on things above.

30. THIRDLY, Children and fools propound to themſelves ends ſilly, low and cheap, the getting of a nut-ſhell or a bag of cherry-ſtones, a gaud to entertain the fancy of a few minutes; and in order to ſuch ends, direct their counſels and deſigns. And indeed in this they are innocent. But perſons not living according to the diſcipline of chriſtianity are as fooliſh in the deſignation of their ends, chuſing things as unprofitable and vain to themſelves, and yet with many mixtures of malice and injurious neſs both to themſelves and others. His end is to cozen his brother of a piece of land, or to diſgrace him by telling of a lye, to ſupplant his fortune, to make him miſerable: Ends which wiſe men and good men look upon as miſeries and perſecutions, inſtruments of affliction and regret; becauſe every man is a member of a ſociety, and hath ſome common terms of union and conjuncture, which make all the body ſuſceptive of all accidents to any part. And it is a great folly, for pleaſing of the eye, to ſnatch a knife which cuts our fingers; to bring affliction upon my brother or relative, which either muſt affect me, or elſe I am uſeleſs, a baſe or dead perſon. The ends of vice are ignoble and diſhonourable. To diſcompoſe the quiet of a family, or to create jealouſies, or to raiſe wars, or to make a man leſs happy, or apparently miſerable, or to fiſh for the devil, and gain ſouls to our enemy, or to pleaſe a paſſion that undoes us, or to get ſomething that cannot ſatisfy us; this is the chain of counſels, and the great aims of unchriſtian livers: they are all of them extreme great miſeries. And it is a great undecency for a man to propound an endleſs and more imperfect than our preſent condition; as if we went about to unravel our preſent compoſure, and to unite every degree of eſſence and capacity, and to retire back to our firſt matter and unſhapen ſtate, hoping to get to our journey's end by going backwards. Againſt this folly the holy Jeſus oppoſed the fourth beatitude, or precept of *hungring and thirſting after righteouſneſs.*

31. FOURTHLY, But children and fools, whatever their ends be, they purſue them with as much weakneſs and folly, as they firſt choſe them with indiſcretion; running to broken ciſterns or to puddles to quench their thirſt. When they are hungry, they make fantaſtick banquets, or put Coloquintida into their pottage, that they may be furniſhed with Pot-herbs: Or are like the aſs that deſired to flatter his maſter, and therefore fawned upon him like a ſpaniel, and bruiſed his ſhoulders. Such undecencies of means and proſecutions of intereſts we find in unchriſtian courſes. It may be they propound to themſelves riches for their end, and they uſe covetouſneſs for their means, and that brings nought home; or elſe they ſteal to get it, and they are apprehended, and made to reſtore fourfold. [a] Like moths gnawing a garment they devour their own houſe, and by greedineſs of deſire they deſtroy their content, making impatience the parent and inſtrument of all their felicity. Or they are ſo greedy and imaginative, and have raiſed their expectation by an over-valuing eſteem of temporal felicities, that when they come they fall ſhort of their promiſes, and are indeed leſs than they would have been, by being before-hand apprehended greater than they could be. If their deſign be to preſent themſelves innocent and guiltleſs of a ſuſpicion or a fault, they deny the fact, and double it. When they would repair their loſſes, they fall to gaming: And beſides that, they are infinitely full of fears, paſſions, wrath, and violent diſturbances in the various changes of their game; that which they uſe to reſtore their fortunes, ruins even the little remnant, and condemns them to beggary, or what is worſe. Thus evil men ſeek for content out of things that cannot ſatisfy, and take care to get that content; that is, they raiſe war to enjoy preſent peace, and renounce all content to get it. They ſtrive to depreſs their neighbours, that they may be

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[a] Τὰ δεινὰ κέρδη πημονὰς ἐργάζεται. Soph. Antig. Hæc felicitas ingrata ſuperfluit, ut ſemper pleni ſpei, vacui commodorum, præſentibus careant, dum futura proſpectant. *Panegyr. ad Conſtant. filium.*

their equals; to diſgrace them, to get reputation to themſelves; which arts being ignoble, do them the moſt diſparagement; and reſolve never to enter into the felicities of God by content taken in the proſperities of man: Which is making ourſelves wretched by being wicked. Malice and envy is indeed a mighty curſe; and the Devil can ſhew us nothing more fooliſh and unreaſonable than envy, which is in its very formality a curſe; an eating of coals and vipers, becauſe my neighbour's table is full, and his cup is crowned with health and plenty. The chriſtian religion, as it chuſeth excellent ends, ſo it uſeth proportionate and apt means. The moſt contradictory accident in the World, when it becomes hallowed by a pious and chriſtian Deſign, becomes a certain means of felicity and content. To quit our lands for Chriſt's ſake will certainly make us rich; to depart from our friends will encreaſe our relations and beneficiaries: But the ſtriving to ſecure our temporal intereſts by any other means than obedient actions or obedient ſufferings, is declared by the Holy Jeſus to be the greateſt improvidence and ill-husbandry in the world. Even in this world Chriſt will repay us an hundred-fold for all our loſſes which we ſuffer for the intereſts of chriſtianity. In the ſame proportion we find, that all graces do the work of human felicities with a more certain power and infallible effect than their contraries. Gratitude endears benefits, and procures more friendſhips: Confeſſion gets pardon; impudence and lying doubles the fault, and exaſperates the offended perſon: Innocence is bold, and rocks a man aſleep; but an evil conſcience is a continual alarm. Againſt this folly of uſing diſproportionate means in order to obtain their ends, the holy Jeſus hath oppoſed the eight beatitudes, which by contradictions of nature and improbable cauſes, according to human and erring eſtimate, bring our beſt and wiſeſt ends to paſs infallibly and divinely.

32. BUT this is too large a field to walk in; for it repreſents all the flatteries of ſin to be a mere cozenage and deception of the underſtanding; and we find by this ſcrutiny, that evil and unchriſtian perſons are infinitely unwiſe, becauſe they neglect the counſel of their ſuperiors and their guides. They dote paſſionately upon trifles: they rely upon falſe foundations and deceiving principles; they are moſt confident when they are moſt abuſed; they are like ſhelled fiſh, ſinging loudeſt when their houſe is on fire about their ears, and being merrieſt when they are moſt miſerable and periſhing; when they have the option of two things, they ever chuſe the worſt; they are not maſters of their own actions, but break all purpoſes at the firſt temptation; they take more pains to do themſelves a miſchief than would ſecure Heaven: That is, they are rude, ignorant, fooliſh, unwary and undiſcerning people in all ſenſes, and to all purpoſes; and are incurable but by their obedience and conformity to the holy Jeſus, the eternal Wiſdom of the Father.

33. UPON the ſtrength of theſe premiſſes, the yoke of Chriſtianity muſt needs be apprehended light, though it had in it more preſſure than it hath; becauſe lightneſs or heavineſs being relative terms, are to be eſteemed by compariſon to others. Chriſtianity is far eaſier than the yoke of Moſes's law, not only becauſe it conſiſts of fewer rites, but alſo becauſe thoſe perfecting and excellent graces which integrate the body of our religion, are made eaſy by God's aſſiſting, and the gifts of the Holy Ghoſt: And we may yet make it eaſier by love and by fear, which are the proper products of the evangelical promiſes and threatnings. For I have ſeen perſons in affrightment have carried burthens, and leaped ditches, and climbed Walls, which their natural power could never have done. And if we underſtood the ſadneſſes of a curſed eternity, from which we are commanded to fly, and yet knew how near we are to it, and how likely to fall into it, it would create fears greater than a ſudden fire, or a midnight Alarm. And thoſe unhappy ſouls who come to feel this truth, when their condition is without remedy, are made the more miſerable by the apprehenſion of their ſtupid folly. For certainly the accurſed ſpirits feel the ſmart of Hell once doubled upon them, by conſidering by what vain and unſatisfying trifles they loſt their happineſs, with what pains they periſhed, and with how great eaſe they might have been beatified. And certain it is, chriſtian religion hath ſo furniſhed us with aſſiſtances, both exterior and interior, both of perſuaſion and advantages, that whatſoever Chriſt hath doubled upon us in perfection, he hath alleviated in aids.

34. AND then if we compare the ſtate of Chriſtianity with ſin, all the preceding diſcourſes were intended to repreſent how much eaſier it is to be a Chriſtian, than a vile and wicked perſon. And he that remembers, that whatever fair allurements may be pretended as invitations to a ſin, are ſuch falſe and unſatisfying pretences, that they drive a man to repent him of his folly, and like a great laughter end in a ſigh, and

expire in wearineſs and indignation; muſt needs confeſs himſelf a fool for doing that which he knows will make him repent that ever he did it. A ſin makes a man afraid whenever it thunders, and in all dangers the ſin detracts the vizour, and affrights him and viſits him when he comes to die, upbraiding him with guilt, and threatning miſery. So that Chriſtianity is the eaſieſt law, and the eaſieſt ſtate, it is more perfect and leſs troubleſome; it brings us to felicity by ways proportionable, landing us in reſt by eaſy and unperplexed journeys. This diſcourſe I therefore thought neceſſary, becauſe it reconciles our religion with thoſe paſſions and deſires which are commonly made the inſtruments and arguments of ſin. For we rarely meet with ſuch ſpirits which love virtue ſo metaphyſically, as to abſtract her from all ſenſible and delicious compoſitions, and love the purity of the Idea. St. Lewis the king ſent Ivo biſhop of Chartres on an embaſſy; and he told, That he met a grave matron on the way, with fire in one hand, and water in the other; and, obſerving her to have a melancholick, religious, and fantaſtick deportment and look, aſked her what thoſe ſymbols meant, and what ſhe meant to do with her fire and water? She anſwered, *My purpoſe is with the fire to burn Paradiſe, and with my water to quench the flames of Hell; that men may ſerve God without the incentives of hope and fear, and purely for the love of God.* Whether the woman were only imaginative and ſad, or alſo zealous, I know not. But God knows he would have few Diſciples, if the arguments of invitation were not of greater promiſe than the labours of virtue are of trouble. And therefore the Spirit of God knowing to what we are inflexible, and by what we are made moſt ductile and malleable, hath propounded [a] Virtue cloathed and dreſſed with ſuch advantages as may entertain even our ſenſitive part and firſt deſires; that thoſe alſo may be invited to virtue who underſtand not what is juſt and reaſonable, but what is profitable, who are more moved with advantage than juſtice. And becauſe emolument is more felt than innocence, and a man may be poor for all his gift of chaſtity; the holy Jeſus, to endear the practices of religion, hath repreſented Godlineſs to us under the notion of *gain*, and Sin as *unfruitful.* And yet beſides all the natural and reaſonable advantages, every virtue hath a ſupernatural reward, a gracious promiſe attending; and every vice is not only naturally deformed, but is made more ugly by a threatning, and horrid by an appendent curſe. Henceforth therefore let no man complain that the commandments of God are impoſſible; for they are not only poſſible but eaſy: And they that ſay otherwiſe, and do accordingly, take more pains to carry the inſtruments of their own death, than would ſerve to aſcertain them of life. And if we would do as much for Chriſt as we have done for ſin, we ſhould find the pains leſs, and the pleaſure more. And therefore ſuch complainers are without excuſe. For certain it is, they that can go in foul ways, muſt not ſay they cannot walk in fair: they that march over rocks in deſpite of ſo many impediments, can travel the even ways of religion and peace, when the holy Jeſus is their Guide, and the Spirit is their Guardian, and infinite felicities are at their journey's end, and all the reaſon of the world, political, oecumenical and perſonal, do entertain and ſupport them in the travel of the paſſage.

The PRAYER.

O Eternal Jeſus! who gaveſt laws unto the world, that mankind being united to thee by the bands of obedience, might partake of all thy glories and felicities, open our underſtanding, give us the ſpirit of diſcerning, and juſt apprehenſion of all the beauties with which thou haſt enamelled virtue, to repreſent it beauteous and amiable in our eyes; that by the allurements of exterior decencies and appendent bleſſings our preſent deſires may be entertained, our hopes promoted, our affections ſatisfied, and love entring in by theſe doors, may dwell in the interior regions of the will. O make us to love thee for thy ſelf, and religion for thee, and all the inſtruments of religion in order to thy glory and our own felicities. Pull off the vizors of ſin, and diſcover its deformities by the lantern of thy word, and the light

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[a] ——— Quis enim virtutem amplectitur ipſam,
Præmia ſi tollas?

Sublatis ſtudiorum pretiis, etiam ſtudia peritura, ut minus decora. *Tacit.*

Vide *Ciceron.* Tuſcul. 2. *Lact.* l. 3. c. 27. Inſtit. Virtus per ſeipſam non beata eſt, quoniam in perferendis, ut dixi, malis tota vis ejus eſt. *Idem,* c. 12. Aug. *ep.* 12.

light of the Spirit; that I may never be bewitched with ſottiſh appetites. Be pleaſed to build up all the contents I expect in this world upon the intereſts of a virtuous life, and the ſupport of religion; that I may be rich in good works, content in the iſſues of thy Providence, my health may be the reſult of temperance and ſeverity, my mirth in ſpiritual emanations, my reſt in hope, my peace in a good conſcience, my ſatisfaction and acquieſcence in thee: that from content I may paſs to an eternal fulneſs, from health to immortality, from grace to glory, walking in the paths of righteouſneſs, by the waters of comfort, to the land of everlaſting reſt, to feaſt in the glorious communications of eternity, eternally adoring, loving and enjoying the infinity of the ever-bleſſed and myſterious Trinity; to whom be glory, and honour, and dominion, now and for ever. Amen.

DISCOURSE XVI.

Of Certainty of Salvation.

1. WHEN the holy Jeſus took an account of the firſt legation and voyage of his Apoſtles, he found them rejoycing in privileges and exterior powers, in their authority over unclean ſpirits: But weighing it in his balance, he found the cauſe too light, and therefore diverted it upon the right object; [a] *Rejoice that your names are written in Heaven.* The revelation was confirmed, and more perſonally applied in anſwer to St. Peter's queſtion, *We have forſaken all and followed thee: What ſhall we have therefore?* Their LORD anſwered, *Ye ſhall ſit upon twelve thrones judging the twelve tribes of Iſrael.* Amongſt theſe perſons to whom Chriſt ſpake Judas was; he was one of the Twelve, and he had a throne allotted for him; his name was deſcribed in the book of life, and a ſcepter and a crown was depoſited for him too. For we muſt not judge of Chriſt's meaning by the event, ſince he ſpake theſe words to produce in them faith, comfort and joy in the beſt objects. It was a ſermon of duty as well as a homily of comfort, and therefore was equally intended to all the college. And ſince the number of thrones is proportioned to the number of men, it is certain there was no exception of any man there included; and yet it is as certain Judas never came to ſit upon the throne, and his name was blotted out of the book of life. Now if we put theſe ends together, that in Scripture it was not revealed to any man concerning his final condition, but to the dying penitent thief, and to the twelve Apoſtles, that twelve thrones were deſigned for them, and a promiſe made of their inthronization; and yet that no man's final eſtate is ſo clearly declared miſerable and loſt as that of Judas, one of the twelve, to whom a throne was promiſed; the reſult will be, that the election of holy perſons is a condition allied to duty, abſolute and infallible in the general, and ſuppoſing all the diſpoſitions and requiſites concurring; but fallible in the particular, if we fall off from the mercies of the covenant, and prevaricate the conditions. But the thing which is moſt obſervable is, that if in perſons ſo eminent and privileged, and to whom a revelation of their election was made as a particular grace, their condition had one weak leg, upon which becauſe it did rely for one half of the intereſt, it could be no ſtronger than its ſupporters; the condition of lower perſons, to whom no revelation is made, no privileges are indulged, no greatneſs of ſpiritual eminency is appendent, as they have no greater certainty in the thing, ſo they have leſs in perſon, and are therefore *to work out their ſalvation with* great *fears and tremblings* of ſpirit.

2. THE purpoſe of this conſideration is, that we do not judge of our final condition by any diſcourſes of our own, relying upon God's ſecret counſels, and predeſtination of eternity. This is a mountain, upon which whoſoever climbs, like Moſes, to behold the land of [b] Canaan at great diſtances, may pleaſe his eyes, or ſatisfy his curioſity, but

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[a] Quod dixit Jeſus 72 Diſcipulis, *Lucæ* x. *v.* 20. Eorum nomina deſcripta eſſe in cœlo; prædeſtinationem licet aliquatenus denotet, non tamen ad gloriam, ſed ad munus evangelicum & miniſterium in regno. Alii autem verba illa non rem facti denotare, ſed cauſam gaudii tantum enarrare juſtam & legitimam; ex ſuppoſitione ſcil. & quando hoc contigerit, aut ad effectum perducetur. Utcunque autem verba ſignificent, certum eſt, Doctores Eccleſiæ non paucos tradidiſſe, 72 Diſcipulos Chriſtum reliquiſſe, nec rediiſſe denuo.

[b] Ad ſcelus ab hujuſmodi votis facillime tranſitur.
Tacit.

is certain never to enter that [a] Way. It is like enquiring into fortunes, concerning which *Phavorinus* the Philoſopher ſpake not unhandſomely; "They that foretel "events of deſtiny and ſecret providence, either fortel ſad things or proſperous. If "they promiſe proſperous, and deceive you, you are made miſerable by a vain ſpe-"culation. If they threaten ill fortune, and ſay falſe, thou art made wretched by a "falſe fear. But if they foretel adverſity, and ſay true, thou art made miſerable by "thy own apprehenſion before thou art ſo by deſtiny; and many times the fear is "worſe than the evil feared. But if they promiſe felicities, and promiſe truly what "ſhall come to paſs, then thou ſhalt be wearied by an impatience and a ſuſpended "hope, and thy hope ſhall raviſh and [b] deflower the joys of thy poſſeſſion." Much of it is hugely applicable to the preſent queſtion. And our bleſſed Lord, when he was petitioned that he would grant to the two ſons of Zebedee, that they might ſit, one on the right hand, and the other on the left in his kingdom, rejected their deſire, and only promiſed them what concerned their duty and their ſuffering, referring them to that, and leaving the final event of men to the diſpoſition of his Father. This is the great ſecret of the kingdom, which God hath locked up and ſealed with the counſels of eternity. *The ſure foundation of God ſtandeth,* [c] *having this ſeal, the Lord knoweth who are his.* This ſeal ſhall never be broken up till the great day of Chriſt: In the mean time, the divine knowledge is the only repoſitory of the final ſentences, and this *way of God is unſearchable and paſt finding out.* And therefore if we be ſolicitous and curious to know what God in the counſels of eternity hath decreed concerning us, he hath in two fair tables deſcribed all thoſe ſentences from whence we muſt take accounts, the revelations of ſcripture, and the book of conſcience. The firſt recites the law and the conditions; the other gives in evidence. The firſt is clear, evident and conſpicuous; the other, when it is written with large characters, may alſo be diſcerned; but there are many little accents, periods, diſtinctions, and little ſignifications of actions, which either are there written in water, or ſullied over with careleſſneſs, or blotted with forgetfulneſs, or not legible by ignorance, or miſconſtrued by intereſt and partiality, that it will be extremely difficult to read the hand upon the wall, or to copy out one line of the eternal ſentence. And therefore excellent was the counſel of the ſon of Sirach [d], *Seek not out the things that are too hard for thee, neither ſearch the things that are above thy ſtrength. But what is commanded thee think thereupon with reverence; for it is not needful for thee to ſee with thine eyes the things that are in ſecret.* For whatſoever God hath revealed in general concerning election, it concerns all perſons within the pale of chriſtianity. He hath conveyed notice to all chriſtian people, that they are *ſons* of God, that they are the *heirs* of eternity, *coheirs with Chriſt, partakers of the divine nature*; meaning that ſuch they are by the deſign of God, and the purpoſes of the manifeſtation of his Son. The election of God is diſputed in Scripture to be an act of God ſeparating whole nations, and rejecting others; in each of which, many particular inſtances there were contrary to the general and univerſal purpoſe; and of the elect nations many particulars periſhed, and many of the rejected people *ſate down with Abraham, Iſaac, and Jacob, in the kingdom of Heaven.* And to thoſe perſons to whom God was more particular, and was pleaſed to ſhew the ſcrolls of his eternal counſels, and to reveal their particular elections, as he did to the twelve Apoſtles, he ſhewed them wrapped up and ſealed: and, to take off their confidences or preſumptions, he gave probation in one inſtance, that thoſe ſcrolls may be cancelled, that his purpoſe concerning particulars may be altered by us; and therefore that he did not diſcover the bottom of the abyſs, but ſome purpoſes of ſpecial grace and indefinite deſign. But his peremptory, final, unalterable decree, he keeps in the cabinets of the eternal ages, never to be unlocked till the Angel of the covenant ſhall declare the unalterable univerſal Sentence.

3. BUT as we take the meaſure of the courſe of the Sun by the dimenſions of the ſhadows made by our own bodies or our own inſtruments; ſo muſt we take the meaſures of eternity by the ſpan of a man's hand, and gueſs at what God decrees of us, by conſidering how our relations and endearments are to him. And it is obſervable, that all the confidences which the Spirit of God hath created in the elect, are built upon duty, and ſtand or fall according to the ſtrength or weakneſs of ſuch ſupporters. [e] *We know we are tranſlated from death to life by our love unto the brethren:* Meaning, that the performance of our duty is the beſt conſignation to eternity, and the only teſtimony

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[a] —— Nos parvum ac debile vulgus
Scrutamur penitus ſuperos: hinc pallor et iræ,
Hinc ſcelus, inſidiæque, et nulla modeſtia voti. *Statius.*

[b] Futurum gaudii fructum ſpes tibi jam præfloraverit, *A. Gell. l.* 14. [c] 2 Tim. ii. 19. [d] Ecclus. iii. 21, 22. [e] 1 John iii. 14.

God gives us of our election. And therefore we are to make our judgments accordingly. And here I conſider, that there is no ſtate of a chriſtian, in which by virtue of the covenant of the Goſpel it is effectively and fully declared that his ſins are actually pardoned, but only in baptiſm, at our firſt coming to Chriſt, when he *redeems us from our vain converſation*, when he makes us become *ſons of God*, when he *juſtifies us freely by his grace*, when we are purified by faith, when we make a covenant with Chriſt to live for ever according to his laws. And this I ſhall ſuppoſe I have already proved and explicated in the diſcourſe of Repentance. So that whoever is certain he hath not offended God ſince that time, and in nothing tranſgreſſeth the laws of Chriſtianity, he is certain that he actually remains in the ſtate of baptiſmal purity: But it is too certain that this certainty remains not long, but we commonly throw ſome dirt into our waters of baptiſm, and ſtain our white robe which we then put on.

4. BUT then, becauſe our reſtitution to this ſtate is a thing that conſiſts of ſo many parts, is ſo diviſible, various, and uncertain whether it be arrived to the degree of innocence, (and our innocence conſiſts in a mathematical point, and is not capable of degrees any more than unity, becauſe one ſtain deſtroys our being innocent,) it is therefore a very difficult matter to ſay that we have done all our duty towards our reſtitution to baptiſmal grace; and if we have not done all that we can do, it is harder to ſay that God hath accepted that which is leſs than the conditions we entred into, when we received the great juſtification and pardon of ſins. We all know we do leſs than our duty, and we hope that God makes abatements for human infirmities; but we have but a few rules to judge by, and they not infallible in themſelves, and we yet more fallible in the application; whether we have not mingled ſome little minutes of malice in the body of infirmities, and how much will bear excuſe, and in what time, and to what perſons, and to what degrees, and upon what endeavours we ſhall be pardoned. So that all the interval between our loſing baptiſmal grace, and the day of our death, we walk in a cloud, having loſt the certain knowledge of our preſent condition by our prevarications. And indeed it is a very hard thing for a man to know his own heart. And he that ſhall obſerve how often himſelf hath been abuſed by confidences and ſecret imperfections, and how the greateſt part of Chriſtians in name only do think themſelves in a very good condition, when God knows they are infinitely removed from it; (and yet if they did not think themſelves well and ſure, it is unimaginable they ſhould ſleep ſo quietly, and walk ſecurely, and conſider negligently, and yet proceed confidently;) he that conſiders this, and upon what weak and falſe principles of divinity men have raiſed their ſtrengths and perſuaſions, will eaſily conſent to this, That it is very eaſy for men to be deceived in taking eſtimate of their preſent condition, of their being in the ſtate of grace.

5. BUT there is great variety of men, and difference of degrees; and every ſtep of returning to God may reaſonably add one degree of hope, till at laſt it comes to the certainty and top of hope. Many men believe themſelves to be in the ſtate of Grace, and are not; many are in the ſtate of Grace, and are infinitely fearful they are out of it: and many that are in God's favour do think they are ſo, and they are not deceived. And all this is certain. For ſome ſin that ſin of preſumption and flattery of themſelves, and ſome good perſons are vexed with violent fears and temptations to deſpair, and all are not: And when their hopes are right, yet ſome are ſtrong, and ſome are weak. For they that are well perſuaded of their preſent condition, have perſuaſions as different as are the degrees of their approach to innocence; and he that is at the higheſt, hath alſo ſuch abatements which are apt and proper for the conſervation of humility and godly fear. *I am guilty of nothing*, ſaith St. Paul [a], *but I am not hereby juſtified*: meaning thus, Though I be innocent, for ought I know, yet God who judges otherwiſe than we judge, may find ſomething to reprove in me: *It is God that judges*, that is, concerning my degrees of acceptance and hopes of glory. If the perſon be newly recovering from a ſtate of ſin, becauſe his ſtate is imperfect, and his ſin not dead, and his luſt active, and his habit not quite extinct, it is eaſy for a man to be too haſty in pronouncing well. He is wrapt up in a cloak of clouds, hidden and incumbred; [b] and his brighteſt day is but twilight, and his diſcernings dark, conjectural and imperfect; and his heart is like a cold hand newly applied to the fire, full of pain, and whether the heat or the cold be ſtrongeſt, is not eaſy to determine: or like middle colours, which no man can tell to which of the extremes they are to be accounted. But

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[a] 1 Cor. iv. 4. Cum multis in rebus offendamus Deum, majorem tamen offenſarum partem ne intelligimus quidem; idcirco ait Apoſtolus, Nihil conſcius ſum, &c. q. d. Multa delicta committo, quæ committere me non intelligo. Propter hanc cauſam Propheta ait, Delicta quis intelligit? *S. Baſil. c. 2. Monaſt. Conſtit.*

[b] Eccles. ix. 1, 2.

according as perſons grow in grace, ſo they may grow in confidence of their preſent condition. It is not certain they will do ſo; for ſometimes the beauty of their tabernacle is covered with goats hair and skins of beaſts, and holy people do infinitely deplore the want of ſuch graces which God obſerves in them with great complacency and acceptance. Both theſe caſes ſay, that to be certainly perſuaded of our preſent condition is not a duty: Sometimes it is not poſſible, and ſometimes it is better to be otherwiſe. But if we conſider of this certainty as a bleſſing and a reward, there is no queſtion but in a great and eminent ſanctity of life, there may alſo be a great confidence and fulneſs of perſuaſion, that our preſent being is well and gracious; and then it is certain that ſuch Perſons are not deceived. For the thing itſelf being ſure, if the perſuaſion anſwers to it, it is needleſs to diſpute of the degree of certainty and the manner of it. Some perſons are heartily perſuaded of their being reconciled; and of theſe ſome are deceived, and ſome are not deceived; and there is no ſign to diſtinguiſh them, but by that which is the thing ſignified: A holy life, according to the ſtrict rules of chriſtian diſcipline, tells what perſons are confident, and who are preſumptuous. But the certainty is reaſonable in none but in old Chriſtians, habitually holy perſons, not in new Converts, or in lately lapſed people; for concerning them we find the Spirit of God ſpeaking with clauſes of reſtraint and ambiguity, a [a] *perhaps*, and, [b] *who knoweth?* and *peradventure the thoughts of thy heart may be forgiven thee*; God may have mercy on thee. And that God hath done ſo, they only have reaſon to be confident, whom God hath bleſſed with a laſting, continuing piety, and who have wrought out the habits of their precontracted vices.

6. BUT we find in Scripture many precepts given to holy perſons, being in the ſtate of grace, to ſecure their ſtanding, and perpetuate their preſent condition. For, [c] *He that endureth unto the end, he* [only] *ſhall be ſaved*, (ſaid our bleſſed Saviour:) and, [d] *He that ſtandeth, let him take heed leſt he fall:* And, [e] *Thou ſtandeſt by faith; be not high minded, but fear:* and, [f] *Work out your ſalvation with fear and trembling.* [g] *Hold faſt that thou haſt, and let no man take thy crown from thee.* And it was excellent advice; for one church had [h] *loſt their firſt love*, and was likely alſo to loſe their crown. And St. Paul himſelf, who had once entred within the veil, and ſeen unutterable glories, yet was forced to endure hardſhip, and to fight againſt his own diſobedient appetite, and to do violence to his inclinations, for fear that, *whilſt he preached to others, himſelf ſhould become a caſt-away*. And ſince we obſerve in holy ſtory, that Adam and Eve fell in Paradiſe, and the Angels fell in Heaven itſelf, ſtumbling at the very jewels which pave the ſtreets of the celeſtial Jeruſalem; and in Chriſt's family, one man for whom his Lord had prepared a throne, turned devil; and that in the number of the Deacons, it is ſaid that one turned apoſtate, who yet had been a man full of the Holy Ghoſt: It will leſſen our train, and diſcompoſe the gayeties of our preſent confidence, to think that our ſecurities cannot be really diſtinguiſhed from danger and uncertainties. For every man walks upon two legs; one is firm, invariable, conſtant and eternal; but the other is his own. God's promiſes are the objects of our faith; but the events and final conditions of our ſouls, which are conſequent to our duty, can at the beſt be but the objects of our hope. And either there muſt in this be a leſs certainty, or elſe Faith and Hope are not two diſtinct Graces. [i] *God's gifts and vocation are without repentance*; meaning, on God's part: But the very people concerning whom St. Paul uſed the expreſſion, were reprobate and cut off, and in good time ſhall be called again; in the mean time many ſingle perſons periſh. [k] *There is no Condemnation to them that are in Chriſt Jeſus.* God will look to that, and it will never fail: But then they muſt ſecure the following period, and [l] *not walk after the fleſh, but after the ſpirit. Behold the goodneſs of God towards thee*, ſaith St. Paul, *if thou continue in his goodneſs; otherwiſe thou alſo ſhalt be cut off.* And if this be true concerning the whole church of the Gentiles, to whom the Apoſtles then made the addreſs, and concerning whoſe election the decree was publick and manifeſt, that they might be cut off, and their abode in God's favour was upon condition of their perſeverance in the faith; much more is it true in ſingle perſons, whoſe election in particular is ſhut up in the abyſs, and permitted to the condition of our faith and obedience, and the revelations of dooms-day.

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[a] Beatus Daniel præſcius futurorum, de ſententia Dei dubitat. Rem temerariam faciunt qui audacter veniam pollicentur peccantibus. *S. Hieron.* Dan. iv. 27.
[b] Joel ii. 14. Acts viii. 22.
[c] Mat. xxiv. 13.
[d] 1 Cor. x. 12.
[e] Rom. xi. 20.
[f] Phil. ii. 12.
[g] Rev. iii. 11.
[h] Chap. xxiv.
[i] Rom. xi. 29.
[k] Rom. viii. 1.
[l] Rom. xi. 22.

7. Certain it is, that God hath given to holy perſons [a] the *ſpirit of adoption*, enabling them to cry, *Abba, Father*, and to account themſelves for ſons; and by this *ſpirit we know we dwell in him*, and therefore it is called in Scripture *the earneſt of the ſpirit:* Though at its firſt miſſion, and when the Apoſtle wrote and uſed this appellative, the Holy Ghoſt was of greater ſignification, and a more viſible earneſt and endearment of their hopes, than it is to moſt of us ſince. For the viſible ſending of the Holy Ghoſt upon many believers, in gifts, ſigns and prodigies, was an infinite argument to make them expect events as great beyond that, as that was beyond the common gift of men: juſt as Miracles and Prophecy, which are gifts of the Holy Ghoſt, were arguments of probation for the whole Doctrine of Chriſtianity. And this being a mighty verification of the great promiſe, the promiſe of the Father, was an apt inſtrument to raiſe their hopes and confidences concerning thoſe other promiſes which Jeſus made, the promiſes of immortality and eternal life, of which the preſent miraculous graces of the Holy Spirit were an earneſt, and in the nature of a contracting penny. And ſtill alſo the Holy Ghoſt, though in another manner, is *an earneſt of the great price of the heavenly calling*, the rewards of Heaven; though not ſo viſible and apparent as at firſt, yet as certain and demonſtrative, where it is diſcerned, or where it is believed, as it is and ought to be in every perſon who does any part of his duty, becauſe by the Spirit we do it, and without him we cannot. And ſince we either feel or believe the preſence and gifts of the Holy Ghoſt to holy purpoſes, (for whom we receive voluntarily, we cannot eaſily receive without a knowledge of his reception,) we cannot but entertain him as an argument of greater good hereafter, and an earneſt-penny of the perfection of the preſent grace, that is, of the rewards of glory; glory and grace differing no otherwiſe, than as an earneſt in part of payment does from the whole price, *the price of our high calling*. So that the Spirit is an earneſt, not becauſe he always ſignifies to us that we are actually in the ſtate of grace, but by way of argument or reflection. We know we do belong to God, when we receive his Spirit; (and all chriſtian people have received him, if they were rightly baptized and confirmed;) I ſay, we know by that Teſtimony that we belong to God, that is, we are the people with whom God hath made a covenant, to whom he hath promiſed and intends greater bleſſings, to which the preſent gifts of the Spirit are in order. But all this is conditional, and is not an immediate teſtimony of the certainty and future event; but of the event as it is poſſibly future, and may (without our fault) be reduced to act as certainly as it is promiſed, or as the earneſt is given in hand. And this the Spirit of God oftentimes tells us in ſecret viſitations and publick teſtimonies; and this is that which St. Paul [b] calls, *taſting of the heavenly gift, and partaking of the Holy Ghoſt*, and *taſting of the good word of God, and the powers of the world to come.* But yet ſome that have done ſo, have fallen away, and have *quenched the Spirit*, and have given back the earneſt of the Spirit, and contracted new relations, and God hath been their Father no longer, for they have done the works of the devil. So that if new Converts be uncertain of their preſent ſtate, old Chriſtians are not abſolutely certain they ſhall perſevere. They are as ſure of it as they can be of future acts of theirs which God hath permitted to their own power. But this certainty cannot exclude all fear, till their charity be perfect; only according to the ſtrength of their habits, ſo is the confidence of their abodes in grace.

8. Beyond this, ſome holy perſons have degrees of perſuaſion ſuperadded as largeſſes and acts of grace; God loving to bleſs one degree of grace with another, till it comes to a confirmation in grace, which is a State of Salvation directly oppoſite to obduration: And as this is irremediable and irrecoverable, ſo is the other inamiſſible. As God never ſaves a perſon obdurate and obſtinately impenitent, ſo he never loſes a man whom he hath confirmed in grace; [c] *whom he* [ſo] *loves, he loves unto the end:* and to others indeed he offers his perſevering love, but they will not entertain it with a perſevering duty, they will not be beloved unto the end. But I inſert this caution, that every man that is in this Condition of a confirmed grace, does not always know it: But ſometimes God draws aſide the curtains of peace, and ſhews him his throne, and viſits him with irradiations of glory, and ſends him a little Star to ſtand over his dwelling, and then again covers it with a cloud. It is certain concerning ſome perſons, that they ſhall never fall, and that God will not permit them to the danger or probability of it; to ſuch it is morally impoſſible: But theſe are but few, and themſelves know it not as they know a demonſtrative propoſition, but as they ſee the Sun, ſometimes breaking from a cloud very brightly, but all day long giving neceſſary and ſufficient light.

9. Con-

[a] Rom. viii. 15. 1 John iv. 13. 2 Cor. i. 22. and v. 5. [b] Heb. vi. 4, 5.

[c] ——— Hic ſelix, nullo turbante Deorum: Is nullo parcente, miſer. ———

9. CONCERNING the multitude of believers this diſcourſe is not pertinent, for they only take their own accounts by the imperfections of their own duty blended with the mercies of God: The cloud gives light on one ſide, and is dark upon the other; and ſometimes a bright ray peeps through the fringes of a ſhower, and immediately hides it ſelf; that we might be humble and diligent, ſtriving forwards, and looking upwards, endeavouring our duty, and longing after Heaven, *working out our ſalvation with fear and trembling*, and in good time *our calling and election* may be *aſſured*, when we firſt, according to the precept of the Apoſtle, *uſe all diligence*. St. *Paul*, when he writ his firſt Epiſtle to the *Corinthians*[a], was more fearful of being reprobate, and therefore he uſed exterior arts of mortification. But when he writ to the *Romans*, which was a good while after, we find him more confident of his final condition, [b] *perſuaded that neither height, nor depth, Angel, nor principality, nor power, could ſeparate him from the love of God in Jeſus Chriſt*. And when he grew to his latter end, when he wrote to St. *Timothy*, he was more confident yet, and declared that now [c] *a crown of righteouſneſs was* certainly *laid up for him*; for now he had *fought the fight, and finiſhed his courſe, the time of his departure was at hand*. Henceforth he knew no more fear; his *love* was as *perfect* as this ſtate would permit, and that *caſt out all fear*. According to this precedent if we reckon our ſecurities, we are not likely to be reproved by any words of Scripture, or by the conditions of human infirmity. But when the confidence outruns our growth in grace, it is itſelf a ſin: Though when the confidence is equal with the grace, it is of it ſelf no regular and univerſal duty, but a bleſſing and a reward indulged by ſpecial diſpenſation, and in order to perſonal neceſſities or accidental purpoſes. For only ſo much hope is ſimply neceſſary as excludes deſpair, and encourages our duty, and glorifies God, and entertains his mercy: But that the hope ſhould be without fear, is not given but to the higheſt faith, and the moſt excellent charity, and to habitual, ratified and confirmed Chriſtians: and to them alſo with ſome variety. The ſum is this: All that are in the ſtate of beginners and imperfection have a conditional certainty, changeable and fallible in reſpect of us; (for we meddle not with what it is in God's ſecret purpoſes;) changeable, I ſay, as their wills and reſolutions. They that are grown towards perfection have more reaſon to be confident, and many times are ſo: But ſtill, although the ſtrength of the habits of grace adds degrees of moral certainty to their expectation, yet it is but as their condition is, hopeful and promiſing, and of a moral determination. But to thoſe few to whom God hath given confirmation in grace, he hath alſo given a certainty of condition; and therefore if that be revealed to them, their perſuaſions are certain and infallible. If it be not revealed to them, their condition is in it ſelf certain, but their perſuaſion is not ſo; but in the higheſt kind of hope, *an anchor of the ſoul ſure and ſtedfaſt*.

The PRAYER.

O *Eternal God, whoſe counſels are in the great deep, and thy ways paſt finding out; thou haſt built our faith upon thy promiſes, our hopes upon thy goodneſs, and haſt deſcribed our paths between the waters of comfort, and the dry barren land of our own duties and affections. We acknowledge that all our comforts derive from thee, and to ourſelves we owe all our ſhame and confuſions and degrees of deſperation. Give us the aſſiſtances of the Holy Ghoſt to help us in performing our Duty; and give us thoſe comforts and viſitation of the Holy Ghoſt which thou in thy infinite and eternal Wiſdom knoweſt moſt apt and expedient to encourage our duties, to entertain our hopes, to alleviate our ſadneſſes, to refreſh our Spirits, and to endure our abode and conſtant endeavours in the ſtrictneſſes of religion and ſanctity. Lead us, deareſt God, from grace to grace, from imperfection to ſtrength, from acts to habits, from habits to confirmation in Grace, that we may alſo paſs into the region of comfort, receiving the earneſt of the Spirit, and the adoption of Sons; till by ſuch a ſignature we be conſigned to glory, and enter into the poſſeſſion of the inheritance which we expect in the kingdom of thy Son, and in the fruition of the felicities of thee, O gracious Father, God eternal. Amen.*

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[a] 1 Cor. 9. 27. [b] Rom. 8. 38, 39. [c] 2 Tim. 4. 6, 7, 8.

SECT. XIV.

Of the Third Year of the Preaching of JESUS.

1. BUT Jeſus knowing of the death of the Baptiſt, Herod's jealouſy, and the envy of the Phariſees, retired into a deſert place beyond the lake, together with his Apoſtles: For the people preſſed ſo upon them, they had not leiſure to eat. But neither there could he be hid, but great multitudes flocked thither alſo; to whom he preached many things. And afterwards, becauſe there were no villages in the neighbourhood, leſt they ſhould faint in their return to their houſes, he cauſed them *to ſit down upon the graſs*; and with *five loaves of barley, and two ſmall fiſhes he ſatisfied five thouſand men, beſides women and children*, and cauſed the Diſciples to *gather up the Fragments*, which being amaſſed together, *filled twelve baskets*. Which miracles had ſo much proportion to the underſtanding, and met ſo happily with the affections of the people, that they were convinced that this was the *Meſſias who was to come into the world*, and had a purpoſe to have *taken him by force, and made him a King*.

2. BUT he that left his Father's kingdom to take upon him the miſeries and infelicities of the world, fled from the offers of a kingdom, and their tumultuary election, as from an enemy: And therefore ſending his Diſciples to the ſhip to go before towards Bethſaida, he ran into the mountains to hide himſelf till the multitude ſhould ſcatter to their ſeveral habitations, he in the mean time taking the opportunity of that retirement for the advantage of his prayers. But when the Apoſtles were far engaged in the deep, a great tempeſt aroſe, with which they were preſſed to the extremity of danger and the laſt refuges, labouring in ſadneſs and hopeleſſneſs, till *the fourth watch of the night*; when in the midſt of their fears and labour *Jeſus comes walking on the ſea*, and appeared to them, which turned their fears into affrightments: For *they ſuppoſed it had been a ſpirit*. But he appeaſed their fears with his preſence, and manifeſtation who he was; which yet they deſired to have proved to them by a ſign. For *Simon Peter ſaid unto him, Maſter, if it be thou, command me to come to thee on the waters*. The Lord did ſo: and Peter throwing himſelf upon the confidence of his Maſter's power and providence, came out of the ſhip; and his fear began to weigh him down, and *he cried, ſaying, Lord, ſave me. Jeſus took him by the hand*, reproved the timorouſneſs of his faith, and *went with him into the ſhip*: where when they had *worſhipped him*, and admired the divinity of his Power and Perſon, they preſently *came into the land of Geneſareth*, the ſhip arriving *at the port immediately*. And *all that were ſick* or poſſeſſed with unclean Spirits *were brought to him: and as many as touched the border of his Garment were made whole*.

3. BY this time they whom Jeſus had left on the other ſide of the lake, had come as far as *Capernaum* to ſeek him, wondring that he was there before them. But upon the occaſion of their ſo diligent inquiſition Jeſus obſerves to them, "That it was not the divinity of the miracle that provoked their zeal, but the ſatisfaction they had in the loaves, a carnal complacency in their meal: and upon that intimation ſpeaks of celeſtial bread, the divine nutriment of ſouls: and then diſcourſes of the myſterious and ſymbolical manducation of Chriſt himſelf; affirming that he himſelf was *the bread of life that came down from Heaven*, that he would give his Diſciples *his Fleſh to eat, and his blood to drink*," and all this ſhall be *for the life of the world*, to nouriſh unto life eternal; ſo that without it a happy eternity could not be obtained. Upon this diſcourſe [a] *divers of his diſciples* (amongſt whom St. *Mark* the evangeliſt is ſaid to be one, though he was afterwards recalled by Simon Peter) *forſook him*, being ſcandalized by their literal and carnal underſtanding of thoſe words of Jeſus, which he intended in a ſpiritual ſenſe. For *the words that he ſpake* were not profitable in the ſenſe of *fleſh and blood*, but *they are ſpirit, and they are life*, himſelf being the Expounder, who beſt knew his own meaning.

4. WHEN Jeſus ſaw this great defection of his Diſciples from him, he turned him to the twelve apoſtles, and aſked if they *alſo would go away. Simon Peter anſwered, Lord, whither ſhall we go? thou haſt the words of eternal Life: And we believe and are ſure thou*

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[a] Epiphan. Hæreſ. 15.

Pag. 304. XXV

And he *commanded the Multitude to sit down on the Graſs, & took the 5 Loaves, & the two Fishes, & looking up to Heaven,* he *bleſsed & break & gave to his Disciples, & the Disciples to the Multitude. And they did all eat & were filled, and they took up of the Fragments that remained, twelve Baskets full.*

S^t. Matt. Chap. 14th Ver. 19th. 20th. 21st.

BRITISH MUSEUM 5 AU 70

thou art that CHRIST the ſon of the living God. Although this publick Confeſſion was made by Peter in the name and confidence of the other Apoſtles, yet Jeſus told them, that even amongſt the *twelve* there was *one devil*; meaning Judas Iſcariot, *who afterwards betrayed him.* This he told them prophetically, that they might perceive the ſad Accidents which afterwards happened, did not invade and ſurprize him in the diſadvantages of ignorance or improviſion, but came by his own knowledge and providence.

5. THEN came to him the Phariſees, and ſome Scribes which came from Jeruſalem and Galilee, (for *Jeſus would not go to Judæa, becauſe the Jews laid wait to kill him,*) and quarelled with him about certain impertinent, unneceſſary rites, derived to them not by divine ſanction, but *ordinances of man*; ſuch as were *waſhing their hands oft when they eat, baptizing cups and platters,* and *waſhing tables and beds:* which ceremonies the apoſtles of Jeſus did not obſerve, but attended diligently to the ſimplicity and ſpiritual holineſs of their Maſter's doctrine. But, in return to their vain demands, Jeſus gave them a ſharp reproof, for proſecuting theſe and many other traditions to the diſcountenance of divine Precepts; and in particular, they taught men to give to the *Corban*, and refuſed to ſupply the neceſſity of their Parents, thinking it to be religion, though they neglected Piety and Charity. And again he thunders out woes and ſadneſſes againſt their impieties; for being curious of minutes, and punctual in rites and ceremonials, but moſt negligent and incurious of Judgment and the love of God; for their pride, for their hypocriſy, for their impoſing Burthens upon others which themſelves helped not to ſupport; for taking away the key of knowledge from the People, obſtructing the paſſages to Heaven; for approving the acts of their fathers in perſecuting the prophets. But for the queſtion itſelf concerning waſhings, Jeſus taught the people, that no outward impurity did ſtain the ſoul in the ſight of God; but all pollution is from within, from the corruption of the heart, and impure thoughts, unchaſte deſires, and unholy purpoſes; and that charity is the beſt purifier in the world.

6. AND thence *Jeſus departed into the coaſts of Tyre and Sidon, and entred into a houſe,* that he might *not be known.* The diligence of a mother's love, and ſorrow, and neceſſity, found him out in his retirement: for *a Syrophœnician woman came and beſought him he would caſt the Devil out of her Daughter.* But Jeſus diſcourſed to her by way of diſcomfort and rejection of her, for her Nation's ſake. But the ſeeming denial did but enkindle her deſires, and made her importunity more bold and undeniable: ſhe begged but *ſome crumbs that fell from the childrens table,* but one inſtance of favour to her daughter, which he poured forth without meaſure upon the ſons and daughters of Iſrael. Jeſus was pleaſed with her zeal and diſcretion, and pitied her daughter's infelicity, and diſmiſſed her with ſaying, *the Devil was gone out of her daughter.*

7. BUT Jeſus ſtayed not long here, but returning *to the ſea of Galilee through the midſt of Decapolis, they brought unto him a Man deaf and dumb*; whom Jeſus cured by *touching his tongue, and putting his fingers in his ears*; which cauſed the people to give a large teſtimony in approbation of all his actions. And they followed him unto a mountain, bringing to him multitudes of diſeaſed people; and he healed them all. But becauſe the people had followed him *three days, and had nothing to eat,* Jeſus in pity to their need reſolved to feaſt them once more at the charge of a miracle: therefore taking *ſeven loaves and a few ſmall Fiſhes, he bleſſed them,* and *ſatisfied four thouſand men beſides women and children.* And there remained *ſeven baſkets full of broken bread and fiſh.* From whence Jeſus departed by ſhip to the coaſts of Mageddon and Dalmanutha, whither *the Phariſees and Sadducees came ſeeking of him a ſign.* But Jeſus rejected their impertinent and captious demand, knowing they did it to ill purpoſes and with diſaffection; reproving them, "that they *diſcerned the face of the ſky,* and the prognoſticks of *fair* or *foul weather,* but *not the ſigns of the Times* of the ſon of Man. However, ſince they had neglected ſo great demonſtrations of miracles, gracious diſcourſes, holy laws and prophecies, they muſt expect *no other ſign but the ſign of the prophet Jonas*; meaning, the reſurrection of his body after three days burial. And ſo he diſmiſſed the impertinent inquiſitors.

8. AND paſſing again over the Lake, as his Diſciples were ſolicitous becauſe *they had forgot to take Bread,* he gave them caution to beware *of the leaven of the Phariſees and Sadducees, and the leaven of Herod*; meaning the hypocriſy and vanities of the one, and the hereſy of the other. For Herod's leaven was the pretence that he was the Meſſias; which the ſect of the Herodians did earneſtly and ſpitefully promote. And after this entertainment of themſelves by the way, they came together to Bethſaida, where Jeſus cured a blind man with a collyrium of ſpittle, ſalutary as balſam, or the pureſt

eye-bright, when his divine benediction once had hallowed it. But Jeſus ſtaid not there, but departing thence into the coaſts of Cæſarea Philippi, out of Herod's power, (for it was in Philip's juriſdiction,) after he had *prayed with his Diſciples*, he enquired what opinion the world had of him, and *whom they reported him to be. They anſwered, Some ſay thou art John the Baptiſt, ſome that thou art Elias, or Jeremias, or one of the Prophets.* For in Galilee eſpecially the ſect of the Phariſees was mightily diſſeminated, whoſe opinion it was, that the ſouls of dead men, according to their ſeveral merits, did tranſmigrate into other bodies of very perfect and excellent perſons. And therefore in all this variety none hit upon the right, or fanſied him to be a diſtinct Perſon from the ancients: But although they differed in the aſſignation of his name, yet generally they agreed it was the ſoul of a departed Prophet which had paſſed into another body. But Jeſus asked the Apoſtles their opinion: And Peter, in the name of all the reſt, made an open and confident confeſſion, *Thou art* CHRIST, *the Son of the living God.*

9. THIS confeſſion Jeſus not only confirmed as true, but as *revealed by God*, and of fundamental neceſſity. For after the bleſſing of Peter's perſon, upon alluſion of Peter's name, Jeſus ſaid, that *upon this rock* [the article of Peter's confeſſion] *he would build his church*; promiſing to it aſſiſtances even to perpetuity, inſomuch that *the gates of hell*, that is, perſecution, and death, and the grave, *ſhould never prevail againſt it*: Adding withal a promiſe to Peter, in behalf of all the reſt, as he made a confeſſion for them all, that he would *give unto him the keys of the kingdom of Heaven, ſo that whatſoever he ſhould bind on earth, ſhould be bound in Heaven, and whatſoever he ſhould looſe on Earth, ſhould be looſed in Heaven*; a power which he never communicated before or ſince, but to their ſucceſſors; greater than the large charter of nature and the donative of creation, in which all the creatures under heaven were made ſubject to man's empire, but till now Heaven it ſelf was never ſubordinate to human miniſtration.

10. AND now the days from henceforward to the death of Jeſus, we muſt reckon to be like the vigils or eves of his paſſion: For now he began and often did ingeminate thoſe ſad predictions of his unhandſome uſage he ſhould ſhortly find, that he ſhould be *rejected of the Elders, and Chief Prieſts, and Scribes, and ſuffer many things at Jeruſalem, and be killed, and be raiſed up the third day.* But Peter, hearing that ſad diſcourſe, ſo contrary to his hopes, which he had blended with temporal expectances, (for he had learned the Doctrine of Chriſt's Advent, but not the myſtery of the Croſs) in great and miſtaken civility *took Jeſus* aſide, *and began to rebuke him, ſaying, Be it far from thee, Lord, this ſhall not be unto thee.* But Jeſus, full of zeal againſt ſo ſoft and humane admonition, that ſavoured nothing of God, or of abſtracted immaterial conſiderations, chid Peter bitterly; *Get thee behind me, Satan, thou art an offence unto me.* And calling his Diſciples to him, he told them a ſecond part of a ſad doctrine, that not only himſelf, but all they alſo muſt ſuffer. For when the Head was to be crowned with thorns, if the members were wrapped in ſoftneſſes, it was an unhandſome indecency, and a diſunion too near an antipathy; and therefore whoever will be the Diſciple of Jeſus, muſt *take up his croſs, deny himſelf*, and his own fonder appetites, and trace his Maſter's footſteps, marked out with blood that he ſhed for our redemption and reſtitution. And that there be no eſcape from the participation of Chriſt's ſuffering, Jeſus added this dilemma, *He that will ſave his life ſhall loſe it; and he that will loſe it ſhall ſave it* to eternity. Which part ſoever we chuſe, there is a life to be loſt. But as the firſt are fooliſh to the extremeſt miſery, that will loſe their ſouls to gain the world; ſo they are moſt wiſe and fortunate that will give their lives for him, becauſe when *the Son of Man ſhall come in his own glory, and his Father's, and of his Angels, he ſhall reward every man according to his works.* This diſcourſe Jeſus concluded with a prophecy, that *ſome ſtanding* in that preſence, *ſhould not die till they ſaw the Son of man coming in his kingdom.*

11. OF the greater glories of which, in due time to be revealed, *Jeſus after eight days* gave a bright and excellent probation. For, *taking with him Peter and James and John, he went up into the mountain Tabor to pray: and while he prayed he was transfigured before them; and his face did ſhine like the Sun, and his garments were white and gliſtering. And there appeared talking with him Moſes and Elias gloriouſly, ſpeaking of the deceaſe which he ſhould accompliſh at Jeruſalem: Which glory* theſe Apoſtles, *after they had awaked from ſleep, did behold.* And the Interlocutors with Jeſus, having finiſhed their embaſſy of death, (which they delivered in forms of glory repreſenting the excellencies of the reward, together with the ſharpneſs of the paſſage and interval,) departed, leaving the Apoſtles *full of fear*, and wonder, and ecſtaſie; inſomuch that *Peter talked he knew not what*, but nothing amiſs, ſomething prophetical, ſaying, [a] *Maſter, it*

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[a] Beda de locis ſanctis. c. 17.

And behold, there appeared unto them Moſes *and* Elias *talking with* Him. *And a Voice out of the Cloud said, this is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased; hear ye* him. *And when the Disciples heard it they fell on their Faces and were sore afraid.*

St. Matt. Chap. 5th. Ver. 3d. 5th. 6th.

BRITISH MUSEUM
5 AU 70

is good to be here; let us build three tabernacles. And ſome devout perſons in memory of the myſtery did erect three churches in the ſame place in after-ages. But after the departure of thoſe attendant Saints, *a cloud encircled Jeſus* and the diſciples, *and a voice came from the excellent glory, This is my beloved Son, hear him.* The cloud quickly diſappeared, and freed the diſciples from the fear it had put them in. So they attended Jeſus and *deſcended from the mountain*, being *commanded ſilence*: which they obſerved *till the reſurrection.*

12. THE next day came to Jeſus a man praying in behalf of his ſon, *lunatick and ſore troubled with a Devil*, who ſought oft to [a] *deſtroy him in fire and water*, that Jeſus would be pleaſed to deliver him. For his Apoſtles tried, and *could not*, by reaſon of the want of faith: for this grace, if it be true, though in a leſs degree, is of power to remove mountains, to pluck up trees by the roots, and to give them ſolid foundation in the waters. *And Jeſus rebuked the Devil, and he departed out of him* from that very hour. Then Jeſus departed privately into Galilee, and in his journey repeated thoſe ſadneſſes of his approaching paſſion: Which ſo afflicted the ſpirits of the Diſciples, that they durſt no more provoke him to diſcourſe, leſt he ſhould take occaſion to interweave ſomething of that unpleaſant argument with it. For ſad and diſconſolate perſons uſe to create comforts to themſelves by fiction of fancy, and uſe arts of avocation to remove diſpleaſure from them, and ſtratagems to remove it from their preſence, by removing it from their apprehenſions, thinking the incommodity of it is then taken away when they have loſt the ſenſe.

13. *When Jeſus was* now *come to Capernaum, the exactors of rates came to Simon Peter*, aſking him if *his Maſter paid* the accuſtomed *impoſition, viz.* a ſicle or didrachm, the fourth part of an ounce of ſilver, which was the tribute which the Lord impoſed upon all the ſons of [b] Iſrael from twenty years old and above, to pay for redemption and propitiation, and for the uſe of the tabernacle. *When Peter came into the houſe*, Jeſus knowing the meſſage that he was big with, *prevented him*, by aſking him, *Of whom do the Kings of the nations take tribute? of their own children, or of ſtrangers? Peter anſwered, of ſtrangers.* Then *ſaid Jeſus, then are the children free*; meaning, that ſince the gentile Kings do not exact tribute of their ſons, neither will God of his. And therefore this penſion to be paid for the uſe of the tabernacle, for the ſervice of God, for the redemption of their ſouls, was not to be paid by him, who was the ſon of God, but by ſtrangers. *Yet to avoid offence*, he ſent Peter a fiſhing, and provided a fiſh with two didrachms of ſilver in it, which he commanded Peter to pay for them two.

14. BUT when the Diſciples were together with *Jeſus in the houſe, he aſked them what they diſcourſed of upon the way.* For they had fallen upon an ambitious and miſtaken quarrel, *which of them ſhould be greateſt in their Maſter's kingdom*; which they ſtill did dream ſhould be an external and ſecular royalty, full of fancy and honour. But the Maſter was diligent to check their forwardneſs, eſtabliſhing a rule for clerical deportment; *He that will be greateſt among you, let him be your miniſter:* So ſuppoſing a greater and a leſſer, a miniſter and a perſon to be miniſtred unto; but dividing the grandeur of the perſon from the greatneſs of office, that the higher the employment is, the more humble ſhould be the man. Becauſe in ſpiritual prelation it is not as in ſecular pomps, where the dominion is deſpotick, the coercion bloody, the dictates imperious, the laws externally compulſory, and the titles arrogant and vain; and all the advantages are ſo paſſed upon the Perſon, that making that firſt to be ſplendid, it paſſes from the perſon to the ſubjects, who in abſtracted eſſences do not eaſily apprehend regalities in veneration, but as they are ſubjected in perſons made excellent by ſuch ſuperſtructures of majeſty. But in dignities eccleſiaſtical the dominion is paternal, the regiment perſwaſive and argumentative, the coercion by cenſures immaterial, by ceſſion and conſent, by denial of benefits, by the intereſt of virtues, and the efficacy of hopes, and impreſſes upon the ſpirit, the laws are full of admonition and ſermon; the titles of honour monitors of duty, and memorials of labour and offices; and all the advantages, which from the office uſually paſs upon the perſon, are to be diveſted by the humility of the man: And when they are of greateſt veneration, they are abſtracted excellencies and immaterial, not paſſing through the perſon to the people, and reflected to his luſtre, but tranſmitted by his labour and miniſtry, and give him honour for his labour's ſake, (which is his perſonal excellen-

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[a] Sæpe fui ſorbendus aquis, ſæpe igne vorandus; Sed timuêre tuas ignis & unda manus.

[b] Exod. 30.

cy,) not for his honour and title, which is either a derivative from Chriſt, or from the conſtitution of pious perſons, eſtimating and valuing the relatives of religion.

15. THEN *Jeſus taketh a little child, and ſetteth him in the midſt*, propounding him by way of emblem a pattern of humility and ſimplicity, without the mixtures of ambition or caitive diſtempers: ſuch infant candour and lowlineſs of ſpirit being the neceſſary port through which we muſt paſs, if we will enter into the courts of Heaven. But as a current of wholſome waters breaking from its reſtraint runs out in a ſucceſſion of waters, and every preceding draught draws out the next: ſo were the diſcourſes of Jeſus excellent and opportune, creating occaſions for others, that the whole doctrine of the goſpel and the entire will of the Father might be communicated upon deſign; even the chances of words and actions being made regular and orderly by divine Providence. For from the inſtance of humility in the ſymbol and hieroglyphick of the child, Jeſus diſcourſes of "the care God takes of little children, whether "naturally or ſpiritually ſuch; the danger of doing them ſcandal and offences; the "care and power of their Angels-guardian; of the neceſſity in the event that ſcandals "ſhould ariſe, and of the great woe and infelicity of thoſe perſons who were the "active miniſters of ſuch offences.

16. BUT if in the traverſes of our life diſcontents and injuries be done, Jeſus teaches how the injured perſon ſhould demean himſelf: Firſt, [a] reprove the offending party privately; if he repent, forgive him for ever with a mercy as unwearied and as multiplied as his repentance. For the ſervant to whom his Lord had forgiven 10,000 talents, becauſe he refuſed to forgive his fellow-ſervant 100 pence, was delivered to the [b] tormentors, till he ſhould pay that debt which his lord once forgave, till the ſervant's impiety forced him to repent his donative and remiſſion. But if he refuſes the charity of private correction, let him be reproved before a few witneſſes: and in caſe he be ſtill incorrigible, let him be brought to the tribunal of the Church; againſt whoſe advices if he ſhall kick, let him feel her power, and be cut off from the communion of Saints, becoming a Pagan or a Publican. And to make that the Church ſhall not have a dead and ineffectual hand in her animadverſions, Jeſus promiſes to all the Apoſtles, what before he promiſed to Peter, a power of *binding and looſing on earth*, and that it ſhould be *ratified in heaven* what they ſhall ſo diſpoſe on earth with an unerring key.

17. BUT John interrupted him, telling him of a ſtranger that *caſt out devils in the name of Jeſus*, but becauſe he was not of the family, he had forbidden him. To this Jeſus replied, that he ſhould *in no wiſe have forbidden him*, for in all reaſon he would do veneration to that perſon whoſe name he ſaw to be energetical and triumphant over Devils, and in whoſe name it is almoſt neceſſary that man ſhould believe, who uſed it as an inſtrument of ejection of impure ſpirits. Then Jeſus proceeded in his excellent ſermon and union of diſcourſes, adding holy precepts "concerning offences "which a man might do to himſelf; in which caſe he is to be ſevere, though moſt "gentle to others. For in his own caſe he muſt ſhew no mercy, but abſciſſion: for "it is better to *cut off the offending hand or foot*, or *extinguiſh the offending eye*, rather "than upon the ſupport of a troubleſome foot, and by the light of an offending eye, "walk into ruine and a ſad eternity, *where the worm dieth not, and the fire is not quenched.*" And ſo Jeſus ended this chain of excellent diſcourſes.

18. ABOUT this time was the Jews feaſt of tabernacles, whither Jeſus went up as it were in ſecret; and paſſing through Samaria, he found the inhabitants of a little village ſo inhoſpitable, as to refuſe to give him entertainment; which ſo provoked the intemperate zeal of James and John, that they would fain have *called for fire to conſume them, even as Elias did. But Jeſus rebuked* the furies of their anger, teaching them to diſtinguiſh the ſpirit of chriſtianity from the ungentleneſs of the decretory zeal of *Elias*. For ſince *the ſon of man came* with a purpoſe *to* ſeek and to *ſave what was loſt*, it was but an indiſcreet temerity ſuddenly upon the lighteſt umbrages of diſpleaſure to deſtroy a man, whoſe redemption coſt the effuſion of the deareſt blood from the heart of Jeſus. But contrariwiſe Jeſus does a miracle upon the ten leprous perſons which came to him from

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[a] Injuriam qui tulit, oblliviſci poteſt; qui fecit, nunquam. *Tacit.*

[b] De pœnis debitorum qui ſolvendo non ſunt, vid. *Livium*, decad. 1. lib. 1. & 6. & *Dionyſ. Halicarn.* hiſt. *Rom.* l. 6. & *A. Gellium*, l. 20. c. 1. qui ait, licuiſſe ſecare, ſi vellent, atque partiri corpus debitoris. Eo tamen conſilio (ſic barbariem excuſat Gellius) tanta immanitas pœnæ denunciata eſt, ne ad eam unquam pervenirent: diſſectum eſſe, antiquitus neminem neque legi, neque audivi. Duravit tamen ad ævum Conſtantini magni, ut plumbatis cæderentur debitores; qui tandem chriſtianam manſuetudinem in leges introduxit, & plumbatorum immanitatem ſuſtulit. *Cod. Theod.* l. 4. & 7. de exact.

J. Cole Sculp.

Then were there brought unto him little Children, *that* he *should put* his Hands *on them and pray; and the Disciples rebuk'd them,* *But* Jeſus *said, ſuffer* little Children *to come unto* me *and forbid them not; and* he *laid* his Hands *on them.* *St. Matt. Chap. 19th Ver. 13th 14th 15th*

BRITISH
5 AU 70
MUSEUM

And as he *entred into a certain Village, there met* him *ten Men that were Lepers, which stood afar off.*

S^t. Luke, Chap. 17^th. Ver. 12^th.

BRITISH
5 AU 70
MUSEUM

The Scribes and Pharises brought unto him a Woman taken in Adultery. And Jeſus said, he that is without Sin among you, let him first cast a Stone at her. St. John, Chap. 8th. Ver: 3d & 7th.

from the neighbourhood, crying out with ſad exclamations for help. But Jeſue ſent them to the prieſt to offer for their cleanſing. Thither they went, and but one only returned to give thanks, and he *a ſtranger*, who *with a loud voice glorified God*, and with humble adoration worſhipped, and gave thanks to Jeſus.

19. WHEN Jeſus had finiſhed his journey, and was now come to Jeruſalem, for the firſt days he was undiſcerned in publick conventions, but heard of the various opinions of men concerning him; ſome ſaying he was a good man; others, that he deceived the people: and the Phariſees ſought for him to do him a miſchief. But when they deſpaired of finding him in the midſt of the feaſt and the people, he made ſermons openly in the midſt of the temple: whom when he had convinced by the variety and divinity of his miracles and diſcourſes, they gave the greateſt teſtimony in the world of human weakneſs, and how prevalent a prejudice is above the confidence and conviction of a demonſtration. For a proverb, a miſtake, an error in matter of circumſtance, did in their underſtandings outweigh multitudes of miracles and arguments: and becauſe *Chriſt was of Galilee*, becauſe *they knew whence he was*, becauſe of the Proverb, that *out of Galilee comes no Prophet*, becauſe *the Rulers did not believe in him*, theſe outweighed the demonſtrations of his mercy, and his power, and divinity. But yet *very many believed on him: And no man durſt lay hands to take him: for as yet his time was not come*, in which he meant to give himſelf up to the Power of the Jews. And therefore when the Phariſees ſent officers to ſeize him, they alſo became his Diſciples, being themſelves ſurpriſed by the excellency of his doctrine.

20. AFTER this *Jeſus went to the mount of Olivet* on the eaſt of Jeruſalem, and *the next day returned again into the temple*; where the *Scribes and Phariſees brought him a woman taken in the act of adultery*, tempting him to give ſentence, that they might accuſe him of ſeverity or intermedling if he condemned her, or of remiſſneſs and popularity if he did acquit her. But Jeſus found out an expedient for their difficulty, and changed the ſcene, by bidding *the innocent perſon among them caſt the firſt ſtone at the Adultereſs*: and then *ſtooping down* to give them fair occaſion to withdraw, *he wrote upon the ground with his finger*, whilſt they left the woman and her crime to a more private cenſure. *Jeſus was left alone, and the woman in the midſt*; whom Jeſus diſmiſſed, charging her to *ſin no more*. And a while after Jeſus begins again to diſcourſe to them, "of his miſſion from the Father, of his crucifixion and exaltation from the "earth, of the reward of believers, of the excellency of truth, of ſpiritual liberty "and relations, who are the ſons of Abraham, and who the children of the devil, of "his own eternal generation, of the deſire of Abraham to ſee his day. In which ſermon he continued, adding ſtill new excellencies, and confuting their malicious and vainer calumnies, till they, that they might alſo confute him, *took up ſtones to caſt at him*. But he *went out of the temple, going through the midſt of them, and ſo paſſed by*.

21. BUT in his paſſage he met a man who had been born blind: and after he had diſcourſed curſorily of the cauſe of that blindneſs, it being a miſery not ſent as a puniſhment to *his own or his parents ſin*, but as an occaſion to make publick *the glory of God*; he, to manifeſt that himſelf was *the light of the world* in all ſenſes, ſaid it now, and proved it by a miracle: for, ſitting down *he made clay of ſpittle*, and *anointing the eyes of the blind man*, bid him *go waſh in Siloam*. Which was a pool of limpid water which God ſent at the prayer of [a] Iſaiah the Prophet, a little before his death, to ſatisfy the neceſſities of his People oppreſſed with thirſt and a ſtrict ſiege; and it ſtood at the foot of the mount Sion, and gave its water at firſt by returns and periods, always to the Jews, but not to the enemies. And thoſe intermitted ſpringings were ſtill continued, but only a pool was made from the frequent effluxes. The blind man *went, and waſhed, and returned ſeeing*; and was inceſſantly vexed by the Phariſees, to tell them the manner and circumſtances of the cure. And when the man had averred the truth, and named his Phyſician, giving him a pious and charitable teſtimony, the Phariſees, becauſe they could not force him to diſavow his good opinion of Jeſus, *caſt him out of the Synagogue*. But Jeſus meeting him received him into the church, told him he was CHRIST: and the man became again enlightned, and he believed, and worſhipped. But the Phariſees blaſphemed. For ſuch was the diſpenſation of the divine myſteries, that the blind ſhould ſee, and they which think they ſee clearly ſhould become blind, becauſe they had not the excuſe of ignorance to leſſen or take off the ſin,

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[a] Ephiphan. de vita & interitu prophet. c. 7.

but in the midſt of light they ſhut their eyes, and doted upon darkneſs; and *therefore did their ſin remain.*

22. BUT Jeſus continued his ſermon among the Phariſees, inſinuating reprehenſions in his dogmatical diſcourſes, which like light ſhined and diſcovered error. For by diſcourſing “ the properties of a good ſhepherd, and the lawful way of intromiſſion, he proved them to be *thieves and robbers*, becauſe they refuſed to *enter in by Jeſus*, who is *the door of the ſheep:* and upon the ſame ground reproved all thoſe falſe Chriſts which before him uſurped the title of Meſſias; and proved his own vocation and office by an argument which no other ſhepherd would uſe, becauſe he *laid down his life for his ſheep.* Others would take the fleece, and eat the fleſh; but none but himſelf would die for his ſheep: but he would firſt die, and then gather his ſheep together into one fold, (intimating the calling of the Gentiles.) To which purpoſe he was *enabled by his Father to lay down his life, and to take it up:* and had alſo endeared them to his Father, that they ſhould be *preſerved unto eternal life*; *and no power ſhould be able to take them out of his hand, or the hand of his Father.* For becauſe Jeſus was *united to the Father*, the Father's care preſerved the Son's flocks.

23. BUT the Jews, to requite him for his ſo divine ſermons, betook themſelves to their old argument, *they took up ſtones again to caſt at him*, pretending he had blaſphemed. But Jeſus proved it to be no blaſphemy to call himſelf the *Son of God*, becauſe they *to whom the word of God came*, are in Scripture *called Gods.* But nothing could ſatisfy them, whoſe temporal intereſt was concerned not to conſent to ſuch doctrine which would ſave their ſouls by ruining their temporal concernments. But when *they ſought again to take him, Jeſus eſcaped out of their hands, and went away beyond Jordan where John at firſt baptized.* Which gave the people occaſion to remember that *John did no miracle*, but this man does many; and John, whom all men did revere and highly account for his office and ſanctity, gave teſtimony to Jeſus. *And many believed on him there.*

24. AFTER this, Jeſus knowing that *the harveſt was great*, and as yet *the labourers* had been few, *ſent out ſeventy two* of his diſciples with the like commiſſion as formerly the twelve Apoſtles, that they might *go before to thoſe places whither himſelf meant to come.* Of which number were the ſeven, whom afterwards the apoſtles ſet over the widows, and *Matthias*, *Mark*, and ſome ſay *Luke*, *Juſtus*, *Barnabas*, *Apelles*, *Rufus*, *Niger*, *Cephas*, (not *Peter*) *Thaddæus*, *Ariſtion*, and *John.* The reſt of the names could not be recovered by the beſt diligence of Euſebius and [a] Epiphanius. But when they returned from their journey, *they rejoyced greatly* in the legation and power: and Jeſus alſo rejoyced *in ſpirit*, giving glory to God, that he had *made his revelations to babes* and the more imperfect perſons; like the loweſt vallies, which receive from Heaven the greateſt floods of rain and bleſſings, and ſtand thick with corn and flowers, when the mountains are unfruitful in their height and greatneſs.

25. AND now a doctor of the law came to Jeſus, aſking him a queſtion of the greateſt conſideration that a wiſe man could aſk, or a Prophet anſwer; *Maſter, what ſhall I do to inherit eternal life?* Jeſus referred him to the ſcriptures, and declared the way to Heaven to be this only, *to love the Lord with all our powers and faculties, and our neighbour as ourſelf.* But when the Lawyer, being captious, made a ſcruple in a ſmooth ruſh, aſking what is meant by Neighbour: Jeſus told him by a parable of a traveller fallen into the hands of robbers, and neglected by a prieſt and by a levite, but relieved by a Samaritan, that no diſtance of country or religion deſtroys the relation of neighbourhood; but every perſon with whom we converſe in peace and charity is that neighbour whom we are to love as ourſelves.

26. JESUS having departed from Jeruſalem upon the forementioned danger, came to a village called Bethany; where Martha making great and buſy preparation for his entertainment, to expreſs her joy and her affections to his perſon, deſired Jeſus to diſmiſs her ſiſter Mary from his feet, who ſate there feaſting herſelf with the viands and ſweetneſſes of his doctrine, incurious of the proviſions for entertainment. But Jeſus commended her choice: and though he did not expreſly diſrepute Martha's civility, yet he preferred Mary's religion and ſanctity of affections. In this time (becauſe *the night drew on, in which no man could work*) Jeſus haſtened to do his Father's buſineſs, and to pour out whole cataracts of holy leſſons; like the fruitful Nilus ſwelling over the banks, and filling all the trenches, to make a plenty of corn and fruits great as the in-

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[a] Ephiphan. Pan. l. 1. tom. 1. Euſeb. l. 1. c. 12. Papias apud Euſeb. l. 3. c. 33.

And she had a Sister called Mary, *which also Sat at* **JESUS** *Feet, and heard his word; But* Martha *said* **LORD** *dost thou not care, that my Sister hath left me to serve alone? And* **JESUS** *said unto her* Martha Martha *thou art carefull and troubled about many things, but one thing is needfull &* Mary *hath chosen that good Part.* S.t Luke c: 10. v. 39. 40. 41. 42.

BRITISH 5 AU 70 MUSEUM

undation. Jeſus therefore teaches his Diſciples “ that form of Prayer the ſecond time, “ which we call *the Lord's Prayer:* teaches them aſſiduity and indefatigable importu- “ nity in prayer, by a parable of an importunate neighbour borrowing loaves at mid- “ night, and a troubleſome widow, who forced an unjuſt Judge to do her right by her “ clamorous and hourly addreſſes; encourages them to pray, by conſideration of the “ divine Goodneſs and fatherly affection, far more indulgent to his ſons than natural “ fathers are to their deareſt iſſue; and adds a gracious promiſe of ſucceſs to them “ that pray. He reproves Pharaſaical oſtentation; arms his Diſciples againſt the fear “ of men and the terrors of perſecution, which can arrive but to the incommodities “ of the body; teaches the fear of God, who is Lord of the whole man, and can ac- “ curſe the ſoul as well as puniſh the body. He refuſes to divide the inheritance be- “ tween two brethren, as not having competent power to become Lord in temporal “ juriſdictions. He preaches againſt covetouſneſs, and the placing felicities in world- “ ly poſſeſſions, by a parable of a rich man, whoſe riches were too big for his barns, “ and big enough for his ſoul, and he ran over into voluptuouſneſs, and ſtupid com- “ placencies in his periſhing goods; he was ſnatched from their poſſeſſion, and his “ ſoul taken from him in the violence of a rapid and haſty ſickneſs in the ſpace of one “ night. Diſcourſes of divine Providence and care over us all, and deſcending even “ as low as graſs. He exhorts to alms-deeds, to watchfulneſs, and preparation againſt “ the ſudden and unexpected coming of our Lord to judgment, or the arreſt of “ death; tells the offices and ſedulity of the clergy, under the apologue of Stewards “ and Governors of their Lords houſes; teaches them gentleneſs and ſobriety, and “ not to do evil upon confidence of their Lord's abſence and delay; and teaches the “ people even of themſelves to judge what is right concerning the ſigns of the coming “ of the Son of Man. And the end of all theſe diſcourſes was, that all men ſhould “ repent, and live good lives, and be ſaved.

27. At this ſermon *there were preſent ſome that told him of the Galilæans, whoſe blood Pilate mingled with their ſacrifices.* For the Galilæans were a ſort of people that taught it to be unlawful to pay tribute to ſtrangers, or to pray for the *Romans*; and becauſe the Jews did both, they refuſed to communicate in their ſacred rites, and would ſacrifice apart; at which ſolemnity when Pilate the Roman Deputy had apprehended many of them, he cauſed them all to be ſlain, making them to die upon the ſame altars. Theſe were of the Province of Judæa, but of the ſame opinion with thoſe who taught in Galilee, from whence the Sect had its appellative. But to the ſtory: Jeſus made reply, That theſe external accidents, though they be ſad and calamitous, yet they are no arguments of condemnation againſt the perſons of the men, to convince them of a greater guilt than others, upon whom no ſuch viſible ſignatures have been imprinted. The purpoſe of ſuch chances is, that we ſhould *repent, leſt we periſh* in the like judgment.

28. About this time a certain ruler of the ſynagogue renewed the old queſtion about the obſervation of the ſabbath, repining at Jeſus that he cured *a woman that was crooked, looſing her from her infirmity, with which ſhe had been afflicted eighteen years.* But Jeſus made the man aſhamed by an argument from their own practice, who themſelves *looſe an ox from the ſtall on the ſabbath, and lead him to watering.* And by the ſame argument he alſo ſtopped the mouths of the Scribes and Phariſees, which were open upon him for curing an hydropick perſon upon the ſabbath. For Jeſus, that he might draw off and ſeparate chriſtianity from the yoke of ceremonies, by aboliſhing and taking off the ſtricteſt Moſaical rites, choſe to do very many of his miracles upon the ſabbath, that he might do the work of abrogation and inſtitution both at once: not much unlike the ſabbatical pool in [a] Judæa, which was dry ſix days, but guſhed out in a full ſtream upon the ſabbath. For though upon all days Chriſt was operative and miraculous, yet many reaſons did concur and determine him to a more frequent working upon thoſe days of publick ceremony and convention. But going forth from thence he went up and down the cities of Galilee, re-enforcing the ſame doctrine he had formerly taught them, and daily adding new precepts and cautions, and prudent inſinuations: “ advertiſing of the multitudes of them that pe- “ riſh, and the paucity of them that ſhall be ſaved, and that we ſhould ſtrive *to enter* “ *in at the ſtrait gate*; that *the way to deſtruction is broad* and plauſible, *the way to* “ *Heaven* nice and auſtere, *and few there be that find it:* teaches them modeſty at

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[a] *Joſeph.* de bello Jud. l. 7. c. 24.

feaſts and entertainments of the poor: diſcourſes of the many excuſes and unwillingneſſes of perſons who were invited to the feaſt of the Kingdom, the refreſhments of the goſpel; and tacitly inſinuates the rejection of the Jews, who were the firſt *invited*, and the calling of the Gentiles, who were the perſons *called in from the high ways and hedges.* He reprehends Herod for his ſubtlety and deſign to kill him: propheſies that he ſhould die at Jeruſalem: and intimates great ſadneſſes future to them for *neglecting this their day* of viſitation, and for *killing the prophets and the meſſengers ſent from God.*

29. IT now grew towards winter, and the Jews feaſt of dedication was at hand: therefore Jeſus went up to Jeruſalem to the feaſt, where he preached in Solomon's porch, which part of the temple ſtood intire from the firſt ruines: and the end of his ſermon was, that the Jews had like to have ſtoned him. But retiring from thence he went beyond Jordan, where he taught the people in a moſt elegant and perſwaſive parable concerning “ the mercy of God in accepting penitents, in the parable of the *prodigal Son* returning: diſcourſes of the deſign of the Meſſias coming into the world, to recover erring perſons from their ſin and danger, in the apologues of the *loſt ſheep*, and *groat*: and under the repreſentment of an unjuſt, but prudent Steward, he taught us ſo to employ our preſent opportunities and eſtates, by laying them out in acts of mercy and religion, that when our ſouls ſhall be diſmiſſed from the ſtewardſhip and cuſtody of our body, we *may be entertained in everlaſting habitations.* He inſtructed the Phariſees in the queſtion of divorces, limiting the permiſſions of ſeparations to the only cauſe of fornication: preferreth holy cœlibate before the eſtate of marriage, in them to whom the gift of continency is given, in order to the kingdom of heaven. He telleth a ſtory or a parable (for which, is uncertain) of a rich man (whom Euthymius, out of the tradition of the Hebrews, nameth Nymenſis) and Lazarus: The firſt a voluptuous perſon, and uncharitable; the other pious, afflicted, ſick, and a beggar: The firſt died, and went to Hell; the ſecond to Abraham's boſom. God ſo ordering the diſpenſation of good things, that we cannot eaſily enjoy two Heavens; nor ſhall the infelicities of our lives (if we be pious) end otherwiſe than in a beatified condition. The epilogue of which ſtory diſcovered this truth alſo, That the ordinary means of ſalvation are the expreſs revelations of ſcripture, and the miniſtries of God's appointment: and whoſoever neglects theſe, ſhall not be ſupplied with means extraordinary; or if he were, they would be totally ineffectual.

30. AND ſtill the people drew water from the fountains of our Saviour, which ſtreamed out in a full and continual emanation. For adding wave to wave, *line to line, precept upon precept, he* “ reproved the faſtidiouſneſs of the Phariſee, that came with euchariſt to God, and contempt to his brother; and commended the humility of the publican's addreſs, who came deploring his ſins, and with modeſty and penance and importunity begged and obtained a mercy. Then he laid hands upon certain young children, and gave them benediction, charging his Apoſtles to admit infants to him, becauſe to them in perſon, and to ſuch in embleme and ſignification, the kingdom of Heaven does appertain. He inſtructs a young man in the ways and counſels of perfection, beſides the obſervation of precepts, by heroical renunciations and acts of munificent charity”. Which diſcourſe becauſe it alighted upon an indiſpoſed and an unfortunate ſubject, (*for the young man was very rich,*) Jeſus diſcourſes “ how hard it is for a rich man to be ſaved; but he expounds himſelf to mean, *they that truſt in riches:* and however it is a matter of ſo great temptation, that it is almoſt impoſſible to eſcape, yet *with God nothing is impoſſible.* But when the Apoſtles heard the maſter bidding the young man *ſell all, and give to the poor, and follow him,* and for his reward promiſed him *a heavenly treaſure*; Peter, in the name of the reſt, began to think that this was their caſe, and the promiſe alſo might concern them, and aſking him this queſtion, what ſhall we have, who have forſaken all, and followed thee? Jeſus anſwered, That they ſhould *ſit upon twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Iſrael.*

31. AND Jeſus extended this mercy to every Diſciple that ſhould *forſake either houſe, or wife, or children, or any thing, for his ſake and the goſpel's*; and that they *ſhould receive a hundred fold in this life,* by way of comfort and equivalency, *and in the world to come* thouſands of glories and poſſeſſions in fruition and redundancy. For *they that are laſt ſhall be firſt, and the firſt ſhall be laſt:* and the deſpiſed people of this world ſhall reign like kings, and contempt itſelf ſhall ſwell up into glory, and poverty into

P. Fourdrinier Sculp.

There was a certain Rich Man which was cloathed in Purple and fine Linnen, and fared sumptuously every Day; And there was a certain Beggar, named Lazarus, which was laid at his Gate, full of Sores.

St. Luke, Chap. 16th Ver. 19th 20th

BRITISH
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BRITISH MUSEUM
5 AU 70

P. Fourdrinier sculp.

But he answered one of them and said Friend I do thee no wrong; didst not thou agree with me for a Penny take that thine is and go thy Way St. Matt. Chap. 20th. Ver. 13th. 14th.

to an eternal ſatisfaction. And theſe rewards ſhall not be accounted according to the privileges of nations, or priority of vocation, but readineſs of mind and obedience, and ſedulity of operation after calling. Which Jeſus taught his diſciples in the parable of the *labourers in the vineyard*, to whom the maſter gave the ſame reward, though the times of their working were different; as their calling and employment had determined the opportunity of their labours.

DISCOURSE XVII.

Of Scandal; or, *Giving and Taking Offence.*

1. A Sad curſe being threatned in the goſpel to them who *offend any of Chriſt's little ones*, that is, ſuch as are novices and babes in chriſtianity, it concerns us to learn our duty and perform it, that we may avoid the curſe: for, [a] *Woe to all them by whom offences come.* And although the duty is ſo plainly explicated and repreſented in gloſs and caſe by the ſeveral commentaries of St. Paul upon this menace of our bleſſed Saviour: Yet becauſe our Engliſh word [b] offence, which is commonly uſed in this queſtion of ſcandal, is ſo large and equivocal that it hath made many pretences, and intricated this article to ſome inconvenience, it is not without good purpoſe to draw into one body thoſe propoſitions which the maſters of ſpiritual life have deſcribed in the managing of this queſtion.

2. First, By whatſoever we do our duty to God, we cannot directly do offence or give ſcandal to our brother: Becauſe in ſuch caſes where God hath obliged us, he hath alſo obliged himſelf to reconcile our duty to the deſigns of God, to the utility of ſouls, and the ends of charity. And this propoſition is to be extended to our obedience to the lawful conſtitutions of our competent ſuperiors: in which caſes we are to look upon the commandment, and leave the accidental events to the diſpoſition of that Providence who reconciles diſſonancies in nature, and concentres all the variety of accidents into his own glory. And whoſoever is offended at me for obeying God or God's vicegerent, is offended at me for doing my duty: And in this there is no more diſpute, but whether I ſhall diſpleaſe God, or my peeviſh neighbour. Theſe are ſuch whom the ſpirit of God complains of under other repreſentments: They *think it ſtrange we run not into the ſame exceſs of riot*; their *eye is evil*, *becauſe* their Maſter's *eye is good*; and the abounding of God's grace alſo may become to them an occaſion of falling, and the long-ſuffering of God the encouragement to ſin. In this there is no difficulty: for in what caſe ſoever we are bound to obey God or Man, in that caſe and in that conjunction of circumſtances we have nothing permitted to our choice, and have no authority to remit of the right of God or our ſuperior. And to comply with our neighbour in ſuch queſtions, beſides that it cannot ſerve any purpoſes of piety, if it declines from duty in any inſtance, it is like giving alms out of the portion of orphans, or building hoſpitals with the money and ſpoils of ſacrilege. It is puſillanimity, or hypocriſy, or a denying to confeſs Chriſt before men, to comply with any man, and to offend God, or omit a duty. Whatſoever is neceſſary to be done, and is made ſo by God, no weakneſs or peeviſhneſs of man can make neceſſary not to be done. For the matter of ſcandal is a duty beneath the prime obligations of religion.

3. Secondly, but every thing which is uſed in religion is not matter of preciſe duty; but there are ſome things which indeed are pious and religious, but diſpenſable, voluntary and commutable: Such as are voluntary faſts, exterior acts of diſcipline and mortification not enjoyned, great degrees of exterior worſhip, proſtration, long prayers, vigils. And in theſe things, although there is not directly a matter of ſcandal, yet there may be ſome prudential conſiderations in order to charity and edification. By pious actions I mean, either particular purſuances of a general duty, which are uncommanded in the inſtance, ſuch as are the minutes and expreſſes of alms; or elſe they are commended, but in the whole kind of them unenjoyned, ſuch as Divines calls the counſels of perfection. In both theſe caſes a man cannot be ſcandalous. For the man doing in charity and the love of God ſuch actions which are aptly expreſſive of love, the man (I ſay) is not uncharitable in his purpoſes: and the actions themſelves

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[a] Math. 18. 7. [b] Rom. 14. 1 Cor. 8. Gal. 2.

ſelves being either attempts or proceedings toward perfection, or elſe actions of direct duty, are as innocent in their productions as in themſelves, and therefore without the malice of the recipient cannot induce him into ſin: and nothing elſe is ſcandal: To do any pious act proceeds from the ſpirit of God; and to give ſcandal, from the ſpirit of malice or indiſcretion: And therefore a pious action, whoſe fountain is love and wiſdom, cannot end in uncharitableneſs or imprudence. But becauſe when any man is offended at what I eſteem piety, there is a queſtion whether the action be pious or no; therefore it concerns him that works, to take care that his action be either an act of duty, though not determined to a certain particular; or elſe be ſomething counſelled in ſcripture, or practiſed by a holy perſon there recorded, and no-where reproved; or a practice warranted by ſuch precedents which modeſt, prudent and religious perſons account a ſufficient inducement of ſuch particulars: For he that proceeds upon ſuch principles derives the warrant of his actions from beginnings which ſecure the particular, and quits the ſcandal.

4. THIS, I ſay, is a ſecurity againſt the uncharitableneſs and the ſin of ſcandal; becauſe a zeal of doing pious actions is a zeal according to God: but it is not always a ſecurity againſt the indiſcretion of the ſcandal. He that reproves a fooliſh perſon in ſuch circumſtances that provoke him, or make him impudent or blaſphemous, does not give ſcandal, and brings no ſin upon himſelf, though he occaſioned it in the other. But if it was probable ſuch effects ſhould be conſequent to the reprehenſion, his zeal was imprudent and raſh: But ſo long as it was zeal for God, and in its own matter lawful, it could not be an active or guilty ſcandal. But if it be no zeal, and be a deſign to entrap a man's unwarineſs or paſſion or ſhame, and to diſgrace the man, by that means or any other to make him ſin, then it is directly the offending of our brother. They that *preached Chriſt out of envy* intended to do offence to the Apoſtles: But becauſe they were impregnable, the ſin reſted in their own boſom, and God wrought his own ends by it. And in this ſenſe they are ſcandalous perſons who faſt for ſtrife, who pray for rebellion, who intice ſimple perſons into the ſnare by colours of religion. Thoſe very exterior acts of piety become an offence, becauſe they are done to evil purpoſes, to abuſe Proſelytes, and to draw away Diſciples after them, and make them love the ſin, and march under ſo ſplendid and fair Colours. They who out of ſtrictneſs and ſeverity of perſuaſion repreſent the conditions of the goſpel alike to every perſon, that is, nicer than Chriſt deſcribed them in all circumſtances, and deny ſuch liberties of exterior deſires and complacency which may be reaſonably permitted to ſome men, do very indiſcreetly, and may occaſion the alienation of ſome mens minds from the entertainments of religion. But this being accidental to the thing itſelf, and to the purpoſe of the Man, is not the ſin of ſcandal, but it is the indiſcretion of ſcandal, if by ſuch means he divorces any man's mind from the cohabitation and unions of religion. And yet if the purpoſe of the man be, to affright weaker and unwiſe perſons, it is a direct ſcandal, and one of thoſe ways which the Devil uſes towards the peopling of his kingdom: it is a plain laying of a ſnare to entrap feeble and uninſtructed ſouls.

5. BUT if the pious action have formerly joined with any thing that is truly criminal, with Idolatry, with ſuperſtition, with impious cuſtoms or impure rites, and by retaining the piety I give cauſe to my weak brother to think I approve of the old appendage, and by my reputation invite him to ſwallow the whole action without diſcerning; the caſe is altered; I am to omit that pious action, if it be not under command, until I have acquitted it from the ſuſpicion of evil company. But when I have done what in prudence I gueſs ſufficient to thaw the froſt of jealouſy, and to ſeparate thoſe diſſonancies which formerly ſeemed united, I have done my duty of charity, by endeavouring to free my brother from the ſnare; and I have done what in chriſtian prudence I was obliged, when I have proteſted againſt the appendent crime. If afterwards the ſame perſon ſhall entertain the crime upon pretence of my example, who have plainly diſavowed it; he lays the ſnare for himſelf, and is glad of the pretence, or will in ſpite enter into the net, that he might think it reaſonable to rail at me. I may not with chriſtian charity or prudence wear [a] the picture of our bleſſed Lord in rings or medals, though with great affection and deſigns of doing him all the honour that I can, if by ſuch pictures I invite perſons, apt more to follow me than to underſtand me, to give divine honour to a picture: But when I have declared my hatred of ſuperſtitious worſhippings, and given my brother warning of the ſnare which his own miſtake or the

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[a] Ἐν δακτύλῳ Θεοῦ εἰκόνα μὴ περιφέρειν, dictum proverbialiter, contra leves & inanes ceremonias civilis & popularis religionis.

Devil's malice was preparing for him, I may then without danger ſignify my piety and affections in any civil repreſentments which are not againſt God's law, or the cuſtoms of the church, or the analogy of faith. And there needs no other reaſon to be given for this rule, than that there is no reaſon to be given againſt it. If the nature of the thing be innocent, and the purpoſe of the man be pious, and he hath uſed his moral induſtry to ſecure his brother againſt accidental miſchances and abuſes; his duty in this particular can have no more parts and inſtances.

6. But it is too crude an aſſertion, to affirm indefinitely, that whatſoever hath been abuſed to evil or ſuperſtitious purpoſes, muſt preſently be abjured, and never entertained for fear of ſcandal: For it is certain that the beſt things have been moſt abuſed. Have not ſome perſons uſed certain verſes of the Pſalter as an antidote againſt the tooth-ach? and carried the bleſſed Sacrament in pendants about their necks as a charm to countermand witches? and St. John's Goſpel as a ſpell againſt wild beaſts and wilder untamed ſpirits? Confeſſion of ſins to the miniſters of religion hath been made an inſtrument to ſerve baſe ends; and ſo indeed hath all religion been abuſed: And ſome perſons have been ſo receptive of ſcandal, that they ſuſpected all religion to be a mere ſtratagem, becauſe they have obſerved very many men have uſed it ſo. For ſome natures are like ſponges or ſugar, whoſe utmoſt verge if you dip in wine, it drowns itſelf by the moiſture it ſucks up, and is drenched all over, receiving its alteration from within; Its own nature did the miſchief, and plucks on its own diſſolution. And theſe men are greedy to receive a ſcandal, and when it is preſented but in ſmall inſtances, they ſuck it up to the diſſolution of their whole religion, being glad of a quarrel, that their impieties may not want all excuſe. But yet it is certainly very unreaſonable to reject excellent things becauſe they have been abuſed; as if ſeparable accidents had altered natures and eſſences; or that they reſolve never to forgive the duties, for having once fallen into the hands of unſkilful or malicious perſons. Hezekiah took away the brazen ſerpent, becauſe the people abuſed it to Idolatry; but the ſerpent had long before loſt its uſe: and yet if the people had not been a peeviſh and refractary and ſuperſtitious people, in whoſe nature it was to take all occaſions of ſuperſtition; and farther yet, if the taking away ſuch occaſions and opportunities of that ſin in ſpecial had not been moſt agreeable with the deſigns of God, in forbidding to the people the common uſe of all Images in the ſecond commandment, which was given them after the erection of that brazen ſtatue; Hezekiah poſſibly would not, or at leaſt had not been bound to have deſtroyed that monument of an old ſtory and a great bleſſing, but have ſought to ſeparate the abuſe from the minds of men, and retained the image. But in chriſtianity, when none of theſe circumſtances occur, where, by the greatneſs and plenty of revelations, we are more fully inſtructed in the ways of duty, and when the thing itſelf is pious, and the abuſe very ſeparable, it is infinite diſparagement to us, or to our religion, either that our religion is not ſufficient to cure an abuſe, or that we will never part with it, but we muſt unpardonably reject a good, becauſe it had once upon it a cruſt or ſpot of leproſy, though ſince it hath been waſhed in the waters of reformation. The primitive chriſtians abſtained from actions of themſelves indifferent, which the unconverted people uſed, if thoſe actions were ſymbolical, or adopted into falſe religions, or not well underſtood by thoſe they were bound to ſatisfy: But when they had waſhed off the accreſcences of gentile ſuperſtition, they choſe ſuch rites which their neighbours uſed, and had deſigns not imprudent or unhandſome; and they were glad of heathen temples, to celebrate the chriſtian rites in them; and they made no other change, but that they ejected the devil, and invited their Lord into the poſſeſſion.

7. Thirdly, In things merely indifferent, whoſe practice is not limited by command, nor their nature heightned by an appendent piety, we muſt uſe our liberty, ſo as may not offend our brother, or lead him into a ſin directly or indirectly. For ſcandal being directly againſt charity, it is to be avoided in the ſame meaſure and by the ſame proportions in which charity is to be purſued. Now we muſt ſo uſe ourſelves, that we muſt cut off a foot, or pluck out an eye, rather than the one ſhould bear us, and the other lead us to ſin and death: We muſt rather reſcind all the natural and ſenſual, or deareſt invitations to vice, and deny ourſelves lawful things, than that lawful things ſhould betray us to unlawful actions. And this rule is the meaſure of charity; our neighbour's ſoul ought to be dearer unto us than any temporal privilege. It is lawful for me to eat herbs, or fiſh, and to obſerve an aſcetick diet; but if by ſuch auſterities I lead others to a good opinion of *Montaniſm*, or the practices of Pythagoras, or to believe fleſh to be impure, I muſt rather alter my diet, than teach him to ſin by miſta-

king me. St. Paul gave an Inſtance of eating fleſh ſold in the ſhambles from the Idol-temples. To eat it in the relation of an Idol-ſacrifice, is a great ſin; but when it is ſold in the ſhambles, the property is altered to them that underſtand it ſo. But yet even this Paul would not do, if by ſo doing he ſhould encourage undiſcerning people to eat all meat conveyed from the temple, and offered to devils. It is not in every man's head to diſtinguiſh formalities, and to make abſtractions of purpoſe from exterior acts, and to alter their devotions by new relations and reſpects depending upon intellectual and metaphyſical notions. And therefore it is not ſafe to do an action which is not lawful, but after the making diſtinctions, before ignorant and weaker perſons, who ſwallow down the bole and the box that carries it; and never pare their apple, or take the core out. If I by the law of charity muſt rather quit my own goods than ſuffer my brother to periſh, much rather muſt I quit my privilege, and thoſe ſuperſtructures of favour and grace which Chriſt hath given me beyond my neceſſities, than wound the ſpirit and deſtroy the ſoul of a weak man, *for whom Chriſt died.* It is an inordinate affection, to love my own eaſe, and circumſtances of pleaſure, before the ſoul of a brother; and ſuch a thing are the privileges of chriſtian liberty: For Chriſt hath taken off from us the reſtraints which God had laid upon the Jews in meat and holy-days. But theſe are but circumſtances of grace given us for opportunities, and cheap inſtances of charity: We ſhould ill die for our brother, who will not loſe a meal to prevent his ſin, or change a diſh to ſave his ſoul. And if the thing be indifferent to us, yet it ought not to be indifferent to us whether our brother live or die.

8. FOURTHLY, And yet we muſt not, to pleaſe peeviſh or froward people, betray our liberty which Chriſt hath given us. If any man oppoſes the lawfulneſs and licence of indifferent actions, or be diſturbed at my uſing my privileges innocently; in the firſt caſe I am bound to uſe them ſtill, in the ſecond I am not bound to quit them to pleaſe him. For in the firſt inſtance, he that ſhall ceaſe to uſe his liberty, to pleaſe him that ſays his liberty is unlawful, encourages him that ſays ſo in his falſe opinion, and by complying with him gives the ſcandal; and he who is angry with me for making uſe of it, is a perſon that, it may be, is *crept in to ſpy out* and invade *my liberty*, but not apt to be reduced into ſin by that act of mine which he deteſts, for which he deſpiſes me, and ſo makes my perſon unapt to be exemplar to him. To be angry with me for doing what Chriſt hath allowed me, and which is part of the liberty he purchaſed for me when he took upon himſelf the form of a ſervant, is to judge me, and to be uncharitable to me; and he that does ſo is before-hand with me, and upon the active part; he does the ſcandal to me, and by offering to deprive me of my liberty, he makes my way to Heaven narrower and more incumbred than Chriſt left it, and ſo places a ſtumbling ſtone in my way; I put none in his. And if ſuch peeviſhneſs and diſcontent of a brother engages me to a new and unimpoſed yoke, then it were in the power of my enemy or any malevolent perſon to make me never to keep feſtival, or never to obſerve any private faſt, never to be proſtrate at my prayers, nor to do any thing but according to his leave, and his humour ſhall become the rule of my actions; and then my charity to him ſhall be the greateſt uncharitableneſs in the world to my ſelf, and his liberty ſhall be my bondage. Add to this, that ſuch complying and obeying the peeviſhneſs of diſcontented perſons is to no end of charity. For beſides that ſuch conceſſions never ſatisfy perſons who are unreaſonably angry, becauſe by the ſame reaſon they may demand more, as they ask this for which they had no reaſon at all; it alſo encourages them to be peeviſh, and gives fewel to the paſſion, and feeds the wolf, and ſo encourages the ſin, and prevents none.

9. FIFTHLY, for he only gives ſcandal, who induces his brother directly or collaterally into ſin; as appears by all the diſcourſes in Scripture guiding us in this duty; and it is called [a] *laying a ſtumbling-block in our brother's way, wounding the conſcience of our weak brother.* Thus Balaam was ſaid to lay a ſcandal before the ſons of Iſrael, by tempting them to fornication with the daughters of Moab. Every evil example, or imprudent, ſinful and unwary deportment, is a ſcandal, becauſe it invites others to do the like, leading them by the hand, taking off the ſtrangeneſs and inſolency of the act, which deters many men from entertaining it; and it gives ſome offers of ſecurity to others, that they ſhall eſcape as we have done. Beſides that it is in the nature of all agents, natural and moral, to aſſimilate either by proper efficiency, or by counſel and moral invitements,

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[a] 1 Cor. viii. 10, 12. Rom. xiv. 21. Mat. v. 29. & 13. 57. Mark xiv. 27, & vi. 3. & iv. 17. Luke vii. 23. John xvi. 1.

vitements, others to themſelves. But this is a direct ſcandal. And ſuch it is to give money to an idle perſon, who you know will be drunk with it; or to invite an intemperate perſon to an opportunity of exceſs, who deſires it always, but without thee wants it. Indirectly and accidentally, but very criminally they give ſcandal, who introduce perſons into a ſtate of life from whence probably they paſs into a ſtate of ſin. So did the Iſraelites, who married their daughters to the idolatrous Moabites; and ſo do they who intruſt a pupil to a vicious guardian. For although God can preſerve children in the midſt of flames without ſcorching; yet if they ſindge their hair, or ſcorch their fleſh, they that put them in are guilty of the burning. And yet farther, if perſons ſo expoſed to danger ſhould eſcape by miracle, yet they eſcape not who expoſe them to the danger. They who threw the children of the Captivity into the furnace, were burnt to death, though the Children were not hurt. And the very offering a perſon in our truſt to a certain or probable danger foreſeen and underſtood, is a likely way to paſs ſin upon the perſon ſo expoſed, but a certain way to contract it in our ſelves: It is directly againſt charity; for no man loves a ſoul, unleſs he loves its ſafety; and he cares not to have his child ſafe that throws him into the fire. Hither are to be reduced all falſe doctrines aptly productive of evil life; the doctrines are ſcandalous, and the men guilty, if they underſtand the conſequents of their own propoſitions. Or if they think it probable that perſons will be led by ſuch doctrines into evil perſuaſions, though themſelves believe them not to be neceſſary products of their opinions, yet the very publiſhing ſuch opinions, which (of themſelves not being neceſſary, or otherwiſe very profitable) are apt to be underſtood, by weak perſons at leaſt, to ill ends, is againſt charity, and the duty we owe to our brother's ſoul.

10. Sixthly, It is not neceſſary for ever to abſtain from things indifferent to prevent the offending of a brother, but only till I have taken away that rock againſt which ſome did ſtumble, or have done my endeavour to remove it. In queſtions of religion it is lawful to uſe primitive and ancient words, at which men have been weakned and ſeemed to ſtumble, when the objection is cleared, and the ill conſequents and ſuſpicion diſavowed; and it may be of good uſe, charity and edification, to ſpeak the language of the pureſt ages, although that ſome words were uſed alſo in the impureſt ages, and deſcended along upon changing and declining articles; when it is rightly explicated in what ſenſe the beſt men did innocently uſe them, and the ſame ſenſe is now proteſted. But in this caſe it concerns prudence to ſee that the benefit be greater than the danger. And the ſame alſo is to be ſaid concerning all the actions and parts of chriſtian liberty. For if after I have removed the unevenneſs and objection of the accident, that is, if, when I have explained my diſreliſh to the crime which might poſſibly be gathered up and taken into practice by my miſunderſtood example, ſtill any man will ſtumble and fall, it is a reſolution to fall, a love of danger, a peeviſhneſs of ſpirit, a voluntary miſunderſtanding; it is not a miſery in the man more than it is his own fault. And whenever the cauſe of any ſin becomes criminal to the man that ſins, it is certain, that if the other who was made the occaſion did diſavow and proteſt againſt the crime, the man that ſins is the only guilty perſon both in the effect and cauſe too; for the other could do no more but uſe a moral and prudent induſtry to prevent a being miſinterpreted; and if he were tied to more, he muſt quit his intereſt for ever in a perpetual ſcruple: and it is like taking away all laws, to prevent diſobedience; and making all even, to ſecure the world againſt the effects of pride or ſtubbornneſs. I add to this, that ſince actions indifferent in their own natures are not productive of effects and actions criminal, it is merely by accident that men are abuſed into a ſin; that is, by weakneſs, by miſconceit, by ſomething that either diſcovers malice or indiſcretion: Which becauſe the act itſelf does not of itſelf, if the man does not voluntarily or by intention, the ſin dwells no-where but with the man that entertains it. The man is no longer weak than he is miſtaken; and he is not miſtaken or abuſed into the ſin by example of any man who hath rightly ſtated his own queſtion, and divorced the ſuſpicion of the ſin from his action: whatſoever comes after this is not weakneſs of underſtanding, but ſtrength of paſſion. And he that is *always learning, and never comes to the knowledge of the truth*, is ſomething beſides a ſilly man. Men cannot be always [a] *babes in Chriſt* without their own fault: they are no longer *Chriſt's little ones* than they are inculpably ignorant. For it is but a mantle caſt over pride and frowardneſs, to think ourſelves able to teach others, and yet pretend offence and ſcandal; to ſcorn to be inſtructed,

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[a] Ἀσθενοῦς τῇ πίστει Rom. xiv. 1 Cor viii. 10, 12.

ſtructed, and yet complain that we are offended, and led into ſin for want of knowledge of our duty. He that underſtands his duty is not a perſon capable of ſcandal by things indifferent. And it is certain, that no man can ſay concerning himſelf, that he is ſcandalized at another, that is, that he is led into ſin by miſtake and weakneſs: for if himſelf knows it, the miſtake is gone. Well may the guides of their ſouls complain concerning ſuch perſons, that their ſin is procured by offending perſons or actions: but he that complains concerning himſelf, to the ſame purpoſe, pretends ignorance for other ends, and contradicts himſelf by his complaint and knowledge of his error. The boy was prettily peeviſh, who, when his father bid pronounce Thalaſſius, told him he could not pronounce Thalaſſius, at the ſame time ſpeaking the word. Juſt ſo impotent, weak and undiſcerning a perſon is that, who would forbid me to do an indifferent action upon pretence that it makes him ignorantly ſin: for his ſaying ſo confutes his ignorance, and argues him of a worſe folly: it is like aſking my neighbour, whether ſuch an action be done againſt my own will.

11. Seventhly, When an action is apt to be miſtaken to contrary purpoſes, it concerns the prudence and charity of a chriſtian to uſe ſuch compliance as beſt co-operates to God's Glory, and hath in it the leſs danger. The Apoſtles gave an inſtance in the matter of circumciſion, in which they walked warily, and with variety of deſign, that they might invite the Gentiles to the eaſy yoak of chriſtianity, and yet not deter the Jews by a diſreſpect to the law of Moſes. And therefore St. Paul circumciſed Timothy, becauſe he was among the Jews and deſcended from a Jewiſh parent, and in the inſtance gave ſentence in compliance with the Jewiſh perſuaſion, becauſe Timothy might well be accounted for a Jew by birth: Unto them the rites of Moſes were for a while permitted. But when [a] Titus was brought upon the ſcene of a mixt aſſembly, and was no Jew but a Greek, to whom Paul had taught *they ought not to be circumciſed;* although ſome Jews watched what he would do, yet he plainly refuſed to circumciſe him, chuſing rather to leave the Jews angry, than the Gentiles ſcandalized, or led into an opinion that circumciſion was neceſſary, or that he had taught them otherwiſe out of collateral ends, or that now he did ſo. But when a caſe of chriſtian liberty happened to St. Peter, he was not ſo prudent in his choice, but at the coming of certain Jews from Jeruſalem withdrew himſelf from the ſociety of the Gentiles: not conſidering, that it was worſe if the Gentiles, who were invited to chriſtianity by the ſweetneſs of its liberty and compliance, ſhould fall back, when they that taught them the excellency of chriſtian liberty durſt not ſtand to it; than if thoſe Jews were diſpleaſed at chriſtianity for admitting Gentiles into its communion, after they had been inſtructed that God had broken down the partition wall, and made them one ſheepfold. It was of greater concernment to God's glory to gain the Gentiles, than to retain the Jews: And yet if he had not, the Apoſtles were bound to bend to the inclinations of the weaker, rather than be maſtered by the wilfulneſs of the ſtronger, who had been ſufficiently inſtructed in the articles of chriſtian liberty, and in the adopting the Gentiles into the family of God. Thus if it be a queſtion whether I ſhould abate any thing of my external religion or ceremonies to ſatisfy an heretick or a contentious perſon; who pretends ſcandal to himſelf, and is indeed of another perſuaſion; and at the ſame time I know that good perſons will be weakned at ſuch forbearance, and eſtranged from the good perſuaſion and charity of communion, which is part of their Duty: it more concerns charity and the glory of God, that I ſecure the right, than twine about the wrong, wilful and malicious perſons. A Prelate muſt rather fortify and encourage obedience, and ſtrengthen Diſcipline, than by remiſneſs toward refractary ſpirits, and a deſire not to ſeem ſevere, weaken the hands of conſciencious perſons, by taking away the marks of difference between them that obey and them that obey not. And in all caſes when the queſtion is between a friend to be ſecured from apoſtaſy, or an enemy to be gained from indifferency, St. Paul's rule is to be obſerved, *do good to all, but eſpecially to the houſhold of Faith.* When the Church in a particular inſtance cannot be kind to both, ſhe muſt firſt love her own children.

12. Eighthly, But when the queſtion is between pleaſing and contenting the fancies of a friend, and the gaining of an Enemy, the greater good of the Enemy is infinitely to be preferred before the ſatisfying the unneceſſary humour of the friend. And therefore that we may gain perſons of a different religion, it is lawful to entertain them in their innocent cuſtoms, that we may repreſent ourſelves charitable

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[a] Gal. ii. 3, 4, &c.

and juſt, apt to comply in what we can, and yet for no end complying farther than we are permitted. It was a policy of the devil, to abuſe chriſtians to the rites of Mithra by imitating the chriſtian ceremonies. And the chriſtians themſelves were before hand with him in that policy: for they facilitated the reconcilement of Judaiſm with chriſtianity by common rites; and invited the Gentiles to the chriſtian churches, becauſe they never violated the heathen temples, but loved the men, and imitated their innocent rites, and only offered to reform their errors, and hallow their abuſed purpoſes. And this, if it had no other contradictory or unhandſome circumſtance, gave no offence to other chriſtians, when they had learned to truſt them with the government of eccleſiaſtical affairs to whom God had committed them, and they all had the ſame purpoſes of religion and charity. And when there is no objection againſt this but the furies or greater heats of a miſtaken zeal, the compliance with evil or unbelieving perſons, to gain them from their errors to the ways of truth and ſincerity, is great prudence and great charity; becauſe it chuſes and acts a greater good at no other charge or expence but the diſcompoſing of an intemperate zeal.

13. Ninthly, we are not bound to intermit a good or a lawful action as ſoon as any man tells us it is ſcandalous: (for that may be an eaſy ſtratagem to give me laws, and deſtroy my liberty:) but either when the action is of itſelf, or by reaſon of a publick known indiſpoſition of ſome perſons, probably introductive of a ſin; or when we know it is ſo in fact. The other is but affrighting a man: This only is prudent, that my charity be guided by ſuch rules which determine wiſe men to actions or omiſſions reſpectively. And therefore a light fame is not ſtrong enough to wreſt my liberty from me; but a reaſonable belief, or a certain knowledge; in the taking of which eſtimate we muſt neither be too credulous and eaſy, nor yet ungentle and ſtubborn, but do according to the actions of wiſe men and the charities of a chriſtian. Hither we may refer the rules of abſtaining from things which are of evil report. For not every thing which is of good report is to be followed; for then a falſe opinion, when it is become popular, muſt be profeſſed for conſcience ſake: Nor yet every thing that is of bad report is to be avoided; for nothing endured more ſhame and obloquy than chriſtianity at its firſt commencement. But by good report we are to underſtand ſuch things which are well reported of by good men and wiſe men, or ſcripture, or the conſent of nations. And thus for a woman to marry within the year of mourning is ſcandalous, becauſe it is of evil report, gives ſuſpicion of lightneſs, or ſome worſe confederacy, before the death of her huſband; the thing itſelf is apt to miniſter the ſuſpicion, and this we are bound to prevent. And unleſs the ſuſpicion be malicious, or imprudent and unreaſonable, we muſt conceal our actions from the ſurpriſes and deprehenſions of ſuſpicion. It was ſcandalous amongſt the old Romans not to marry; among the chriſtians, for a clergyman to marry twice, becauſe it was againſt an apoſtolical canon: but when it became of ill report for any chriſtian to marry the ſecond time, becauſe this evil report was begun by the errors of Montanus, and is againſt a permiſſion of holy ſcripture, no lay-chriſtian was bound to abſtain from a ſecond bed for fear of giving ſcandal.

14. Tenthly, The precept of avoiding ſcandal concerns the Governors of the church or ſtate in the making and execution of laws. For no law in things indifferent ought to be made to the provocation of the ſubject, or againſt that publick diſpoſition which is in the ſpirits of men, and will certainly cauſe perpetual irregularities and ſchiſms. Before the law be made, the ſuperior muſt comply with the ſubject; after it is made, the ſubject muſt comply with the law. But in this the church hath made fair proviſion, accounting no laws obligatory till the people have accepted them, and given tacit approbation. For eccleſiaſtical canons have their time of probation: And if they become a burthen to the People, or occaſion ſchiſm, tumults, publick diſunion of affections, and jealouſies againſt authority, the laws give place, and either fix not when they are not firſt approved, or diſappear by deſuetude. And in the execution of laws no leſs care is to be taken: For many caſes occur in which the laws can be reſcued from being a ſnare to men's conſciences by no other way but by diſpenſation, and ſlacking of the diſcipline as to certain particulars. Mercy and Sacrifice, the letter and the ſpirit, the words and the intention, the general caſe and the particular exception, the preſent diſpoſition and the former ſtate of things, are oftentimes ſo repugnant, and of ſuch contradictory intereſts, that there is no ſtumbling-block more troubleſome or dangerous than a ſevere, literal and rigorous exacting of laws in all caſes. But when ſtubbornneſs or a contentious ſpirit, when rebellion and pride, when ſecular intereſt, or eaſe and licenciouſneſs, ſet men up againſt the laws, the laws then are upon

the defenſive, and ought not to give place. It is ill to cure particular diſobedience by removing a conſtitution decreed by publick wiſdom for a general good. When the evil occaſioned by the law is greater than the good deſigned, or than the good which will come by it in the preſent conſtitution of things, and the evil can by no other remedy be healed; it concerns the law-giver's charity to take off ſuch poſitive conſtitutions which in the authority are merely human, and in the matter indifferent, and evil in the event. The ſum of this whole duty, I ſhall chuſe to repreſent in the words of an excellent perſon, St. Jerome, "We muſt, for the avoiding of ſcandal, quit every "thing which may be omitted without prejudice to the threefold truth, of life, of "juſtice, and doctrine. Meaning, that what is not expreſly commanded by God or our ſuperiors, or what is not expreſly commanded as an act of piety and perfection, or what is not an obligation of juſtice, that is, in which the intereſt of a third perſon, or elſe our own Chriſtian liberty, is not totally concerned, all that is to be given in ſacrifice to mercy, and to be made matter of edification and charity: but not of ſcandal, that is, of danger, and ſin, and falling, to our neighbour.

The PRAYER.

O *Eternal Jeſus, who art made unto us wiſdom, righteouſneſs, ſanctification, and redemption, give us of thy abundant charity, that we may love the eternal benefit of our brother's ſoul with a true, diligent, and affectionate care and tenderneſs. Give us a fellow-feeling of one another's calamities, a readineſs to bear each other's burthens, aptneſs to forbear, wiſdom to adviſe, counſel to direct, and a ſpirit of meekneſs and modeſty trembling at our infirmities, fearful in our brother's dangers, and joyful in his reſtitution and ſecurities. Lord, let all our actions be pious and prudent, ourſelves* wiſe as ſerpents and innocent as doves, *and our whole life examplary, and juſt, and charitable: that we may like lamps ſhining in thy temple ſerve thee, and enlighten others, and guide them to thy ſanctuary; and that ſhining clearly, and burning zealouſly, when the Bride-groom ſhall come to bind up his jewels, and beautify his ſpouſe, and gather his ſaints together, we and all thy chriſtian people knit in holy fellowſhip, may enter into the joy of our Lord, and partake of the eternal refreſhments of the kingdom of light and glory, where Thou, O holy and eternal Jeſu, liveſt and reigneſt in the excellencies of a kingdom, and the infinite durations of eternity.* Amen.

DISCOURSE XVIII.

Of the Cauſes and Manner of the Divine Judgments.

1. GOD's judgments are like * *the writing upon the wall*, which was a miſſive of anger from God upon Belſhazzar: It came upon an errand of revenge, and yet was writ in ſo dark characters that none could read it but a Prophet. When-ever God ſpeaks from Heaven, he would have us to underſtand his meaning: And if he declares not his ſenſe in particular ſignification, yet we underſtand his meaning well enough, if every voice of God leads us to repentance. Every ſad accident is directed againſt ſin, either to prevent it, or to cure it; to glorify God, or to humble us; to make us go forth of our ſelves, and to reſt upon the centre of all felicities, that we may derive help from the ſame hand that ſmote us. Sin and puniſhment are ſo near relatives, that when God hath marked any perſon with a ſadneſs or unhandſome accident, men think it warrant enough for their uncharitable cenſures, and condemn the man whom God hath ſmitten, making God the executioner of our uncertain or ungentle ſentences. *Whether ſinned, this man, or his parents, that he was born blind?* ſaid the Phariſees to our bleſſed LORD. *Neither this man, nor his parents,* was the anſwer; meaning, that God had other ends in that accident to ſerve; and it was not an effect of wrath, but a deſign

Πάντη δ' ἀθανάτων ἀφανὴς νόος ἀνθρώποισι. Solon.

deſign of mercy both directly and collaterally. God's glory muſt be ſeen clearly by occaſion of the curing the blind man. But in the preſent caſe the anſwer was ſomething different. Pilate ſlew the Galilæans when they were ſacrificing in their Conventicles apart from the Jews. For they firſt had ſeparated from obedience and paying tribute to Cæſar; and then from the Church, who diſavowed their mutinous and diſcontented doctrines. The cauſe of the one and the other are linked in mutual complications and endearment; and he who deſpiſes the one will quickly diſobey the other. Preſently upon the report of this ſad accident the people ran to the judgment-ſeat; and every man was ready to be accuſer and witneſs and judge upon theſe poor deſtroyed people. But Jeſus allays their heat; and though he would by no means acquit theſe perſons from deſerving death for their denying tribute to Cæſar; yet he alters the face of the tribunal, and makes thoſe perſons who were ſo apt to be accuſers and judges, to act another part, even of guilty perſons too, that ſince they will needs be judging, they might judge themſelves: For, [a] *Think not theſe were greater ſinners than all the other Galilæans, becauſe they ſuffered ſuch things. I tell you nay, but, except ye repent, ye ſhall all likewiſe periſh.* Meaning, that although there was great probability to believe ſuch perſons, (Schiſmaticks, I mean, and Rebels) to be the greateſt ſinners of the world; yet themſelves, who had deſigns to deſtroy the Son of God, had deſerved as great damnation. And yet it is obſervable, that the holy Jeſus only compared the ſins of them that ſuffered with the eſtate of the other Galilæans who ſuffered not; and that alſo applies it to the perſons preſent who told the news: to conſign this truth unto us, [b] That when perſons confederate in the ſame crimes, are ſpared from a preſent judgment falling upon others of their own ſociety, it is indeed a ſtrong alarm to all to ſecure themſelves by repentance againſt the hoſtilities and eruptions of ſin; but yet it is no exemption or ſecurity to them that eſcape, to believe themſelves perſons leſs ſinful. For God ſometimes decimates or tithes delinquent perſons, that they die for a common crime, according as God hath caſt their lot in the decrees of predeſtination; and either they that remain are ſealed up to a worſe calamity, or left within the reſerves and mercies of repentance; for in this there is ſome variety of determination and undiſcerned Providence.

2. THE purpoſe of our bleſſed Saviour is of great uſe to us in all the traverſes and changes, and eſpecially the ſad and calamitous accidents of the world. But in the misfortune of others we are to make other diſcourſes concerning divine judgments, than when the caſe is of nearer concernment to ourſelves. For firſt when we ſee a perſon come to an [c] unfortunate and untimely death, we muſt not conclude ſuch a man periſhing and miſerable to all eternity. It was a ſad calamity that fell upon the man of Judah, that returned to eat bread into the prophet's houſe contrary to the word of the Lord. He was abuſed into the act by a prophet, and a pretence of a command from God: and whether he did violence to his own underſtanding, and believed the man becauſe he was willing, or did it in ſincerity, or in what degree of ſin or excuſe the action might conſiſt, no man there knew: and yet a lion ſlew him, and the lying prophet that abuſed him eſcaped, and went to his grave in peace. Some perſons, joyned in [d] ſociety and intereſt with criminals, have periſhed in the ſame judgments; and yet it would be hard to call them equally guilty, who in the accident were equally miſerable and involved. And they who are not ſtrangers in the affairs of the world, cannot but have heard or ſeen ſome perſons who have lived well and moderately, though not like the flames of the holocauſt, yet like the aſhes of incenſe, ſending up good perfumes, and keeping a conſtant and ſlow fire of piety and juſtice, yet have been ſurpriſed in the midſt of ſome unuſual, unaccuſtomed irregularity, and died in that ſin. A ſudden gayety of fortune, a great joy, a violent change, a friend is come; or a marriage day hath tranſported ſome perſons to indiſcretions and too bold a licence; and the indiſcretion hath betrayed them to idle company, and the company to drink, and drink to a fall, and that hath hurried them to their grave. And it

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[a] Luke xiii. 3.

[b] Χρόνῳ τοι κυρίᾳ τ' ἐν ἡμέρᾳ
Θεὺς ἀτίζων τις βροτῶν δώσει δίκην.
Æſchyl. Ἱκέτιδες.

Pius ſcilicet Deus partem percuſſit ſententiæ ſuæ gladio, ut partem corrigeret exemplo, probaretque omnibus ſimul & coercendo cenſuram, & indulgendo pietatem. *Salvian.*

[c] De Anania et Sapphira dixit Origenes, Digni enim erant in ſæculo recipere peccatum ſuum, ut mundiores exeant ab hac vita, mundati caſtigatione ſibi illata per mortem communem, quoniam credentes erant in Chriſtum. Idem ait S. *Aug.* l. 4. c. 1. cont. Parmen. et Caſſian.

[d] —— Vetabo qui Cereris ſacrum
Vulgarit arcanæ, ſub iſdem
Sit trabibus, fragilemque mecum
Solvat phaſelum: ſæpe Dieſpiter,
Neglectus, inceſto addidit integrum.
Hor. l. 3. Od. 2.

were a ſad ſentence, to think God would not repute the untimely death for a puniſhment great enough to that deflexion from duty, and judge the man according to the conſtant tenour of his former life. Unleſs ſuch an act was of malice great enough to outweigh the former habits, and interrupt the whole ſtate of acception and grace. Something like this was the caſe of Uzzah, who eſpying the tottering ark, went to ſupport it with an unhallowed hand: God ſmote him, and he died immediately. It were too ſevere to ſay his zeal and indiſcretion carried him beyond a temporal death to the ruines of eternity. Origen and many others have made themſelves *Eunuchs for the kingdom of Heaven*, and did well after it: But thoſe that did ſo, and died of the wound, were ſmitten of God, and died in their folly: and yet it is rather to be called a ſad conſequence of their indiſcretion, than the expreſs of a final anger from God Almighty. For as God takes off our ſins and puniſhments by parts, remitting to ſome perſons the ſentence of death, and inflicting the fine of a temporal loſs, or the gentle ſcourge of a leſſer ſickneſs: So alſo he lays it on by parts, and according to the proper proportions of the man and of the crime: And every tranſgreſſion and leſſer deviation from our duty does not drag the ſoul to death eternal; but God ſuffers our repentance, though imperfect, to have an imperfect effect, knocking off the fetters by degrees, and leading us in ſome caſes to a Council, in ſome to Judgment, and in ſome to Hell-fire. But it is not always certain that he who is lead to the priſon doors ſhall there lie entombed: And a man may by a judgment be brought to the gates of Hell, and yet thoſe gates ſhall not prevail againſt him. This diſcourſe concerns perſons whoſe life is habitually fair and juſt, but are ſurpriſed in ſome unhandſome, but leſs criminal, action, and die or ſuffer ſome great calamity as the inſtrument of its expiation or amendment.

3. SECONDLY, But if the perſon upon whom the Judgment falls be habitually vitious, or the crime of a clamorous nature or deeper tincture; if the man *ſin a ſin unto death*, and either meets it, or ſome other remarkable calamity not ſo feared as death; provided we paſs no farther than the ſentence we ſee then executed, it is not againſt charity or prudence to ſay, this calamity in its own formality, and by the intention of God, is a puniſhment and judgment. In the favourable caſes of honeſt and juſt perſons our ſentence and opinions ought alſo to be favourable, and in ſuch queſtions to incline ever to the ſide of charitable conſtruction, and read other ends of God in the accidents of our neighbour than revenge or expreſs wrath. But when the impiety of a perſon is ſcandalous and notorious, when it is clamorous and violent, when it is habitual and yet corrigible, if we find a ſadneſs and calamity dwelling with ſuch a ſinner, eſpecially if the puniſhment be ſpiritual, we read the ſentence of God written with his own hand; and it is not ſawcineſs of opinion, or a preſſing into the ſecrets of Providence, to ſay the ſame thing which God hath publiſhed to all the world in the expreſſes of his ſpirit. In ſuch caſes we are to obſerve the *ſeverity of God, on them that fall ſeverity*; and to uſe thoſe judgments as inſtruments of the fear of God, and arguments to hate ſin: which we could not well do, but that we muſt look on them as verifications of God's threatning againſt great and impenitent ſinners. But then if we deſcend to particulars, we may eaſily be deceived.

4. FOR ſome men are diligent to obſerve the accidents and chances of providence upon thoſe eſpecially who differ from them in opinion; and whatevever ends God can have, or whatever ſins man can have, yet we lay that in fault which we therefore hate becauſe it is moſt againſt our intereſt; the contrary opinion is our enemy, and we alſo think God hates it. But ſuch fancies do ſeldom ſerve either the ends of truth or charity. Pierre Calceon died under the [a] Barber's hand: there wanted not ſome who ſaid it was a judgment upon him for condemning to the fire the famous Pucelle of France, who propheſied the expulſion of the Engliſh out of the kingdom. They that thought this, believed her to be a Propheteſs: But others, that thought her a witch, were willing to find out another conjecture for the ſudden death of that gentleman. Garnier Earl of Gretz kept the patriarch of Jeruſalem from his right in David's tower and the city, and died within three days: And by Dabert the patriarch it was called a Judgment upon him for his ſacriledge. But the uncertainty of that cenſure appeared to them who conſidered that Baldwin (who gave commiſſion to Garnier to withſtand the patriarch) did not die; but Godfrey of Bouillon did die immediately after he had paſſed the right of the patriarch. And yet when Baldwin was beaten at Rhamula, [b] ſome bold

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[a] Pendula dum tonſor ſecat excrementa capilli,
Expirans cadit, & gelida tellure cadaver
Decubat: ultrices ſic pendunt crimina pœnas.
Valerand.

[b] Baron. A. D. 1100, & 2024.

people pronounced that then God puniſhed him upon the patriarch's ſcore, and thought his ſacrilege to be the ſecret cauſe of his overthrow: And yet his own pride and raſhneſs was the more viſible, and the judgment was but a cloud, and paſſed away quickly into ſucceeding victory. But I inſtance in a trifle. Certain it is, that God removed the candleſtick from the Levantine Churches, becauſe he had a quarrel unto them: for that puniſhment is never ſent upon pure deſigns of emendation, or for direct and immediate purpoſes of the divine glory, but ever makes reflexion upon the paſt ſin: but when we deſcend to a judgment of the particulars, God walks ſo in the dark to us, that it is not diſcerned upon what ground he ſmote them. Some ſay it was becauſe they diſhonoured the eternal Jeſus, in denying the proceſſion of the Holy Ghoſt from the Son. [a] And in this ſome thought themſelves ſufficiently aſſured by a ſign from Heaven, becauſe the Greeks loſt Conſtantinople upon Whitſunday, the day of the feſtival of the Holy Spirit. The church of Rome calls the churches of the Greek communion ſchiſmatical, and thinks God righted the Roman quarrel when he revenged his own. Some think they were cut off for being breakers of images: Others think that their zeal againſt images was a means they were cut off no ſooner. And yet he that ſhall obſerve what innumerable ſects, hereſies and factions were commenced amongſt them, and how they were wanton with religion, making it ſerve ambitious and unworthy ends, will ſee that, beſides the ordinary conjectures of intereſted perſons, they had ſuch cauſes of their ruin which we alſo now feel heavily incumbent upon our ſelves. To ſee God adding fifteen years to the life of Hezekiah upon his prayer, and yet cutting off the young ſon of David begotten in adulterous embraces; to ſee him rejecting Adonijah, and receiving Solomon to the kingdom, begotten of the ſame mother whoſe ſon God in anger formerly ſlew; to obſerve his mercies to Manaſſes, in accepting him to favour, and continuing the kingdom to him, and his ſeverity to Zedekiah, in cauſing his eyes to be put out; to ſee him rewarding Nebuchadnezzar with the ſpoils of Egypt for deſtroying Tyre, and executing Gods ſevere anger againſt it, and yet puniſhing others for being executioners of his wrath upon Jeruſalem, even then when he purpoſed to chaſtiſe it; to ſee Wenceſlaus raiſed from a peaſant to a throne, and Pompey from a great prince reduced to that condition, that a pupil and an Eunuch paſſed ſentence of death upon him; to ſee great fortunes fall into the hand of a fool, and honourable old perſons and learned men deſcend to unequal Beggary; to ſee him ſtrike a ſtroke with his own hand in the converſion of Saul, and another quite contrary in the cutting off of Judas; muſt needs be ſome reſtraint to our judgments concerning the general ſtate of thoſe men who lie under the rod: but it proclaims an infinite uncertainty in the particulars, ſince we ſee contrary accidents happening to perſons guilty of the ſame crime, or put in the ſame indiſpoſitions. God hath marked all great ſins with ſome ſignal and expreſs judgments, and hath tranſmitted the records of them, or repreſented them before our eyes; that is, hath done ſo in our age, or it hath been noted to have been done before: And that being ſufficient to affright us from thoſe crimes, God hath not thought it expedient to do the ſame things to all perſons in the ſame caſes, having to all perſons produced inſtances and examples of fear by fewer accidents, ſufficient to reſtrain us, but not enough to paſs ſentence upon the changes of divine Providence.

5. BUT ſometimes God ſpeaks plainer, and gives us notice what crimes he puniſhes in others, that we may the rather decline ſuch rocks of offence. If the crime and the puniſhment be ſymbolical, and have proportion and correſpondence of parts, the hand of God ſtrikes the man, but holds up one finger to point at the ſin. The death of the child of Bathſheba was a plain declaration that the anger of God was upon David for the adulterous mixture. That blaſphemer whoſe tongue was preſently ſtruck with an ulcerous tumour, with his tongue declared the glories of God and his own ſhame. And it was not doubted but God, when he ſmote the lady of Dominicus Silvius, the Duke of Venice, with a loathſome and unſavoury diſeaſe, did intend to chaſtiſe a remarkable vanity of hers in various and coſtly perfumes, which ſhe affected in an unreaſonable manner, and to very evil purpoſes. And that famous perſon, and of excellent learning, [b] Giacchettus of Geneva, being by his wife found dead in the unlawful embraces of a ſtranger woman, who alſo died at the ſame inſtant, left an excellent example of God's anger upon the crime, and an evidence that he was then judged for his intemperate luſt. [c] Such are all thoſe puniſhments which are natural conſequents to a crime:

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[a] Eſtius. [b] Fulgoſ. lib. 9. c. 12.

[c] Pœna tamen præſens, cum tu deponis amictum
Turgidus, & crudum pavonem in balnea portas.
Hinc ſubitæ mortes atque inteſtata ſenectus.
Juven. Sat. 1.

Quos nimis effrenes habui; nunc vapulo renes,
Sic luitur juvenis culpa dolore ſenis.

as dropſies, redneſs of eyes, diſſolution of nerves, apoplexies, to continual drunkenneſs; to intemperate eating, ſhort lives and ſudden deaths; to luſt, a caitive ſlaviſh diſpoſition, and a foul diſeaſed body; fire and ſword, and depopulation of towns and villages, the conſequents of ambition and unjuſt wars; poverty to prodigality; and all thoſe judgments which happen upon curſings and horrid imprecations, when God is under a curſe called to atteſt a lye, and to connive at impudence; or when the oppreſſed perſons in the bitterneſs of their ſouls wiſh evil and pray for vengeance on their oppreſſors; or that the Church upon juſt cauſe inflicts ſpiritual cenſures, and *delivers unto Satan*, or curſes and declares the divine ſentence againſt ſinners, as St. Peter againſt Ananias and Sapphira, and St. Paul againſt Elymas, and of old Moſes againſt Pharaoh and his Egypt. (Of this nature alſo was the plague of a *withered hand* inflicted upon Jeroboam for ſtretching forth his hand to ſtrike the Prophet.) In theſe and all ſuch inſtances the off-ſpring is ſo like the parent, that it cannot eaſily be concealed. Sometimes the crime is of that nature, that it cries aloud for vengeance, or is threatned with a ſpecial kind of puniſhment; which by the obſervation and experience of the world hath regularly happened to a certain ſort of perſons. Such as are diſſolutions of eſtates, the puniſhment of ſacrilege; a deſcending curſe upon poſterity for four generations, ſpecially threatned to the crime of idolatry; any plague whatſoever to oppreſſion; untimely death to murther; an unthriving eſtate to the detention of tythes, or whatſoever is God's portion allotted for the ſervices of religion; untimely and ſtrange deaths to the perſecutors of Chriſtian religion: Nero killed himſelf; Domitian was killed by his ſervants; Maximinus and Decius were murthered, together with their children; Valerianus impriſoned, flea'd and ſlain with tortures by Sapor king of Perſia; Diocletian periſhed by his own hand, and his houſe was burnt with the fate of Sodom and Gomorrah, with fire from above; Antiochus the Preſident under Aurelian, while Agapetus was in his agony and ſufferance of martyrdom, cried out of a flame within him, and died; Flaccus vomited out his entrails preſently after he had cauſed Gregory biſhop of Spoleto to be ſlain; and Dioſcorus, the father of St. Barbara, accuſed and betrayed his daughter to the hangman's cruelty for being a Chriſtian, and he died by the hand of God by fire from Heaven. Theſe are God's tokens, marks upon the body of infected perſons, and declare the malignity of the diſeaſe, and bid us all beware of thoſe determined crimes.

6. THIRDLY, But then in theſe and all other accidents we muſt firſt obſerve from the cauſe to the effect, and then judge from the effect concerning the nature and the degree of the cauſe. We cannot conclude, This family is leſſened, beggared, or extinct, therefore they are guilty of ſacrilege: But thus, They are ſacrilegious, and God hath blotted out their name from among the poſterities, therefore this judgment was an expreſs of God's anger againſt ſacrilege: The judgment will not conclude a ſin; but when a ſin inſers the judgment with a legible character and a prompt ſignification, not to underſtand God's choice is next to ſtupidity or careleſneſs. * Arius was known to be a ſeditious, heretical, and diſſembling perſon, and his entrails deſcended on the earth when he went to cover his feet: It was very ſuſpicious that this was the puniſhment of thoſe ſins which were the worſt in him. But he that ſhall conclude Arius was an heretick or ſeditious, upon no other ground but becauſe his bowels guſhed out, begins imprudently, and proceeds uncharitably. But it is conſiderable, that men do not ariſe to great crimes on the ſudden, but by degrees of careleſneſs to leſſer impieties, and then to clamorous ſins. And God is therefore ſaid to puniſh great crimes or actions of higheſt malignity, becauſe they are commonly productions from the ſpirit of reprobation, they are the higheſt aſcents, and ſuppoſe a body of ſin. And therefore although the judgment may be intended to puniſh all our ſins; yet it is like the Syrian army, it kills all that are its enemies, but it hath a ſpecial commiſſion to *fight againſt none but the King of Iſrael*, becauſe his death would be the diſſolution of the body. And if God humbles a man for his great ſin, that is, for thoſe acts which combine and conſummate all the reſt, poſſibly the body of ſin may ſeparate, and be apt to be ſcattered and ſubdued by ſingle acts and inſtruments of mortification. And therefore it is but reaſonable, in our making uſe of God's judgments upon others, to think that God will rather ſtrike at the greateſt crimes;

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* ——— Ruit Arius alvo
Infelix, plus mente cadens, lethumque peremptus
Cum Juda commune tulit, qui gutture pendens
Viſceribus curvatus obit: nec pœna ſequeſtrat
Quos par culpa ligat, qui majeſtatis honori
Vulnus ab ore parant. Hic prodidit, ille diremit
Sacrilega de voce. ———

Poet. Chriſt. apud *Baron*. T. 3. ad ann. Chriſt. 336.

not only becauſe they are in themſelves of greateſt malice and iniquity, but becauſe they are the ſum total of the reſt, and by being great progreſſions in the ſtate of ſin ſuppoſe all the reſt included: And we, by proportioning and obſerving the judgment to the higheſt, acknowledge the whole body of ſin to lie under the curſe, though the greateſt only was named, and called upon with the voice of thunder. And yet becauſe it ſometimes happens, that upon the violence of a great and new occaſion ſome perſons leap into ſuch a ſin, which in the ordinary courſe of ſinners uſes to be the effect of an habitual and growing ſtate; then if a judgment happens, it is clearly appropriate to that one great crime, which as of it ſelf it is equivalent to a vicious habit, and interrupts the acceptation of all its former contraries, ſo it meets with a curſe, ſuch as uſually God chuſes for the puniſhment of a whole body and ſtate of ſin. However, in making obſervation upon the expreſſes of God's anger, we muſt be careful that we reflect not with any bitterneſs or ſcorn upon the perſon of our calamitous brother, leſt we make that to be an evil to him which God intends for his benefit, if the judgment was medicinal; or that we increaſe not the load, already great enough to ſink him beneath his grave, if the judgment was intended for a final abſciſſion.

7. FOURTHLY, But if the judgments deſcend upon our ſelves, we are to take another courſe: not to enquire into particulars to find out the proportions, (for that can only be a deſign to part with juſt ſo much as we muſt needs,) but to mend all that is amiſs: For then only we can be ſecure to remove the Achan, when we keep nothing within us or about us that may provoke God to jealouſie or wrath. And that is the proper product of holy fear, which God intended ſhould be the firſt effect of all his judgments. And of this God is ſo careful, and yet ſo kind and provident, that fear might not be produced always at the expence of a great ſuffering, that God hath provided for us certain prologues of judgment, and keeps us waking with alarms, that ſo he might reconcile his mercies with our duties. Of this nature are epidemical diſeaſes, not yet arrived at us, prodigious tempeſts, thunder, and loud noiſes from Heaven: And he that will not fear when God ſpeaks ſo loud, is not yet made ſoft with the impreſſes and perpetual droppings of religion. Venerable [a] Bede reports of St. Chad, that if a great guſt of wind ſuddenly aroſe, he preſently made ſome holy ejaculation to beg favour of God for all mankind, who might poſſibly be concerned in the effects of that wind: But if a ſtorm ſucceeded, he fell proſtrate to the earth, and grew as violent in prayer as the ſtorm was either at land or ſea: But if God added thunder and lightning, he went to the church, and there ſpent all his time during the tempeſt in reciting Litanies, Pſalms, and other holy prayers, till it pleaſed God to reſtore his favour, and to ſeem to forget his anger. And the good biſhop added this reaſon; Becauſe theſe are the extenſions and ſtretchings forth of God's hand, and yet he did not ſtrike: But he that trembles not when he ſees God's arm held forth to ſtrike us, underſtands neither God's mercies, nor his own danger; he neither knows what thoſe horrors were which the people ſaw from mount Sinai, nor what the glories and amazements ſhall be at the great day of judgment. And if this religious man had ſeen Tullus Hoſtilius, the Roman King, and Anaſtaſius, a Chriſtian Emperor, but a reputed heretick, ſtruck dead with thunderbolts, and their own houſes made their urns to keep their aſhes in; there could have been no poſture humble enough, no prayers devout enough, no place holy enough, nothing ſufficiently expreſſive of his fear, and his humility, and his adoration and religion to the almighty and infinite power and glorious mercy of God, ſending out his emiſſaries to denounce War with deſigns of peace. A great Italian general, ſeeing the ſudden death of Alfonſus duke of Ferrara, kneeled down inſtantly, ſaying, *And ſhall not this ſight make me religious?* Three and twenty thouſand fell in one night in the [b] Iſraelitiſh camp, who were all ſlain for fornication. And this ſo prodigious a judgment was recorded in Scripture for our example and affrightment, that we ſhould not with ſuch freedom entertain a crime which deſtroyed ſo numerous a body of men in the darkneſs of one evening. Fear, and modeſty, and univerſal Reformation, are the purpoſes of God's judgments upon us, or in our neighbourhood.

8. FIFTHLY, Concerning judgments happening to a Nation or a Church, the conſideration is particular, becauſe there are fewer capacities of making ſins to become national than perſonal; and therefore if we underſtand when a ſin is national, we may the rather underſtand the meaning of God's hand when he ſtrikes a people. For national ſins grow higher and higher, not merely according to the degree of the ſin, or

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[a] Hiſt. Gent. Anglor. l. 3. c. 18.

[b] 1 Cor. x. 8.

the intention alone, but according to the extenſion; according to its being national, ſo it is productive of more or leſs miſchief to a kingdom. Cuſtomary iniquities amongſt the people do then amount to the account of national ſins, when they are of ſo univerſal practice as to take in well near every particular; [a] ſuch as was that of Sodom, not to leave ten righteous in all the country: and ſuch were the ſins of the old world, who left but eight perſons to eſcape the angry baptiſm of the flood. And ſuch was the murmur of the children of Iſrael, refuſing to march up to Canaan at the commandment of God; they all murmured but Caleb and Joſhua. And this God in the caſe of the Amalekites calls the fulfilling of their ſins, and a filling up the meaſure of their iniquities. And hither alſo I reckon the defection of the ten tribes from the houſe of Judah, and the Samaritan ſchiſm; theſe cauſed the total extirpation of the offending people. For although theſe ſins were perſonal and private at firſt, yet when they come to be univerſal by diffuſion and diſſemination, and the good people remaining among them are but like drops of wine in a tun of water, of no conſideration with God, ſave only to the preſervation [b] of their own perſons; then although the perſons be private, yet all private or ſingular perſons make the nation. But this hath happened but ſeldom in chriſtianity: I think indeed never, except in the caſe of mutinies and rebellion againſt their lawful prince, or the atteſting violence done in unjuſt wars. But God only knows, and no man can ſay, when any ſin is national by diffuſion: and therefore in this caſe we cannot make any certain judgment or advantage to ourſelves, or very rarely, by obſerving the changes of Providence upon a people.

9. BUT the next above this in order to the procuring popular judgments, is publick impunities, the not doing juſtice upon criminals publickly complained of and demanded, eſpecially when the perſons intereſted call for juſtice and execution of good laws, and the Prince's arm is at liberty and in full ſtrength, and there is no contrary reaſon in the particular inſtance to make compenſation to the publick for the omiſſion, or no care taken to ſatisfy the particular. Abimelech thought he had reaſon to be angry with Iſaac for ſaying Rebecca was his Siſter: for *one of the people might have lain with thy wife, and thou ſhouldſt have brought evil upon us:* Meaning, that the man ſhould have eſcaped unpuniſhed by reaſon of the miſtake, which very impunity he feared might be expounded to be a countenance and encouragement to the ſin. But this was no more than his fear. The caſe of the Benjamites comes home to this preſent article; for they refuſed to do juſtice upon the men that had raviſhed and killed the Levite's concubine: they loſt twenty five thouſand in battel, their cities were deſtroyed, and the whole tribe almoſt extinguiſhed. For puniſhing publick and great acts of injuſtice is called in ſcripture [c] *putting away the evil from the land*; becauſe to this purpoſe the ſword is put into the Prince's hand, and he *bears the ſword in vain* who ceaſes to protect his people: and not to puniſh the evil is a voluntary retention of it; unleſs a ſpecial caſe intervene, in which the Prince thinks it convenient to give a particular pardon; provided this be not encouragement to others, nor without great reaſon big enough to make compenſation for the particular omiſſion, and with care to render ſome other ſatisfaction to the perſon injured. In all other caſes of impunity, that ſin becomes national by forbearing, which in the acting was perſonal: and it is certain the impunity is a ſpring of univerſal evils; it is no thank to the publick if the beſt man be not as bad as the worſt.

10. BUT there is a ſtep beyond this, and of a more publick concernment: ſuch are the *laws of Omri*, when a nation conſents to and makes ungodly ſtatutes. When *miſchief is eſtabliſhed as a law*, then the nation is engaged to ſome purpoſe. When I ſee the people deſpiſe their governors, ſcorn and rob and diſadvantage the miniſters of religion, make rude addreſſes to God, to his temple, to his ſacraments; I look upon it as the inſolency of an untaught people, who would as readily do the contrary, if the fear of God and the king were upon them by good examples, and precepts, and laws, and ſevere executions. And farther yet, when the more publick and examplary perſons are without ſenſe of religion, without a dread of Majeſty, without reverence to the church, without impreſſes of conſcience, and the tenderneſſes of a religious fear towards God; as the perſons are greater in eſtimation of law, and in their influences

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[a] Fœcunda culpæ ſecula nuptias
Primum inquinavere, & genus, & domos.
Hoc fonte derivata clades
In patriam populumque fluxit.
Hor. l. 3. Od. 6.

[b] Ezek. 14. 20.

[c] Deut. 17. 12. 19. 13, 19. 21. 9. 21, & alibi.

upon the people, ſo the ſcore of the nation advances, and there is more to be paid for in popular Judgments. [a] But when iniquity or irreligion is made a ſanction, and either God muſt be diſhonoured, or the church exauctorated, or her rites invaded by a law, then the fortune of the kingdom is at ſtake. No ſin engages a nation ſo much, or is ſo publick, ſo ſolemn iniquity, as is a wicked law. Therefore it concerns Princes and States to ſecure the piety and innocency of their laws: and if there be any evil laws, which upon juſt grounds may be thought productive of God's anger, becauſe a publick miſdemeanour cannot be expiated but by a publick act of repentance, or a publick calamity, the laws muſt either have their edge abated by a deſuetude, or be laid aſleep by a non-execution, or diſmembred by contrary priviſo's; or have the ſting drawn forth by interpretation, or elſe by abrogation be quite reſcinded. But theſe are national ſins within it ſelf, or within its own body, by the act of the body (I mean) diffuſive or repreſentative; and they are like the perſonal ſins of men in or againſt their own bodies in the matter of ſobriety. There are others in the matter of juſtice, as the nation relates to other people communicating in publick intercourſe.

11. FOR as the intercourſe between man and man in the actions of commutative and diſtributive juſtice is the proper matter of vertues and vices perſonal; ſo are the tranſactions between nation and nation againſt the publick rules of juſtice ſins national directly, and in their firſt original, and anſwer to injuſtice between man and man. Such are commencing war upon unjuſt titles, Invaſion of neighbours territories, confederacies and aids upon tyrannical intereſt, wars againſt true religion or ſovereignty, violation of the laws of nations, which they have conſented to as the publick inſtrument of accord and negotiation, breach of publick faith, defending pirates, and the like. When a publick judgment comes upon a nation, theſe things are to be thought upon: That we may not think ourſelves acquitted by crying out againſt ſwearing, and drunkenneſs, and cheating in manufactures, which, unleſs they be of univerſal diſſemination, and made national by diffuſion, are paid for upon a perſonal ſcore; and the private infelicities of our lives will either expiate or puniſh them ſeverely. But while the people mourn for thoſe ſins of which their low condition is capable, ſins that may produce a popular fever, or perhaps the plague, where the miſery dwells in cottages, and the princes often have indemnity, as it was in the caſe of David: Yet we may not hope to appeaſe a war, to maſter a rebellion, to cure the publick diſtemperatures of a kingdom, which threaten not the people only, or the governours alſo, but even the government itſelf, unleſs the ſins of a more publick capacity be cut off by publick declarations, or other acts of natural juſtice and religion. But the duty which concerns us all in ſuch caſes is, that every man in every capacity ſhould enquire into himſelf, and for his own portion of the calamity, put in his own ſymbol of emendation for his particular, and his prayers for the publick intereſt. In which it is not ſafe that any private perſons ſhould deſcend to particular cenſures of the crimes of Princes and States, no not towards God, unleſs the matter be notorious and paſt a queſtion: But it is a ſufficient aſſoilment of this part of his duty, if, when he hath ſet his own houſe in order, he would pray with indefinite ſignifications of his charity and care of the publick, that God would put it into the hearts of all whom it concerns, to endeavour the removal of the ſin that hath brought the exterminating Angel upon the nation. But yet there are ſometimes great lines drawn by God in the expreſſes of anger in ſome judgments upon a nation: and when the judgment is of that danger as to invade the very conſtitution of a kingdom, the proportions that Judgments many times keep to their ſins intimate that there is ſome national ſin, in which either by diffuſion, or repreſentation, or in the direct matter of ſins, as falſe oaths, unjuſt wars, wicked confederacies, or ungodly laws, the nation in the publick capacity is delinquent.

12. FOR as the nation hath in ſins a capacity diſtinct from the ſins of all the people, inaſmuch as the nation is united in one head, guarded by a diſtinct and a higher angel, as Perſia by St Michael, tranſacts affairs in a publick right, tranſmits influence to all particulars from a common fountain, and hath intercourſe with other collective bodies, who alſo diſtinguiſh from their own particulars: So likewiſe it hath puniſhments diſtinct from thoſe infelicities which vex particulars, puniſhments proportionable to it ſelf and its own ſins: ſuch as are change of governments, of better into worſe, of mo-

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[a] ——Ilion, Ilion
Fatalis inceſtuſque Judex,
Et mulier peregrina vertit
In pulverem, ex quo deſtituit Deos
Mercede pacta Laomedon.
Hor. l. 3. Od. 3.

the intention alone, but according to the extenſion; according to its being national, ſo it is productive of more or leſs miſchief to a kingdom. Cuſtomary iniquities amongſt the people do then amount to the account of national ſins, when they are of ſo univerſal practice as to take in well near every particular; [a] ſuch as was that of Sodom, not to leave ten righteous in all the country: and ſuch were the ſins of the old world, who left but eight perſons to eſcape the angry baptiſm of the flood. And ſuch was the murmur of the children of Iſrael, refuſing to march up to Canaan at the commandment of God; they all murmured but Caleb and Joſhua. And this God in the caſe of the Amalekites calls the fulfilling of their ſins, and a filling up the meaſure of their iniquities. And hither alſo I reckon the defection of the ten tribes from the houſe of Judah, and the Samaritan ſchiſm; theſe cauſed the total extirpation of the offending people. For although theſe ſins were perſonal and private at firſt, yet when they come to be univerſal by diffuſion and diſſemination, and the good people remaining among them are but like drops of wine in a tun of water, of no conſideration with God, ſave only to the preſervation [b] of their own perſons; then although the perſons be private, yet all private or ſingular perſons make the nation. But this hath happened but ſeldom in chriſtianity: I think indeed never, except in the caſe of mutinies and rebellion againſt their lawful prince, or the atteſting violence done in unjuſt wars. But God only knows, and no man can ſay, when any ſin is national by diffuſion: and therefore in this caſe we cannot make any certain judgment or advantage to ourſelves, or very rarely, by obſerving the changes of Providence upon a people.

9. BUT the next above this in order to the procuring popular judgments, is publick impunities, the not doing juſtice upon criminals publickly complained of and demanded, eſpecially when the perſons intereſted call for juſtice and execution of good laws, and the Prince's arm is at liberty and in full ſtrength, and there is no contrary reaſon in the particular inſtance to make compenſation to the publick for the omiſſion, or no care taken to ſatisfy the particular. Abimelech thought he had reaſon to be angry with Iſaac for ſaying Rebecca was his Siſter: for *one of the people might have lain with thy wife, and thou ſhouldſt have brought evil upon us:* Meaning, that the man ſhould have eſcaped unpuniſhed by reaſon of the miſtake, which very impunity he feared might be expounded to be a countenance and encouragement to the ſin. But this was no more than his fear. The caſe of the Benjamites comes home to this preſent article; for they refuſed to do juſtice upon the men that had raviſhed and killed the Levite's concubine: they loſt twenty five thouſand in battel, their cities were deſtroyed, and the whole tribe almoſt extinguiſhed. For puniſhing publick and great acts of injuſtice is called in ſcripture [c] *putting away the evil from the land*; becauſe to this purpoſe the ſword is put into the Prince's hand, and he *bears the ſword in vain* who ceaſes to protect his people: and not to puniſh the evil is a voluntary retention of it; unleſs a ſpecial caſe intervene, in which the Prince thinks it convenient to give a particular pardon; provided this be not encouragement to others, nor without great reaſon big enough to make compenſation for the particular omiſſion, and with care to render ſome other ſatisfaction to the perſon injured. In all other caſes of impunity, that ſin becomes national by forbearing, which in the acting was perſonal: and it is certain the impunity is a ſpring of univerſal evils; it is no thank to the publick if the beſt man be not as bad as the worſt.

10. BUT there is a ſtep beyond this, and of a more publick concernment: ſuch are the *laws of Omri*, when a nation conſents to and makes ungodly ſtatutes. When *miſchief is eſtabliſhed as a law*, then the nation is engaged to ſome purpoſe. When I ſee the people deſpiſe their governors, ſcorn and rob and diſadvantage the miniſters of religion, make rude addreſſes to God, to his temple, to his ſacraments; I look upon it as the inſolency of an untaught people, who would as readily do the contrary, if the fear of God and the king were upon them by good examples, and precepts, and laws, and ſevere executions. And farther yet, when the more publick and examplary perſons are without ſenſe of religion, without a dread of Majeſty, without reverence to the church, without impreſſes of conſcience, and the tenderneſſes of a religious fear towards God; as the perſons are greater in eſtimation of law, and in their influences

upon

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[a] Fœcunda culpa ſecula nuptias
Primum inquinavere, & genus, & domos.
Hoc fonte derivata clades
In patriam populumque fluxit.
Hor. l. 3. Od. 6.

[b] Ezek. 14. 20.

[c] Deut. 17. 12. 19. 13, 19. 21. 9. 21, & alibi.

upon the people, ſo the ſcore of the nation advances, and there is more to be paid for in popular Judgments. [a] But when iniquity or irreligion is made a ſanction, and either God muſt be diſhonoured, or the church exauctorated, or her rites invaded by a law, then the fortune of the kingdom is at ſtake. No ſin engages a nation ſo much, or is ſo publick, ſo ſolemn iniquity, as is a wicked law. Therefore it concerns Princes and States to ſecure the piety and innocency of their laws: and if there be any evil laws, which upon juſt grounds may be thought productive of God's anger, becauſe a publick miſdemeanour cannot be expiated but by a publick act of repentance, or a publick calamity, the laws muſt either have their edge abated by a deſuetude, or be laid aſleep by a non-execution, or diſmembred by contrary priviſo's, or have the ſting drawn forth by interpretation, or elſe by abrogation be quite reſcinded. But theſe are national ſins within it ſelf, or within its own body, by the act of the body (I mean) diffuſive or repreſentative; and they are like the perſonal ſins of men in or againſt their own bodies in the matter of ſobriety. There are others in the matter of juſtice, as the nation relates to other people communicating in publick intercourſe.

11. FOR as the intercourſe between man and man in the actions of commutative and diſtributive juſtice is the proper matter of vertues and vices perſonal; ſo are the tranſactions between nation and nation againſt the publick rules of juſtice ſins national directly, and in their firſt original, and anſwer to injuſtice between man and man. Such are commencing war upon unjuſt titles, Invaſion of neighbours territories, confederacies and aids upon tyrannical intereſt, wars againſt true religion or ſovereignty, violation of the laws of nations, which they have conſented to as the publick inſtrument of accord and negotiation, breach of publick faith, defending pirates, and the like. When a publick judgment comes upon a nation, theſe things are to be thought upon: That we may not think ourſelves acquitted by crying out againſt ſwearing, and drunkenneſs, and cheating in manufactures, which, unleſs they be of univerſal diſſemination, and made national by diffuſion, are paid for upon a perſonal ſcore; and the private infelicities of our lives will either expiate or puniſh them ſeverely. But while the people mourn for thoſe ſins of which their low condition is capable, ſins that may produce a popular fever, or perhaps the plague, where the miſery dwells in cottages, and the princes often have indemnity, as it was in the caſe of David: Yet we may not hope to appeaſe a war, to maſter a rebellion, to cure the publick diſtemperatures of a kingdom, which threaten not the people only, or the governours alſo, but even the government itſelf, unleſs the ſins of a more publick capacity be cut off by publick declarations, or other acts of natural juſtice and religion. But the duty which concerns us all in ſuch caſes is, that every man in every capacity ſhould enquire into himſelf, and for his own portion of the calamity, put in his own ſymbol of emendation for his particular, and his prayers for the publick intereſt. In which it is not ſafe that any private perſons ſhould deſcend to particular cenſures of the crimes of Princes and States, no not towards God, unleſs the matter be notorious and paſt a queſtion: But it is a ſufficient aſſoilment of this part of his duty, if, when he hath ſet his own houſe in order, he would pray with indefinite ſignifications of his charity and care of the publick, that God would put it into the hearts of all whom it concerns, to endeavour the removal of the ſin that hath brought the exterminating Angel upon the nation. But yet there are ſometimes great lines drawn by God in the expreſſes of anger in ſome judgments upon a nation: and when the judgment is of that danger as to invade the very conſtitution of a kingdom, the proportions that Judgments many times keep to their ſins intimate that there is ſome national ſin, in which either by diffuſion, or repreſentation, or in the direct matter of ſins, as falſe oaths, unjuſt wars, wicked confederacies, or ungodly laws, the nation in the publick capacity is delinquent.

12. FOR as the nation hath in ſins a capacity diſtinct from the ſins of all the people, inaſmuch as the nation is united in one head, guarded by a diſtinct and a higher angel, as Perſia by St Michael, tranſacts affairs in a publick right, tranſmits influence to all particulars from a common fountain, and hath intercourſe with other collective bodies, who alſo diſtinguiſh from their own particulars: So likewiſe it hath puniſhments diſtinct from thoſe infelicities which vex particulars, puniſhments proportionable to it ſelf and its own ſins: ſuch as are change of governments, of better into worſe, of mo-

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[a] ——Ilion, Ilion
Fatalis inceſtuſque Judex,
Et mulier peregrina vertit
In pulverem, ex quo deſtituit Deos
Mercede pacta Laomedon.
Hor. l. 3. Od. 3.

narchy into ariſtocracy, and ſo to the loweſt ebb of democracy; death of Princes, infant Kings, foreign invaſions, civil wars, a diſputable title to the crown, making a nation tributary, conqueſt by a foreigner, and, which is worſt of all, removing the candleſtick from a People by extinction of the church, or that which is neceſſary to its conſervation, the ſeveral orders and miniſteries of religion. And the laſt hath alſo proper ſins of its own analogy; ſuch as are falſe articles in the publick confeſſions of a [a] church, ſchiſm from the catholick, publick ſcandals, a general vitiouſneſs of the clergy, an indifferency in religion, without warmth and holy fires of zeal, and diligent purſuance of all its juſt and holy intereſts. Now in theſe and all parallel caſes, when God by puniſhments hath probably marked and diſtinguiſhed the crime, it concerns publick perſons to be the more forward and importunate in conſideration of publick irregularities: And for the private alſo, not to neglect their own particulars; for by that means, although not certainly, yet probably, they may ſecure themſelves from falling in the publick calamity. It is not infallibly ſure that holy perſons ſhall not be ſmitten by the deſtroying Angel; for God in ſuch deaths hath many ends of Mercy, and ſome of Providence, to ſerve: But ſuch private and perſonal emendations and devotions are the greateſt ſecurities of the men againſt the judgment, or the evil of it, preſerving them in this life, or wafting them over to a better. Thus many of the Lord's champions did fall in battel, and the armies of the Benjamites did twice prevail upon the juſter People of all Iſrael; and the Greek empire hath declined and ſhrunk under the fortune and power of the Ottoman family; and the holy land, which was twice poſſeſſed by chriſtian Princes, is now in the dominion of unchriſtned Saracens; and in the production of theſe alterations many a gallant and pious perſon ſuffered the evils of war, and the change of an untimely death.

13. BUT the way for the whole Nation to proceed in caſes of epidemical diſeaſes, wars, great Judgments, and popular calamities, is to do in the publick proportion the ſame that every man is to do for his private; by publick acts of juſtice, repentance, faſtings, pious laws, and execution of juſt and religious edicts, making peace, quitting of unjuſt intereſts, declaring publickly againſt a crime, proteſting in behalf of the contrary virtue or religion. And to this alſo every man, as he is a member of the body politick, muſt co-operate: that by a repentance in diffuſion help may come, as well as by a ſin of univerſal diſſemination the plague was haſtned and invited the rather. But in theſe caſes all the work of diſcerning and pronouncing concerning the cauſe of the judgment, as it muſt be without aſperity, and only for deſigns of correction and emendation, ſo it muſt be done by Kings and Prophets, and the aſſiſtance of other publick perſons, to whom the publick is committed. Joſhua caſt lots upon Achan, and diſcovered the publick trouble in a private inſtance: And of old the Prophets had it in commiſſion to reprove the popular iniquity of nations, and the confederate ſins of kingdoms: And in this chriſtianity altered nothing. And when this is done modeſtly, prudently, humbly, and penitently, oftentimes the tables turn immediately, but always in due time; and a great alteration in a kingdom becomes the greateſt bleſſing in the world, and faſtens the church, or the crown, or the publick peace, in bands of great continuance and ſecurity; and it may be the next age ſhall feel the benefits of our ſufferance and repentance. And therefore, as we muſt endeavour to ſecure it, ſo we muſt not be too decretory in the caſe of others, or diſconſolate or diffident in our own, when it may ſo happen, that all ſucceeding generations ſhall ſee that God pardoned us and loved us even when he ſmote us. Let us all learn to fear and walk humbly. The churches of Laodicea and the Coloſſians ſuffered a great calamity within a little while after the ſpirit of God had ſent them two epiſtles by the miniſtry of St. Paul; their cities were buried in an earthquake: and yet we have reaſon to think they were churches beloved of God, and congregations of holy people.

The PRAYER.

O Eternal and powerful God, thou juſt and righteous Governor of the world, who calleſt all orders of men by precepts, promiſes and threatnings, by mercies and by judgments, teach us to admire and adore all the wiſdom, the effects and infinite varieties of thy providence; and make us to diſpoſe our ſelves ſo by obedience, by repentance, by all the manners of holy living, that we may never provoke thee to jealouſie, much leſs to wrath and indignation

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[a] Diis te minorem quod geris, imperas.
Hinc omne principium, huc refer exitum.

Dii multa neglecti dederunt
Heſperiæ mala luctuoſæ. *Hor.* l. 3. od. 6.

BRITISH MUSEUM 5 AU 70

Jeſus *cried with a loud Voice,* Lazarus, come forth. *And he that was dead come forth, bound Hand and Foot with Grave Cloths: and his Face was bound about with a Napkin,* Jeſus *saith unto them, loose him, and let him go.*

St. John, Chap. 11th Ver. 43d & 44th

indignation againſt us. Keep far from us the ſword of the deſtroying Angel, and let us never periſh in the publick expreſſes of thy wrath, in diſeaſes epidemical, with the furies of war, with calamitous, ſudden, and horrid accidents, with unuſual diſeaſes; unleſs that our ſo ſtrange fall be more for thy glory and our eternal benefit, and then thy will be done: We beg thy grace, that we may chearfully conform to thy holy will and pleaſure. Lord open our underſtandings, that we may know the meaning of thy voice, and the ſignification of thy language, when thou ſpeakeſt from Heaven in ſigns and judgments: And let a holy fear ſo ſoften our ſpirits, and an intenſe love ſo inflame and ſanctify our deſires, that we may apprehend every intimation of thy pleaſure at its firſt and remoteſt and moſt obſcure repreſentment, that ſo we may with repentance go out to meet thee, and prevent the expreſſes of thine anger. Let thy reſtraining grace and the obſervation of the iſſues of thy juſtice, ſo allay our ſpirits, that we be not ſevere and forward in condemning others, nor backward in paſſing ſentence upon our ſelves. Make us to obey thy voice deſcribed in holy Scripture, to tremble at thy voice expreſſed in wonders and great effects of Providence, to condemn none but our ſelves, nor to enter into the receſſes of thy ſanctuary, and ſearch the forbidden records of predeſtination; but that we may read our duty in the pages of revelation, not in the labels of accidental effects: That thy judgments may confirm thy word, and thy word teach us our duty, and we by ſuch excellent inſtruments may enter in and grow up in the ways of godlineſs, through Jeſus Chriſt our Lord. Amen.

SECT. XV.

Of the Accidents happening from the Death of Lazarus, *until the Death and Burial of* JESUS.

1. WHILE Jeſus was in Galilee, meſſengers came to him from Martha and her ſiſter Mary, that he would haſten into Judæa to Bethany, to relieve the ſickneſs and imminent dangers of their brother Lazarus. But he deferred his going till Lazarus was dead: purpoſing to give a great probation of his divinity, power, and miſſion, by a glorious miracle, and to give God glory, and to receive reflexions of the glory upon himſelf. For after he had ſtayed two days, he called his Diſciples *to go* with him *into Judæa*, telling them, that *Lazarus was dead*, but he would *raiſe him out of* that *ſleep* of death. But by that time Jeſus was arrived at Bethany, *he found that Lazarus had been dead four days*, and now near to putrefaction. But when Martha and Mary met him, weeping their pious tears for their dead brother, Jeſus ſuffered the paſſions of Pity and Humanity, and *wept*, diſtilling that precious liquor into the grave of Lazarus, watering the dead Plant, that it might ſpring into a new life, and raiſe his head above the ground.

2. WHEN Jeſus had by his words of comfort and inſtitution ſtrengthened the faith of the two mourning ſiſters, and commanded *the ſtone to be removed* from the grave, he made an addreſs of adoration and euchariſt to his Father, confeſſing his perpetual Propenſity to hear him, and then cried out, *Lazarus, come forth. And he that was dead came forth* from his bed of darkneſs with his night cloths on him, whom when the Apoſtles had *unlooſed* at the command of Jeſus, he went to Bethany. *And many* that were preſent *believed on him: But others* wondring and malicious, *went and told the Phariſees* the ſtory of the miracle; who upon that advice *called their* great *Council*, whoſe great and ſolemn cogniſance was of the greater cauſes of Prophets, of Kings, and of the holy Law. At this great aſſembly it was that Caiaphas, the High-prieſt, propheſied that it was *expedient one ſhould die for the people. And thence they determined the death of Jeſus.* But he, knowing they had paſſed a decretory ſentence againſt him, *retired to the City Ephraim* in the tribe of *Judah near the deſart*, where he ſtayed a few days, till the approximation of the feaſt of Eaſter.

3. AGAINST which feaſt when Jeſus with his Diſciples was going to Jeruſalem, he told them the event of the journey would be, that the *Jews ſhould deliver him to the Gentiles*, that they *ſhould ſcourge him, and mock him, and crucify him, and the third day he ſhould riſe again.* After which diſcourſe, the mother of Zebedee's children begg'd of Jeſus for her *two ſons*, that *one of them might ſit at his right hand, the other*

at the left, in his kingdom. For no diſcourſes of his Paſſion, or intimations of the myſteriouſneſs of his kingdom, could yet put them into right underſtandings of their condition. But Jeſus, whoſe heart and thoughts were full of fancy and apprehenſions of the neighbour paſſion, gave them anſwer in proportion to his preſent conceptions and their future condition. For if they deſired the honours of his kingdom, ſuch as they were, they ſhould have them, unleſs themſelves did decline them: They *ſhould drink of his cup*, and dip in his lavatory, and be *waſhed with his baptiſm*, and *ſit in his kingdom*, if the heavenly *Father had prepared it for* them: But the donation of that immediately was an iſſue of divine Election and Predeſtination, and was only competent to them who by holy living and patient ſuffering put themſelves into a diſpoſition of becoming veſſels of Election.

4. BUT as Jeſus in this journey *came near Jericho*, he cures *a blind man, who ſate begging by the way-ſide.* And *eſpying Zacchæus, the chief of the Publicans, upon a tree*, (that he, being *low in ſtature*, might upon that advantage of ſtation *ſee Jeſus* paſſing by,) he invited himſelf to his houſe; who *received him with gladneſs*, and repentance of his crimes, purging his conſcience, and filling his heart and houſe with joy and ſanctity; for, immediately upon the arrival of the Maſter at his houſe, he offered reſtitution to all perſons whom he had injured, and ſatisfaction, and *half* of his remanent eſtate he *gave to the poor*; and ſo gave the faireſt entertainment to Jeſus, who brought along with him *ſalvation to his houſe.* There it was that he ſpake the Parable of the King who concredited divers talents to his ſervants, and having at his return exacted an account, rewarded them who had improved their bank, and been faithful in their truſt, with rewards proportionable to their capacity and improvement: But the negligent ſervant, who had not meliorated his ſtock, was puniſhed with ablegation and confinement to outer darkneſs. And from hence ſprang up that dogmatical propoſition, which is myſterious and determined in Chriſtianity, *To him that hath ſhall be given*; *and from him that hath not ſhall be taken away even what he hath.* After this, going forth of Jericho, he cured two blind men upon the way.

5. *Six days before Eaſter Jeſus came to Bethany*, where he was feaſted by Martha and Mary, and accompanied by Lazarus, who *ſate at the table with Jeſus.* But *Mary brought a pound of Nard*[a] *piſtick*, and, as formerly ſhe had done, again *anoints the feet of Jeſus, and fills the houſe with the odour*, till God himſelf ſmelt thence a ſavour of a ſweet-ſmelling ſacrifice. But Judas Iſcariot, the thief and the traytor, repined at the vanity of the expence, as he pretended, becauſe it might have been *ſold for three hundred pence*, *and* have been *given to the poor.* But Jeſus in his reply taught us, that there is an opportunity for actions of religion as well as of charity. *Mary did this againſt the burial of Jeſus*, and her religion was accepted by him, to whoſe honours the holocauſt of love and the oblations of alms-deeds are in their proper ſeaſons direct actions of worſhip and duty. But at this meeting *there came many Jews to ſee Lazarus, who was raiſed from death, as well as to ſee Jeſus:* And *becauſe* by occaſion of his reſurrection *many of them believed on Jeſus*, therefore the Phariſees *deliberated about putting him to death.*[b] But God in his glorious Providence was pleaſed to preſerve him as a trumpet of his glories, and a teſtimony of the miracle, thirty years after the death of Jeſus.

6. *The next day*, being the fifth day before the paſſover, *Jeſus came to the foot of the mount of Olives*, and *ſent his Diſciples to Bethphage, a village in the neighbourhood, commanding them to unlooſe an aſs and a colt, and bring them to him, and to tell the owners it was done for the Maſter's uſe: and they did ſo.* And when they brought the aſs to Jeſus, he rides on him to Jeruſalem: *and the people*, having notice of his approach, [c] *took branches of Palm-trees, and went out to meet him, ſtrewing branches and garments in the way, crying out, Hoſanna to the Son of David.* Which was a form of exclamation uſed to the honour of God, and in great ſolemnities, and [d] ſignifies [adoration to the ſon of David by the right of carrying branches;] which when they uſed in proceſſion about their altars they uſed to pray, *Lord, ſave us, Lord proſper us:* which hath occaſioned the reddition of Hoſchiannah to be, amongſt ſome, that prayer which they repeated at the carrying of the Hoſchiannah, as if itſelf did ſignify, *Lord, ſave us.* But this honour was ſo great and unuſual to be done even unto kings, that the Phariſees,

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[a] Piſticam, id eſt ſpicatam, corrupte, uti ex Latinis fere ſolent Græci. *Vid.* Eraſm. *in* 14 *Marci.*

[b] Epiphan. *cont.* Manich.

[c] Ὑψηλᾶν ἀρετᾶν ϗ στεφάνων ἄωτον γλυκύν. Pindar. vocat palmarum ramos, Olymp. Altiſſimarum virtutum & coronarum florem ſuavem.

[d] Druſius *de vocib. Heb. N. T. c.* 19. Canin. *de locis N. T.*

knowing this to be an appropriate manner of addreſs to God, ſaid one to another by way of wonder, *hear ye what theſe men ſay?* For they were troubled to hear the people revere him as a God.

7. WHEN Jeſus from the mount of Olives *beheld Jeruſalem, he wept over it*, and foretold great ſadneſſes and infelicities futurely contingent to it: which not only happened in the ſequel of the ſtory according to the main iſſues and ſignifications of this prophecy, but even to minutes and circumſtances it was verified. For in the mount of Olives, where Jeſus ſhed tears over periſhing Jeruſalem, the [a] Romans firſt pitched their tents when they came to its final overthrow. From thence deſcending to the city he went into the temple, and ſtill the acclamations followed him; till the Phariſees were ready to burſt with the noiſes abroad, and the tumults of envy and ſcorn within, and by obſerving that all their endeavours to ſuppreſs his glories were but like claſping their hands to veil the Sun, and that in deſpite of all their ſtratagems, the whole nation was become Diſciple to the glorious Nazarene. And there he cured certain Perſons that were *blind and lame*.

8. BUT whilſt he abode at Jeruſalem, *certain Greeks, who came to the feaſt to worſhip*, made their addreſs to Philip, that they might be brought to Jeſus. *Philip tells Andrew, and they both tell Jeſus*; who, having admitted them, diſcourſed many things concerning his paſſion, and then prayed a petition, which is the end of his own ſufferings, and of all human actions, and the purpoſe of the whole creation, *Father, glorify thy name*. To which he was anſwered by *a voice from Heaven, I have both glorified it, and will glorify it again*. But this, nor the whole ſeries of miracles that he did, the mercies, the cures, nor the divine diſcourſes, could gain the faith of all the Jews, who were determined by their human intereſt; for *many of the Rulers who believed on him durſt not confeſs him, becauſe they loved the praiſe of men more than the praiſe of God*. Then Jeſus again exhorted all men "to believe on him, that ſo they might in the ſame act believe on God; that they might approach unto the light, and not abide in darkneſs; that they might obey the commandments of the father, whoſe expreſs charge it was, that Jeſus ſhould preach this goſpel; and that they might not be judged at the laſt day by the word which they have rejected, which word to all its obſervers is everlaſting life. After which ſermon retiring to Bethany, he abode there all night.

9. ON the morrow returning to Jeruſalem, on the way being hungry he paſſed by a fig-tree, where expecting fruit he found none, and curſed the fig-tree, which by the next day was dried up and withered. Upon occaſion of which preternatural event Jeſus diſcourſed of the power of faith, and its power to produce miracles. But upon this occaſion others, the Diſciples of Jeſus in after-ages, have pleaſed themſelves with fancies and imperfect deſcants; as that he curſed this tree in myſtery and ſecret intendment, it having been the tree in the eating whoſe fruit Adam, prevaricating the divine law, made an inlet to ſin, which brought in death, and the ſadneſſes of [b] Jeſus's paſſion. But Jeſus having entred the city came into the temple, and preached the Goſpel: and the chief Prieſts and Scribes queſtioned his commiſſion, and by what authority he did thoſe things. But Jeſus promiſing to anſwer them, if they would declare their opinions concerning John's Baptiſm, which they durſt not for fear of diſpleaſing the people, or throwing dirt in their own faces, was acquitted of his obligation, by their declining the propoſition.

10. BUT there he reproved the Phariſees and Rulers by the Parable of "two ſons; the firſt whereof ſaid to his father, he would not obey, but repented, and did his command; the ſecond gave good words, but did nothing: meaning, that perſons of the greateſt improbability were more heartily converted than they whoſe outſide ſeemed to have appropriated religion to the labels of their frontlets. He added a parable of the vineyard lett out to huſbandmen, who killed the ſervants ſent to demand the fruits, and at laſt the ſon himſelf, that they might invade the inheritance: But made a ſad commination to all ſuch who ſhould either ſtumble at this ſtone, or on whom this ſtone ſhould fall." After which, and ſome other reprehenſions, (which he ſo veiled in parable that it might not be expounded to be calumny or declamation, although ſuch ſharp ſermons had been ſpoken in the people's hearing; but yet ſo tranſparently, that themſelves might ſee their own iniquity in thoſe modeſt and juſt repreſentments,) the Phariſees would fain have ſeized him; but they durſt not for the people, but reſol-

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[a] *Joſeph.* de Bello Jud. l. 6. c. 3.

[b] Iſidor. ad Theo. pom. l. 1. ep. 51.

ved, if they could, *to entangle him in his talk*; and therefore *ſent out ſpies*, who ſhould pretend ſanctity and veneration of his perſon; who with a goodly inſinuating preface, that *Jeſus regarded no man's perſon, but ſpake the word of God* with much ſimplicity and juſtice, deſired to know if it were *lawful to pay tribute to Cæſar or not*. A queſtion which was of great diſpute, becauſe of the numerous ſect of the Galilæans, who denied it, and of the affections of the people, who loved their money, and their liberty, and the privileges of their nation. And now in all probability he ſhall fall under the diſpleaſure of the people, or of Cæſar. But Jeſus called to ſee a penny; and finding it to be ſuperſcribed with Cæſar's image, with incomparable wiſdom he brake their ſnare, and eſtabliſhed an evangelical propoſition for ever, ſaying, *Give to Cæſar the things that are Cæſar's, and to God the things that are God's.*

11. HAVING ſo excellently and ſo much to their wonder anſwered the Phariſees, the Sadducees bring their great objection to him againſt the reſurrection, by putting the caſe of a woman married to ſeven huſbands, and *whoſe wife ſhould ſhe be in the reſurrection?* thinking that to be an impoſſible ſtate, which ingages upon ſuch ſeeming incongruities, that a woman ſhould at once be wife to ſeven men. But Jeſus firſt anſwered their objection, telling them, that all thoſe relations whoſe foundation is in the imperfections and paſſions of fleſh and blood, and duties here below, ſhall ceaſe in that ſtate, which is ſo ſpiritual, that it is like to the condition of Angels, amongſt whom there is no difference of ſex, no cognations, no genealogies or derivation from one another: and then by a new argument proves the reſurrection, by one of God's appellatives, who did then delight to be called *the God of Abraham, Iſaac, and Jacob.* For ſince God *is not the God of the dead, but of the living*, unto him even theſe men are alive; and if ſo, then either they now exerciſe acts of life, and therefore ſhall be reſtored to their bodies, that their actions, may be compleat, and they not remain in a ſtate of imperfection to all eternity; or if they be alive, and yet ceaſe from operation, they ſhall be much rather raiſed up to a condition which ſhall actuate and make perfect their preſent capacities and indiſpoſitions, leſt power and inclination ſhould for ever be in the root, and never riſe up to fruit or herbage, and ſo be an eternal vanity, like an old bud, or an eternal child.

12. AFTER this, the Phariſees being well pleaſed, not that Jeſus ſpake ſo excellently, but that the Sadducees were confuted, came to him, aſking, *which was the great commandment*, and ſome other things more out of curioſity than pious deſires of ſatiſfaction. But at laſt Jeſus was pleaſed to aſk them concerning CHRIST, *whoſe Son he was.* They anſwered, *The Son of David.* But he replying, *How then doth David call him Lord?* [*The* LORD *ſaid unto my Lord, ſit thou on my right hand*, &c.] they had nothing to anſwer. But Jeſus then gave his Diſciples caution againſt the pride, the hypocriſy, and the oppreſſion of the Scribes and Phariſees; and commended the poor Widow's oblation of her *two mites into the treaſury*, it being a great love in a little print, for it was *all her living*. All this was ſpoken in the temple; the goodly ſtones of which when the Apoſtles beheld with wonder, they being white and firm, twenty cubits in length, twelve in breadth, eight in depth, as [a] Joſephus reports, Jeſus propheſies the deſtruction of the place. Concerning which prediction when the Apoſtles, being with him at the mount of Olives, aſked him privately, concerning the time and the ſigns of ſo ſad event, he diſcourſed largely of "his coming to judgment againſt "that city, and interweaved predictions of the univerſal judgment of all the world; "of which this, though very ſad, was but a ſmall adumbration: Adding precepts of "watchfulneſs, and ſtanding in preparation with hearts filled with grace, our lamps "always ſhining, that when the Bridegroom ſhall come, we may be ready to enter "in"; which was intended in the parable of the five wiſe virgins: And concluded his ſermon with a narrative of his paſſion, foretelling that within two days he ſhould be crucified.

13. *Jeſus* deſcended from the mount, and came to Bethany, and turning into the houſe of Simon the leper, Mary Magdalen, having been reproved by Judas for ſpending ointment upon Jeſus's feet, it being ſo unaccuſtomed and large a profuſion, thought now to ſpeak her love once more, and trouble no body; and therefore ſhe *poured ointment on his ſacred head*; believing that, being a pompouſneſs of a more accuſtomed feſtivity, would be indulged to the expreſſions of her affection. But now all the Diſciples murmured, wondring at the prodigiouſneſs of the woman's religion, great enough to conſume a province in the overflowings of her thankfulneſs and duty. But Jeſus now alſo

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[a] Lib. 14. Antiq. cap. 14.

Clark & Pine Sc.

And Jeſus *ſaid ſhew me the* Tribute Money, *and they brought unto* him *a* Penny. *St. Matth. Chap. 22d. Ver. 19th.*

BRITISH MUSEUM
5 AU 70

alſo entertained the ſincerity of her miraculous love; adding this Prophecy, that *where the Goſpel ſhould be preached, there* alſo a record of this act ſhall be kept, as a perpetual monument of her Piety, and an atteſtation of his Divinity, who could foretel future contingencies; Chriſtianity receiving the greateſt argument from that which St. Peter calls *the ſurer word of Prophecy*; meaning it to be greater than the teſtimony of miracles, not eaſy to be diſſembled by impure ſpirits, and whoſe efficacy ſhould deſcend to all ages: For this Prophecy ſhall for ever be fulfilling, and, being every day verified, does every day preach the divinity of Chriſt's Perſon, and of his inſtitution.

14. *Two days before the Paſſover*, the Scribes and Phariſees called a council, to contrive crafty ways of deſtroying Jeſus, they not daring to do it by open violence. Of which meeting when Judas Iſcariot had notice, (for thoſe aſſemblies were publick and notorious,) he ran from Bethany, and offered himſelf to betray his Maſter to them, if they would give him a conſiderable reward. *They agreed for thirty pieces of ſilver.* Of what value each piece was is uncertain; but their own nation hath given a rule, [a] that when a piece of ſilver is named in the Pentateuch, it ſignifies *a ſicle*; if it be named in the Prophets it ſignifies *a pound*; if in the other writings of the Old Teſtament, it ſignifies *a talent*. This therefore being alledged out of the Prophet [b] Jeremy by one of the Evangeliſts, it is probable the price at which Judas ſold his Lord was thirty pound weight of ſilver: *A goodly price* for the Saviour of the world to be prized at by his undiſcerning and unworthy countrymen.

15. THE next day was *the firſt day of unleavened bread*, on which it was neceſſary *they ſhould kill the Paſſover*: Therefore *Jeſus ſent Peter and John to the city to a certain man*, whom they ſhould find *carrying a pitcher of water* to his houſe; him they ſhould *follow*, and there *prepare the Paſſover*. They went and found the man in the ſame circumſtances, and prepared for Jeſus and his family, who at the even came to celebrate the Paſſover. It was at the houſe of [c] John ſurnamed Mark, which had always been open to this bleſſed family, where he was pleaſed to finiſh his laſt ſupper, and the myſteriouſneſs of the veſpers of his paſſion.

16. WHEN evening was come, Jeſus ſtood with his Diſciples, and ate the Paſchal Lamb: After which he *girt himſelf with a towel*, and taking *a baſon waſhed the feet of his Diſciples*; not only by the ceremony, but in his diſcourſes, inſtructing them in the doctrine of humility, which the Maſter by his ſo great condeſcenſion to his Diſciples had made ſacred, and imprinted the leſſon in laſting characters by making it ſymbolical. But Peter was unwilling to be waſhed by his Lord, until he was told, he muſt renounce his part in him unleſs he were waſhed: which option being given to Peter, he cried out, *Not my feet only, but my hands and my head.* But Jeſus ſaid the ablution of the feet was ſufficient for the purification of the whole man; relating to the cuſtom of thoſe countries who uſed to go to ſupper immediately from the baths, who therefore were ſufficiently clean ſave only on their feet, by reaſon of the duſt contracted in their paſſage from the baths to the dining-rooms; from which when by the hoſpitable maſter of the houſe they were cauſed to be cleanſed, they needed no more ablution. And by it Jeſus, paſſing from the letter to the ſpirit, meant, that the body of ſin was waſhed in the baths of baptiſm; and afterwards, if we remained in the ſame ſtate of purity, it was only neceſſary to purge away the filth contracted in our paſſage from the font to the altar; and then we are clean all over, when the baptiſmal ſtate is unaltered, and the little adherences of imperfection are paſſions alſo waſhed off.

17. BUT after the manducation of the Paſchal Lamb, it was the cuſtom of the nation to ſit down to a ſecond ſupper, in which they ate herbs and unleavened bread, the Major-domo firſt dipping his morſel, and then the family; after which the father brake bread into pieces, and diſtributed a part to every of the gueſts, and firſt drinking himſelf, gave to the reſt the chalice filled with wine, according to the age and dignity of the perſon, adding to each diſtribution a form of benediction proper to the myſtery, which was euchariſtical and commemorative of their deliverance from Egypt. This ſupper Jeſus being to celebrate, changed the forms of benediction, turned the ceremony into myſtery, and gave his body and blood in ſacrament and religious configuration; ſo inſtituting the venerable Sacrament, which from the time of its

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[a] Elias Levita Jud. in Tisbi. *Arius Montanus* in diction. Syro-Chaldaic.

[b] Mat xxvii. 9. ubi citatur Jeremias pro Zecharia, per errorem illapſum in Codices. Nam tempore S. *Auguſtini* in nonnullis Codicibus [*Zecharias*] legebatur; atque hodie in Syriac. T. Sed fortaſſis ex traditione hoc deſcendit a Jeremia dictum, ſicut multa alia in vet. teſtam. non deſcripta, & in N. T. repetita: quod eo magis eſt credibile, quia proverbialiter dictum apud Judæos, Spiritum Jeremiæ reſediſſe in Zech.

[c] *Alexand.* Mon. apud Metaphraſten die 11. Junii. Vide *Adrichom.* in deſcript. Jeruſ. n. 6.

inſtitution is called *the Lord's Supper*: Which rite Jeſus commanded the Apoſtles to perpetuate in commemoration of him their Lord until his ſecond coming. And this was the firſt delegation of a perpetual miniſtry which Jeſus made to his Apoſtles, in which they were to be ſucceeded to in all the generations of the church.

18. BUT Jeſus being *troubled in ſpirit*, told his Apoſtles, that *one of them ſhould betray him*. Which prediction he made, that they might not be ſcandalized at the ſadneſs of objection of the paſſion, but be confirmed in their belief, ſeeing ſo great demonſtration of his wiſdom and ſpirit of Prophecy. The Diſciples were all troubled at this ſad arreſt, *looking one on another, and doubting of whom he ſpake*; but they *beckoned to the beloved Diſciple, leaning on Jeſus's breaſt, that he might aſk*: for they who knew their own innocency and infirmity, were deſirous to ſatisfy their curioſity, and to be rid of their indetermination and their fear. But Jeſus being aſked gave them a ſign, and a ſop to Judas; commading him *to do what he liſt ſpeedily*: For Jeſus was extremely ſtraitned till he had drunk the chalice off, and accompliſhed his myſterious and afflictive Baptiſm. After *Judas received the ſop, the Devil entred into him*, and *Judas went forth immediately, it being now night.*

19. WHEN he was gone out, Jeſus began his farewel-ſermon, rarely mixt of ſadneſs
and joys, and ſtudded with myſteries as with emralds, diſcourſing of “ the glorifica-
“ tion of God in his Son, and of thoſe glories which the Father had prepared for him;
“ of his ſudden departure, and his migration to a place whither they could not come
“ yet, but afterwards they ſhould; meaning, firſt to death, and then to glory: com-
“ manding them to love one another; and foretelling to Peter, (who made confident
“ proteſts that he would die with his Maſter,) that *before the cock ſhould crow twice, he*
“ *ſhould deny him thrice.* But leſt he ſhould afflict them with too ſad repreſentments of
“ his preſent condition, he comforts them with the comforts of faith, with the intend-
“ ments of his departure *to prepare places* in Heaven *for them*, whither they might come
“ by him, who is *the way, the truth, and the life*; adding a promiſe in order to their
“ preſent ſupport and future felicities, that *if they ſhould aſk of God any thing in his name,*
“ *they ſhould receive it*; and upon condition they would love him, and keep his com-
“ mandments, he would pray for the Holy Ghoſt to come upon them, to ſupply his
“ room, to furniſh them with proportionable comforts, to enable them with great
“ gifts, *to lead them into all truth*, and to abide with them for ever. Then arming
“ them againſt future perſecutions, giving them divers holy precepts, diſcourſing of his
“ emanation from the Father, and of the neceſſity of his departure, he gave them his
“ bleſſing, and prayed for them: and then, *having ſung an hymn*, which was part of
“ the great Allelujah beginning at the 114 pſalm, [*When Iſrael came out of Egypt*,] and
“ ending at the 118. incluſively, *he went forth with his Diſciples over the brook Cedron,*
“ *unto the mount of Olives, to a village called Gethſemane, where there was a garden, into*
“ *which he entred to pray together with his Diſciples.*

20. *But taking Peter, James and John apart with him about a ſtone's caſt* from the reſt, *he began to be exceeding ſorrowful* and ſad *even unto death*. For now he ſaw the ingredients of his bitter draught pouring into the chalice, and the ſight was full of horrour and amazement: *He therefore fell on his face, and prayed, O my Father, if it be poſſible, let this cup paſs from me.* In this prayer he fell into ſo ſad an agony, that the pains inflicted by his Father's wrath, and made active by his own apprehenſion, were ſo great, that a *ſweat* diſtilled from his ſacred body as great and conglobated [a] *as drops of blood*: And God who heard his prayer, but would not anſwer him in kind, ſent *an Angel to comfort him* in the ſadneſs, which he was pleaſed not to take away. But knowing that the drinking this cup was the great *end of his coming into the world*, he laid aſide all his own intereſts, and diveſted himſelf of the affectious of fleſh and blood, *willing his Father's will*; and becauſe his Father commanded, he, in defiance of ſenſe and paſſion, was deſirous to ſuffer all our pains. But as when two ſeas meet, the billows conteſt in ungentle embraces, and make violent noiſes, till, having wearied themſelves into ſmaller waves and diſunited drops, they run quietly into one ſtream: So did the ſpirit and nature of Jeſus aſſault each other with diſagreeing intereſts and diſtinguiſhing diſputations, till the earneſtneſs of the contention was diminiſhed by the demonſtrations of the ſpirit, and the prevailings of grace; which the ſooner got the victory, becauſe they were not to conteſt with an unſanctified or rebellious nature, but a body of affections which had no ſtrong deſires, but of its own preſervation. And there-

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[a] Quidam ex *Hegeſippo* notant, ex irroratione ſanguinis Chriſti natam arborem. Sic *Philippus Boſquius* & alii. Sed hæ ſunt meræ nugæ,

fore *Jeſus went thrice*, and prayed the ſame prayer, that, *if it were poſſible, the cup might paſs from him*; and thrice made an act of reſignation; and in the intervals *came and found his Apoſtles aſleep*, gently chiding their incurioſneſs, and warning them to *watch and pray, that they enter not into temptation:* Till the time that the traitor *came with a multitude armed with ſwords aud ſtaves from the prieſts and elders of the people* to apprehend him.

21. JUDAS gave them the opportunity of *the night*, that was all the advantage they had by him; becauſe they durſt not ſeize him by day for fear of the people: And he ſignified the perſon of his Maſter to the ſoldiers by a *kiſs*, and an addreſs of ſeeming civility. But when they came towards him, *Jeſus ſaid, Whom ſeek ye? They ſaid, Jeſus of Nazareth. He ſaid, I am he.* But there was a Divinity upon him, that they could not ſeize him at firſt. But as a wave climbing of a rock is beaten back and ſcattered into members, till falling down it creeps with gentle waſtings, and kiſſes the feet of the ſtony mountain, and ſo encircles it: So the ſoldiers, coming at firſt with a rude attempt, were twice repelled by the glory of his Perſon, till they falling at his feet were at laſt admitted to the ſeizure of his body; having by thoſe involuntary proſtrations confeſſed his power greater than theirs, and that the luſtre and influence of a GOD are greater than the violences and rudeneſſes of ſoldiers. And ſtill they, like weak eyes, durſt not behold the glory of this Sun, till a cloud, like a dark veil, did interrupt the emiſſions of his glories; they could not ſeize upon him, till they had thrown a veil upon his holy face. Which although it was a cuſtom of the Eaſterlings, and of the [a] Roman Empire generally; yet in this caſe was violence and neceſſity, becauſe a certain impetuoſity and vigorouſneſs of ſpirit and divinity iſſuing from his holy face, made them to take ſanctuary in darkneſs, and to throw a veil over him in that dead time of a ſad and diſmal night. But Peter, a ſtout [b] Galilæan, bold and zealous, attempted a reſcue, and *ſmote a ſervant of the High-prieſt, and cut off his ear.* But Jeſus rebuked the intemperance of his paſſion, and commanded him to *put up his ſword*, ſaying, *all they that ſtrike with the ſword ſhall periſh with the ſword:* So putting a bridle upon the illegal inflictions and expreſſes of anger or revenge from an incompetent authority. But *Jeſus touched Malchus's ear, and cured it.*

22. WHEN Jeſus had yielded himſelf into their power, and was now *led away by the Chief-prieſts, Captains of the Temple, Elders* of the *people*, and *ſoldiers*, who all came in combination and covenant to ſurprize him, *his Diſciples fled*; and John the Evangeliſt, who with grief and an over-running fancy had forgot to lay aſide his upper garment, which in feſtivals they were uſed to put on, began to make eſcape; but being arreſted by his linnen upon his bare body, he was forced to leave that behind him, that himſelf might eſcape his Maſter's danger; for now was verified the prophetical ſaying, *I will ſmite the Shepherd, and the ſheep ſhall be ſcattered; but Peter followed afar off*; and the greatneſs of John's love, when he had maſtered the firſt inconſiderations of his fear, made him to return a while after into the High-Prieſt's hall.

23. JESUS was *firſt led to Annas*, who was the Prince of the Sanhedrim, and had cognizance of Prophets and publick Doctrines; who therefore *enquired of Jeſus concerning his Diſciples and his diſcipline.* But he anſwered, that his Doctrine had been publick or popular; that he never taught in conventicles; and therefore referred him to the teſtimony of all the people. For which free anſwer, *a ſervant ſtanding by ſmote him on the face*; and Jeſus meekly asked him what evil he had done? But Annas without the ſeventy aſſeſſors could judge nothing, and therefore *ſent him bound to Caiaphas, who was High-prieſt that year*, Preſident of the rites of the temple; as the other High-prieſt was of the great Council. Thither Peter came, and had admiſſion by the means of *another Diſciple*, ſuppoſed to be John, who having ſold his poſſeſſion in Galilee to Caiaphas, came and dwelt near mount Sion; but was by intervention of that bargain made *known to the High-prieſt*, and *brought Peter into the houſe.* Where when Peter was challenged three times by the ſervants to be a Galilæan, and of Jeſus's family, he *denied* and *forſwore* it; till Jeſus, *looking back*, reminded him of his prediction, and the foulneſs of the crime; *and the cock crew*, for it was now the ſecond cock-crowing after ten of the clock in the fourth watch. *And Peter went out, and wept bitterly*, that he might cleanſe his ſoul, waſhing off the foul ſtains he had contracted in his ſhameful perjury and denying of his Lord. And it is reported of the ſame holy perſon, that ever after,

when

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[a] *Hieron.* in c. 9. Mat.

[b] I, Lictor, ob nube capit liberator urbis hujus. *Livi.*

[c] Ὅτι θρασὺς φύσει Σίμων. Nonn.

when he heard the cock crow, he wept, remembring the old inſtrument of his [a] converſion, and his own unworthineſs, for which he never ceaſed to do actions of ſorrow and ſharp repentance.

24. ON the morning the council was to aſſemble; and whilſt Jeſus was detained in expectation of it, the ſervants mocked him, and did all actions of affront and ignoble deſpite to his ſacred head; and becauſe the queſtion was whether he were a prophet, *they covered his eyes, and ſmote him* in deriſion, calling on him to *prophecy who ſmote him. But in the morning, when the High-prieſts and Rulers of the people were aſſembled, they ſought falſe witneſs againſt Jeſus; but found none* to purpoſe: they railed boldly, and could prove nothing; they accuſed vehemently, and the allegations were of ſuch things as were no crimes; and the greateſt article which the united diligence of all their malice could pretend, was, that *he ſaid he would deſtroy the Temple, and in three days build it up again.* But *Jeſus neither anſwered* this nor any other of their vainer allegations; for the witneſſes deſtroyed each others teſtimony by their diſagreeing; till at laſt Caiaphas, who, to verify his prophecy, and to ſatisfie his ambition, and to bait his envy, was furiouſly determined Jeſus ſhould die, *adjures him by the living God to ſay whether he were the* CHRIST, *the ſon of the living God.* Jeſus knew his deſign to be an inquiſition of death, not of piety or curioſity; yet, becauſe his hour was now come, he openly affirmed it, without any expedient to elude the High prieſt's malice, or to decline the queſtion.

25. WHEN Caiaphas heard the ſaying, he accuſed Jeſus of blaſphemy, and pretended an apprehenſion ſo tragical, that he overacted his wonder and feigned deteſtation; for he rent his garments, (which was the interjection of the country, and cuſtom of the nation, but forbidden to the High-prieſt,) and called preſently to ſentence. And, as it was agreed before hand, *they all condemned him as guilty of death,* and as far as they had power, inflicted it: for they *beat him with their fiſts, ſmote him with the palms of their hands, ſpit upon him,* and abuſed him beyond the licence of enraged tyrants. When Judas heard that they had paſſed the final and decretory ſentence of death upon his Lord, he, who thought not it would have gone ſo far, repented him to have been an inſtrument of ſo damnable a machination, and came and *brought the ſilver* which they gave him for hire, *threw it in amongſt them, and ſaid, I have ſinned in betraying the innocent blood.* But they, incurious of thoſe Hell-torments Judas felt within him, becauſe their own fires burned not yet, diſmiſſed him, and upon conſultation bought with the money *a field to bury ſtrangers in.* And *Judas went and hanged himſelf:* and the judgment was made more notorious, and eminent by an unuſual accident at ſuch deaths; for he ſo ſwelled, that *he burſt, and his bowels guſhed out.* But the Greek ſcholiaſt and ſome [b] others report out of Papias, St. John's ſcholar, that Judas fell from the fig-tree on which he hanged, before he was quite dead, and ſurvived his attempt ſome while, being ſo ſad a ſpectacle of deformity and pain, and a prodigious tumour, that his plague was deplorable, and highly miſerable; till at laſt he burſt in the very ſubſtance of his trunk, as being extended beyond the poſſibilities and capacities of nature.

26. BUT the High-prieſt had given Jeſus over to the ſecular power, and carried him to Pilate, to be put to death by his ſentence and military power. But coming thither, they *would not enter into the judgment-hall,* becauſe of the feaſt; but Pilate met them, and, willing to decline the buſineſs, bid them *judge him according to their own law.* They replied, [c] *it was not lawful for them to put any man to death*; meaning, during the ſeven days of unleavened Bread: (as appears in the inſtance of Herod, who detained Peter in priſon, intending after Eaſter to bring him out to the People.) And their malice was reſtleſs, till the ſentence they had paſſed were put in execution. Others think that all the right of inflicting capital puniſhments was taken from the Nation by the Romans. And [d] Joſephus writes, that when Ananias their High-prieſt had by a council of the Jews condemned St. James the brother of our Lord, and put him to death, without the conſent of the Roman Preſident, he was deprived of his prieſthood. But becauſe Pilate (who either by common right, or at that time, was the judge of capital inflictions) was averſe from intermeddling in the condemnation of an innocent perſon, they attempted him with excellent craft: For knowing that Pilate was a great ſervant of the Roman greatneſs, and a hater of the ſect of the Galilæans, the High-prieſt accuſed Jeſus, that he was of that ſect, that he *denied paying tribute to Cæſar,* that he *called himſelf*

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[a] Arſenius in vitis *Pp.*

[b] Euthem. in xxvi. Matt. Cedren. in compend. Oecumen. in c. 1. Act. Juvencus hiſt. Evangel. l. 4. Beda de locis ſanct. c. 4.

[c] S. Aug. tract. 114. in Joan. Cyril. in Joan. Ambroſ. ſerm. de calend. Januar. Chryſ. in Joan. hom. l. 80.

[d] Antiq. c. 8.

himſelf King. Concerning which when Pilate interrogated Jeſus, he anſwered, that *his Kingdom was not of this world.* And Pilate, thinking he had nothing to do with the other, came forth again, and gave teſtimony, that *he found nothing worthy of death in Jeſus*. But hearing that he was a Galilæan, and of *Herod's juriſdiction*, *Pilate ſent him to Herod, who was at Jeruſalem* at the feaſt. *And Herod was glad, becauſe he had heard much of him*, and ſince his return from *Rome had deſired to ſee him*, but could not, by reaſon of his own avocations, and the ambulatory life of Chriſt; *and now he hoped to ſee a miracle done by him*, of whom he had heard ſo many. But the event of this was, that Jeſus did there no miracle; *Herod's ſoldiers ſet him at nought, and mocked him.* [a]*And that day Herod was reconciled to Pilate.* And *Jeſus was ſent back arrayed in* a white and ſplendid garment: which though poſſibly it might be intended for deriſion, yet was a ſymbol of innocence, condemned perſons uſually being arrayed in blacks. And when Pilate had again examined him, *Jeſus, meek as a lamb, and as a ſheep before the ſhearers, opened not his mouth: inſomuch that Pilate wondred*, perceiving the greateſt innocence of the man, by not offering to excuſe or leſſen any thing. For though *Pilate had power to releaſe him, or crucify him*; yet his contempt of death was in juſt proportion to his innocence: which alſo Pilate concealed not, but publiſhed Jeſus's innocence by Herod's and his own ſentence; to the great regret of the Rulers, who, like ravening wolves, thirſted for a draught of blood, and to devour the morning prey.

27. BUT Pilate hoped to prevail upon the Rulers, by making it a favour from them to Jeſus, and an indulgence from him to the Nation, to ſet him free. For oftentimes even malice itſelf is driven out by the Devil of ſelf-love, and ſo we may be acknowledged the authors of a ſafety, we are content to reſcue a man even from our own ſelves. Pilate therefore offered that, according to the cuſtom of the nation, Jeſus ſhould be releaſed for the honour of the preſent feſtival, and as a donative to the People. But the ſpirit of malice was here the more prevalent, and they deſired that Barabbas, *a murtherer, a thief, and a ſeditious perſon*, ſhould be exchanged for him. Then Pilate caſting about all ways to acquit Jeſus of puniſhment, and himſelf of guilt, offered to *ſcourge him and let him go*; hoping that a leſſer draught of blood might ſtop the furies and rabidneſs of their paſſion, without their burſting with a river of his beſt and vital liquor. But theſe leeches would not ſo let go; *they cry out, crucify him:* and to engage him finally, they told him, *if he did let this man go, he was no friend to Cæſar.*

28. BUT Pilate called for *water, and waſhed his hands*, to demonſtrate his own unwillingneſs, and to reject and tranſmit the guilt upon them; who took it on them as greedily as they ſucked the blood: *they cried out, His blood be on us and our children.* As Pilate was going to give ſentence, his Wife, being *troubled in her dreams*, ſent, with the earneſtneſs and paſſion of a woman, that he ſhould *have nothing to do with that juſt perſon.* But he was engaged: Cæſar and Jeſus, God and the King, did ſeem to have different intereſts; or at leaſt he was threatned into that opinion; and Pilate, though he was ſatisfied it was but calumny and malice, yet he was loth to venture upon his anſwer at Rome, in caſe the High-prieſt ſhould have accuſed him. For no man knows whether the intereſt or the miſtake of his judge may caſt the Sentence; and whoever is accuſed ſtrongly, is never thought entirely innocent. And therefore, not only againſt the divine Laws, but againſt the Roman too, he condemned an innocent perſon upon objections notoriouſly malicious: He adjudged him to a death which was only due to publick thieves and homicides, (crimes with which he was not charged,) upon a pretence of blaſphemy, of which he ſtood accuſed, but not convicted, and for which by the Jewiſh law he ſhould have been ſtoned, if found guilty. And this he did put into preſent execution, againſt the [b] Tiberian Law, which about twelve years before decreed in favour of condemned perſons, that after ſentence execution ſhould be deferred ten days.

29. AND now was the Holy Lamb to bleed. Firſt therefore, Pilate's ſoldiers *array him in a* kingly *robe, put a reed in his hand* for a ſcepter, *plait a crown of thorns and put it on his head; they bow the knee, and mock him; they ſmite him* with his phantaſtick ſcepter, and inſtead of tribute, pay him with *blows* and *ſpitting upon his holy head.* And when they had emptied the whole ſtock of poiſonous contempt, *they diveſt him of the robes* of mockery, *and put him on his own:* they lead him to a pillar, and bind him

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[a] Joſeph. l. 16. c. 14. Idem in vita ſua.

[b] Sueton. in Tiberio, c. 75. Dio Rom. Hiſt. l. 57. Sub Tiberio & Druſo Coſſ. Corruptus autem eſt codex Epiſt. Sidonii, qui ait, Nunc, ex vetere S. C. Tiberiano, triginta dierum vitam poſt ſententiam trahit.

faſt, and *ſcourge him* with whips, a [a] puniſhment that ſlaves only did uſe to ſuffer (free perſons being in certain caſes beaten with rods and clubs;) that they might add a new ſcorn to his afflictions, and make his ſorrows like their own guilt, vaſt and mountainous. After which, Barabbas being ſet free, *Pilate delivered Jeſus to be crucified.*

30. THE ſoldiers therefore having framed a Croſs ſad and heavy, laid it upon Jeſus's ſhoulders, (who, like Iſaac, bore the wood with which he was to be ſacrificed himſelf;) and they drove him out to crucifixion, who was ſcarce able to ſtand under that load. It is generally ſuppoſed that Jeſus bore the whole [b] tree, that is, both the parts of his croſs; but to him that conſiders it, it will ſeem impoſſible: and therefore it is more likely, and agreeable to the old manner of crucifying Malefactors, that Jeſus only carried the croſs-part; the body of it being upon the place either already fixed, or prepared for its ſtation. Even that leſſer part was grievous and intolerable to his tender, virginal, and weakned body; and when he fainted, *they compel Simon a Cyrenian* to help him. *A great* and a mixt *multitude followed Jeſus to Golgotha*, the charnel-houſe of the city, and the place of execution. But the *women wept* with bitter exclamations; and their ſadneſs was increaſed by the ſad predictions Jeſus then made of their future miſery, ſaying, *Ye daughters of Jeruſalem, weep not for me, but weep for yourſelves and for your children. For the time ſhall come that men ſhall ſay, Bleſſed are the barren that never bare, and the paps that never gave ſuck.* For *they ſhall call on the hills to cover them, and on the mountains to fall upon them*; that by a ſudden ruin they may eſcape the lingring calamities of famine and fear, and the horror of a thouſand deaths.

31. *When Jeſus was come to* [c] *Golgotha*, a place in the mount of Calvary, (where, according to the tradition of the [d] Ancients, Adam was buried, and where [e] Abraham made an altar for the ſacrifice of his ſon,) by the piety of his diſciples, and, it is probable, of thoſe good women which did uſe to miniſter to him, there was provided *wine mingled with myrrh*; which among the Levantines is an [f] excellent and pleaſant mixture, and ſuch as the piety and indulgence of the nations uſed to adminiſter to condemned perſons. But Jeſus, who by voluntary ſuſception did chuſe to ſuffer our pains, refuſed that refreſhment which the piety of the women preſented to him. The ſoldiers, having ſtripped him, nail'd him to the croſs with [g] four nails, and *divided his mantle into four parts*, giving *to each ſoldier a part*; but for *his coat*, becauſe it would be ſpoiled if parted, *it being* weaved without *ſeam, they caſt lots for it.*

32. Now Pilate had cauſed a *title*, containing the cauſe of his death, to be *ſuperſcribed* on a table in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew; the Hebrew being firſt, the Greek next, and the Latin neareſt to the holy body; but all written after the Jewiſh manner, from the right hand to the left; for ſo the title is ſhewn in the church of *Santa Croce* in Rome, the Latin Letters being to be read as if it were Hebrew: The reaſon of which I could never find ſufficiently diſcovered, unleſs it were to make it more legible to the Jews, who by converſing with the Romans began to underſtand a little Latin. The title was, JESUS OF NAZARETH, KING OF THE JEWS. But the Phariſees would have it altered, and, *that he ſaid he was King of the Jews.* But [h] Pilate out of wilfulneſs, or to do deſpite to the nation, or in honour to Jeſus, whom he knew to be a *juſt Perſon*, or being over-ruled by divine Providence, refuſed to alter it. *And there were crucified with Jeſus two thieves, Jeſus* being *in the midſt*, according to the Prophecy, *He was reckoned with the tranſgreſſors.* Then Jeſus prayed for his perſecutors: *Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do.* But while Jeſus was full of pain and charity, and was praying and dying for his enemies, *the rulers* of the *Jews mocked him*, upbraiding him with the good works he did, and the expreſſes of his power, *ſaying, He ſaved others, himſelf he cannot ſave*; others ſaying, *Let him come down*

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[a] Lib. In ſervorum D. de pœnis. Lib. Levia, D. de accuſ.

[b] Lignum tranſverſum ſolum portavit Jeſus, ſcil. Patibulum, ad locum ubi Crux, ſcil. lignum oblongum, terra defixum ſtetit. Sic Plautus, Patibulum ferant per urbem, & cruci affigantur. Male ergo pictores hodierni pingunt Jeſum, bajulantem utrumque lignum ſcil. *Lipſius* Tract. de ſupplicio crucis.

[c] *Εἰσόκε χῶρον ἵκανε φατιζομένοιο Κρανίου,*
Ἀδὰμ πρωτογόνοιο φερώνυμον ἀντιτύπῳ κόρσης.
Nonnus in Joan.

Golgotha locus eſt capitis, Calvaria quondam,
Lingua paterna prior ſic illum nomine dixit.
Hic hominem primum ſuſcepimus eſſe ſepultum:
Hic medium terræ eſt ———

[d] Tertul. l. 2. contra Marcion. Origen. Tract. 35. in Matt. Baſil. in Levit. c. 5. Athan. de Paſſ. & cruce, & fere omnes Pp. unico excepto Hieronymo, in Epiſt. ad Epheſ. c. 5. & in c. 27. Matth.

[e] S. Aug. Serm. 7. de tempore.

[f] Plin. nat. hiſt. l. 14. c. 13. Athenæus, l. 11. c. 30.
Si calidum potas, ardenti myrrha Falerno
Convenit, & melior fit ſapor inde mero.
Martial. l. 14.

[g] Ego dabo ei talentum, primus qui in crucem excurrerit: Sed ea lege, ut affigantur bis pedes, bis brachia.
Plaut. Moſtel.

[h] Proconſulis tabella ſententia eſt, quæ ſemel lecta, neque augeri litera una, neque minui poteſt; ſed utcunque recitata, ita Provinciæ inſtrumento refertur.
Apul. 1. l. Florid.

down from the croſs, if he be the king of the Jews, and we will believe in him: And others, according as their malice was determined by fancy and occaſion, added weight and ſcorn to his pains; and of the two malefactors that were crucified with him, *one reviled him, ſaying, If thou be the Chriſt, ſave thy ſelf and us.* And thus far the Devil prevailed, undoing himſelf in riddle, provoking men to do deſpite to Chriſt, and to heighten his paſſion out of hatred to him; and yet doing and promoting that which was the ruin of all his own kingdom and potent miſchiefs: Like the [a] Jew, who in indignation againſt Mercury threw ſtones at his image, and yet was by his ſuperior judged idolatrous, that being the manner of doing honour to the idol among the Gentiles. But then Chriſt, who had upon the croſs prayed for his enemies, and was heard of God in all that he deſired, felt now the beginnings of ſucceſs. For the other thief, whom the preſent pains and circumſtances of Jeſus's paſſion had ſoftened and made believing, *reproved* his fellow for *not fearing God*; confeſſed that this death happened *to them deſervedly*, but *to Jeſus cauſeleſly*; and then prayed to *Jeſus, Lord, remember me when thou comeſt into thy kingdom.* Which combination of pious acts and miraculous converſion Jeſus entertained with a ſpeedy promiſe of a very great felicity, promiſing that upon *that very day he ſhould be with him in Paradiſe.*

33. *Now there were ſtanding by the croſs the mother of Jeſus and her ſiſter, and Mary Magdalen, and John.* And Jeſus being upon his Death-bed, although he had no temporal eſtate to beſtow, yet he would make proviſion for his mother, who, being a widow, and now childleſs, was likely to be expoſed to neceſſity and want; and therefore he did arrogate John the beloved Diſciple into Mary's kindred, making him to be her adopted ſon, and her to be his mother, by fiction of law: *Woman, behold thy ſon*; and *Man, behold thy mother. And from that time forward John took her home to his own houſe*, which he had near mount Sion, after he had ſold his inheritance in Galilee to the High-prieſt.

34. WHILE theſe things were doing, the whole frame of nature ſeemed to be diſſolved and out of order, while their LORD and Creator ſuffered. For *the Sun was* [b] *ſo darkned*, that the Stars appeared; and the eclipſe was prodigious in the manner as well as in degree, becauſe the moon was not then in conjunction, but full: and it was noted by Phlegon, the freed man of the emperor Hadrian, by Lucian out of the acts of the Gauls, and Dionyſius while he was yet a heathen, excellent ſcholars all, great hiſtorians and philoſophers; who alſo noted the day of the week and hour of the day, agreeing with the circumſtances of the croſs. For the Sun hid his head from beholding ſuch a prodigy of ſin and ſadneſs, and provided a veil for the nakedneſs of *Jeſus*; that the women might be preſent, and himſelf die, with modeſty.

35. THE eclipſe and the paſſion began *at the ſixth hour*, and endured *till the ninth*; about which time Jeſus, being tormented with the unſufferable load of his Father's wrath due for our ſins, and wearied with pains and heavineſs, *cried out, My God, my God, why haſt thou forſaken me?* And, as it is thought, repeated the whole Two and twentieth Pſalm, which is an admirable narrative of the paſſion, full of prayer and ſadneſs, and deſcription of his pains at firſt, and of euchariſt and joy and prophecy at the laſt. But theſe firſt words, which it is certain and recorded that he ſpake, were in a language of it ſelf, or elſe by reaſon of diſtance, not underſtood; for they thought he had *called for Elias* to take him down from the croſs. Then *Jeſus*, being in the agonies of a high fever, *ſaid, I thirſt. And one ran, and filled a ſponge with vinegar, wrapping it with hyſſop, and put it on a reed*, that he might *drink*. The *vinegar* and the *ſponge* [c] were in executions of condemned perſons ſet to ſtop the too violent iſſues of blood, and to prolong the death: But were exhibited to him in ſcorn; *mingled with gall*, to make the mixture more horrid and ungentle. But *Jeſus taſted it* only, and *refuſed the draught*. And now knowing that the prophecies were fulfilled, his Father's Wrath appeaſed, and his torments ſatisfactory, he ſaid, *It is finiſhed: and crying with a loud voice, Father, into thy hands I commend my ſpirit, he bowed his head. and yielded up his ſpirit* into the hands of God, and died, haſtning to his Father's glories. Thus did this glorious Sun ſet in a ſad and clouded Weſt, running ſpeedily to ſhine in the other World.

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[a] R. Manaſſes. Vid. Dionyſ. Voſſium in annot. ad Rab. R. Maimon.

[b] Origen. cont. Celſ. l. 2. Tertul. apolog. Lucian. in actis ſui mart. Auguſt. ep. 80. ad Heſychium. Suidas in vita Dionyſ. ait eum dixiſſe, Aut Deus patitur, aut patienti compatitur: & hac de cauſa Athenienſes erexiſſe aram ἀγνώστῳ Θεῷ, aiunt quidam.

[c] Plin. nat. hiſt. l. 31. c. 11. Veteres ſpongiæ conglutinant vulnera. Tertul. de Spect. c. 25. Poterit et de miſericordia moveri defixus in morſus uncorum, & ſpongias retiariorum.

36. THEN *was the veil of the temple*, which ſeparated the ſecret *Moſaick* rites from the eyes of the people, *rent in the midſt from the top to the bottom*; and the Angels, Preſidents of the temple, called to each other to depart from their ſeats; and ſo great [a] *an earthquake* happened, that *the rocks did rend*, the mountains trembled, *the graves opened, and the bodies of dead perſons aroſe*, *walking* from their cœmeteries *to the holy city, and appeared unto many.* And ſo great apprehenſions and amazements happened to them all that ſtood by, that they *departed*, *ſmiting their breaſts*, *with* ſorrow and *fear*. And [b] *the Centurion* that miniſtred at the execution, *ſaid*, *Certainly this was the Son of God*; and he became a Diſciple, renouncing his military employment, and died a martyr.

37. BUT becauſe the next day was the *Jews Sabbath* [c], and a paſchal feſtival beſides, the *Jews* haſtened, that the bodies ſhould be taken from the croſs; and therefore ſent to Pilate to haſten their death by *breaking their legs*, that [d] before ſun-ſet *they might be taken away*, according to the commandment, and *be buried*. *The ſoldiers* therefore *came, and brake the legs of the two thieves*; *but eſpying* and wondring *that Jeſus was already dead, they brake not his legs*; for *the ſcripture foretold*, *that a bone of him ſhould not be broken*. *But a ſoldier with his lance pierced his ſide, and immediately there ſtreamed out* two rivulets of *water and blood*. But the holy virgin-mother, (whoſe *ſoul* during this whole paſſion *was pierced with a ſword* and ſharper ſorrows, though ſhe was ſupported by the comforts of faith, and thoſe holy predictions of his reſurrection and future glories, which Mary had laid up in ſtore againſt this great day of expence) now that ſhe ſaw her holy Son had ſuffered all that our neceſſities and their malice could require or inflict, cauſed certain miniſters, with whom ſhe joyned, to take her dead Son from the croſs; whoſe body when once ſhe got free from the nails, ſhe kiſſed and embraced with entertainments of the neareſt vicinity that could be expreſſed by a perſon that was holy and ſad, and a mother weeping for her dead ſon.

38. BUT ſhe was highly ſatisfied with her own meditations, that now that great myſtery determined by divine predeſtination before the beginning of all ages was fulfilled in her Son; and the paſſion, that muſt needs be, was accompliſhed. She [e] therefore firſt bathes his cold body with her warm tears, and makes clean the ſurface of the wounds, and delivering a Winding-napkin to Joſeph of Arimathea, gave to him in charge to enwrap the body and embalm it, to compoſe it to the grave, and to do it all the rites of funeral; having firſt exhorted him to a publick confeſſion of what he was privately till now. And he obeyed the counſel of ſo excellent a perſon, and ventured upon the diſpleaſure of the *Jewiſh* Rulers, and *went confidently to Pilate, and begged the body of Jeſus*. And *Pilate gave him* the power of *it*.

39. JOSEPH *therefore takes the body, binds his face with a napkin*, waſhes the body, anoints it with ointment, enwraps it in a compoſition of *myrrh and aloes*, and *puts it into a new tomb which he for himſelf had hewn out of a rock*: (it not being lawful among the *Jews* to interr a condemned perſon in the common cœmeteries:) for all theſe circumſtances were in *the Jews manner of burying*. But when the Sun was ſet, *the Chief Prieſts and Phariſees went to Pilate*, *telling him that Jeſus, whilſt he was living, foretold his own reſurrection upon the third day*; and *leſt his Diſciples ſhould come and ſteal the body, and ſay he was riſen from the dead*, deſired *that the ſepulchre might be ſecured* againſt the danger of any ſuch impoſture. Pilate gave them leave to do their pleaſure, even to the ſatisfaction of their ſmalleſt ſcruples. They therefore *ſealed the* [f] *grave*, *rolled a great ſtone to the mouth of it*, and, as an ancient tradition ſays, bound it about with labels of iron, and *ſet a watch* of ſoldiers, as if they had intended to have made it ſurer than the decrees of fate, or the never-failing laws of Nature.

SECT. XVI.

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[a] S. Hieron. ep. 150. q. 8.

[b] Apud Metaph. die 16. Octob.

[c] In hac ipſa genuum commiſſura quædam buccarum inanitas eſt, qua perfoſſa ceu jugulo, ſpiritus aufugit. *Plin.* l. 11. c. 45. Vide *Lactant.* l. 1. c. 26. *Cic.* pro Roſc.

[d] Philo de leg. ſpecial. Deut. 21.

[e] Metaphr. Auguſt. 15.

[f] Beda de locis ſanctis, cap. 2. Niceph. l. 1. c. 32.

SECT. XV.

Conſiderations of ſome preparatory Accidents before the Entrance of Jesus *into his Paſſion.*

1. He that hath obſerved the ſtory of the life of Jeſus, cannot but ſee it all the way to be ſtrewed with thorns and ſharp-pointed ſtones; and although by the kiſſes of his feet they became precious and ſalutary, yet they procured to him ſorrow and diſeaſe. *It was meat and drink to him to do his Father's will*; but it was *bread of affliction*, and *rivers of tears to drink*: and for theſe he thirſted like the earth after the cool ſtream. For ſo great was his perfection, ſo exact the conformity of his will, ſo abſolute the ſubordination of his inferior faculties to the infinite love of God, which ſate regent in the court of his will and underſtanding, that in this election of accidents he never conſidered the taſte, but the goodneſs; never diſtinguiſhed ſweet from bitter, but duty and piety always prepared his table. And therefore now knowing that his time determined by the Father was nigh, he haſtened up to Jeruſalem. *He went before* his Diſciples, ſaith St. Mark, *and they followed him trembling and amazed*: and yet before that, even then when his brethren obſerved he had a deſign of publication of himſelf, he ſuffered them *to go before him*, and *went up as it were in ſecret*. For ſo we are invited to martyrdom, and ſuffering in a chriſtian cauſe, by ſo great an example: the holy Jeſus is gone before us, and it were a holy contention to ſtrive whoſe zeal were forwardeſt in the deſigns of humiliation and ſelf-denial. But it were alſo well, if in doing ourſelves ſecular advantage, and promoting our worldly intereſt, we ſhould follow him, who was ever more diſtant from receiving honours, than from receiving a painful death. Thoſe affections which dwell in ſadneſs, and are married to grief, and lie at the foot of the croſs, and trace the ſad ſteps of Jeſus, have the wiſdom of recollection, the tempers of ſobriety, and are the beſt imitations of Jeſus, and ſecurities againſt the levity of a diſperſed and a vain ſpirit. This was intimated by many of the Diſciples of Jeſus in the days of the ſpirit, and when they had *taſted of the good word of God, and the powers of the world to come*: for then we find many ambitious of martyrdom, and that have laid ſtratagems and deſigns by unuſual deaths to get a crown. The ſoul of S. Laurence was ſo ſcorched with ardent deſires of dying for his Lord, that he accounted the coals of his grid-iron but as a julep or the aſperſion of cold water to refreſh his ſoul; they were chill as the Alpine ſnows in reſpect of the heats of his diviner flames. And if theſe leſſer ſtars ſhine ſo brightly and burn ſo warmly, what heat of love may we ſuppoſe to have been in the Sun of righteouſneſs? If they went faſt toward the crown of martyrdom, yet we know that the holy Jeſus went before them all. No wonder that he *he cometh forth as a bridegrooom from his chamber, and rejoiceth as a Giant to run his courſe.*

2. When the Diſciples had overtaken Jeſus, he begins to them a ſad Homily upon the old text of ſuffering, which he had well-nigh for a year together preached upon: but becauſe it was an unpleaſing leſſon, ſo contradictory to thoſe intereſts upon the hopes of which they had entertained themſelves, and ſpent all their deſires, they could by no means underſtand it. For an underſtanding prepoſſeſſed with a fancy, or an unhandſome principle, conſtrues all other notions to the ſenſe of the firſt; and whatſoever contradicts it, we think it an objection, and that we are bound to anſwer it. But now that it concerned Chriſt to ſpeak ſo plainly, that his Diſciples by what was to happen within five or ſix days might not be ſcandalized, or believe it happened to Jeſus without his knowledge and voluntary entertainment, he tells them of his ſufferings to be accompliſhed in this journey to Jeruſalem. And here the Diſciples ſhewed themſelves to be but men, full of paſſion and indiſcreet affection; and the bold Galilæan, St. Peter, took the boldneſs to dehort his Maſter from ſo great an infelicity; and met with a reprehenſion ſo great, that neither the Scribes, nor the Phariſees, nor Herod himſelf ever met with its parallel: Jeſus called him Satan; meaning, that no greater contradictions can be offered to the deſigns of God and his holy Son, than to diſſuade us from ſuffering. And if we underſtood how great are the advantages of a ſuffering condition, we ſhould think all our daggers gilt, and our pavements ſtrewed with roſes, and our halters ſilken, and the rack an inſtrument of pleaſure, and be moſt impatient of thoſe temptations which ſeduce us into eaſe, and divorce us from the croſs, as

being oppoſite to our greateſt hopes and moſt perfect deſires. But ſtill this humour of St. Peter's imperfection abides amongſt us. He that breaks off the yoke of obedience, and unties the bands of diſcipline, and preaches a cheap religion, and preſents Heaven in the midſt of flowers, and ſtrews carpets ſofter than the Aſian luxury in the way, and ſets the ſongs of Sion to the tunes of Perſian and lighter airs, and offers great liberty of living, and bondage under affection and ſins, and reconciles eternity with the preſent enjoyment, he ſhall have his ſchools filled with Diſciples: but he that preaches the croſs, and the ſeverities of chriſtianity, and the ſtrictneſſes of a holy life, ſhall have the lot of his bleſſed Lord, he ſhall be thought ill of, and deſerted.

3. OUR bleſſed Lord, five days before his paſſion, ſent his Diſciples to a village to borrow an aſs that he might ride in triumph to Jeruſalem: he had none of his own, but yet he who was ſo dear to God could not want what was to ſupply his needs. It may be God hath laid up our portion in the repoſitories of other men, and means to furniſh us from their tables, to feed us from their granaries, and that their ward-robe ſhall cloath us: For it is all one to him to make a fiſh bring us money, or a crow to bring us meat, or the ſtable of our neighbour to furniſh our needs of beaſts. If he brings it to thy need as thou wanteſt it, thou haſt all the good in the uſe of the creature which the owners can receive: and the horſe which is lent me in charity, does me as much eaſe; and the bread which is given me in alms, feeds me as well, as the other part of it, which the good man that gave me a portion reſerved for his own eating, could do to him. And if we would give God leave to make proviſions for us in the ways of his own chuſing, and not eſtimate our wants by our manner of receiving, being contented that God by any of his own ways will miniſter it to us, we ſhould find our cares eaſed, and our content increaſed, and our thankfulneſs engaged, and all our moderate deſires contented by the ſatisfaction of our needs. For, if God is pleaſed to feed me by my neighbour's charity, there is no other difference, but that God makes me an occaſion of his ghoſtly good, as he is made the occaſion of my temporal. And if we think it diſparagement, we may remember that God conveys more good to him by me, than to me by him. And it is a proud impatience, to refuſe or to be angry with God's proviſions, becauſe he hath not obſerved my circumſtances and ceremonies of election.

4. AND now begins that great triumph in which the holy Jeſus was pleaſed to exalt his office, and to abaſe his perſon. He rode like a poor man upon an aſs, a beaſt of burthen, and the loweſt value, and yet it was not his own; and in that equipage he received the acclamations due to a mighty Prince, to the Son of the eternal King: telling us, that the ſmalneſs of fortune, and the rudeneſs of exterior habiliments, and a rough wall, are ſometimes the outſides of a great glory; and that when God means to glorify or do honour to a perſon, he needs no help from ſecular advantages. He hides great riches in renunciation of the world, and makes great honour breath forth from the clouds of humility, and victory to ariſe from yielding and the modeſty of departing from our intereſt, and peace to be the reward of him that ſuffers all the hoſtilities of men and devils. For Jeſus in this great humility of his, gives a great probation that he was the Meſſias, and the King of Sion; becauſe no other king entred into thoſe gates riding upon an aſs, and received the honour of Hoſannah in that unlikelihood and contradiction of unequal circumſtances.

5. THE bleſſed Jeſus had never but two days of Triumph in his life, the one was on his transfiguration upon mount Tabor: the other, this his riding into the holy city. But that it may appear how little were his joys and preſent exterior complacencies: in the day of his transfiguration Moſes and Elias appeared to him, telling him what great things he was to ſuffer; and in this day of his riding to Jeruſalem, he wet the palms with a dew ſweeter than the moiſtures upon mount Hermon, or the drops of Manna. For, to allay the little warmth of a ſpringing joy, he let down a ſhower of tears, weeping over undone Jeruſalem in the day of his triumph, leaving it diſputable whether he felt more joy or ſorrow in the acts of love. For he triumphed to conſider that the redemption of the world was ſo near; and wept bitterly that men would not be redeemed: his joy was great, to conſider that himſelf was to ſuffer ſo great ſadneſs for our good; and his ſorrow was very great, to conſider that we would not entertain that good that he brought and laid before us by his paſſion. He was in figure, as his ſervant S. Paphnutius was afterwards in letter and true ſtory, [a] *crucified upon palms:* which indeed was the emblem of a victory; but yet ſuch as had leaves, ſharp, poinant

and

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[a] Palma eſt victorum, palmæ tu affixus es; ergo lætus obi, quoniam non niſi victor obis.

N. Vleughels Pinxit.
J. Clark sculpsit.

And a very great Multitude spread their Garments in the Way; others cut down Branches from the Trees and strawed them in the Way, and the Multitudes that went before and that followed cried saying

Hoſanna to the Son of David. *S^t. Matt. Chap. 21^st. Ver. 8^th. 9^th.*

BRITISH MUSEUM 5 AU 70

and vexatious. However, he entred into Jeruſalem dreſſed in Gayeties, which yet he placed under his feet: but with ſuch pomps and ſolemnities each family, according to its proportion, was accuſtomed to bring the paſchal Lamb to be ſlain for the paſſover. And it was not an undecent ceremony, that *the Lamb ſlain from the beginning of the world* ſhould be brought to his ſlaughter, with the acknowledgments of a religious ſolemnity, becauſe now that real good was to be exhibited to the world, which thoſe little paſchal lambs did but ſignify and repreſent in ſhadow, and that was the true cauſe of all the little joy he had.

6. AND if we conſider what followed, it might ſeem alſo to be a deſign to heighten the dolorouſneſs of his paſſion. For to deſcend from the greateſt of worldly honours, from the adoration of a GOD, and the acclamations to a king, to the death of a ſlave and the torments of a croſs, and the diſhonours of a condemned criminal, were ſo great ſtoopings and vaſt changes, that they gave height, and ſenſe, and excellency to each other. This then ſeemed an excellent glory, but indeed was but an art and inſtrument of grief. For ſuch is the nature of all our felicities, they end in ſadneſs, and increaſe the ſting of ſorrows, and add moment to them, and cauſe impatience and uncomfortable remembrances. But the griefs of a chriſtian, whether they be inſtances of repentance, or parts of perſecution, or exerciſes of patience, end in joy and endleſs comfort. Thus Jeſus, like a rainbow, half made of the glories of light, and half of the moiſture of a cloud, half triumph and half ſorrow, entred into that town where he had done much good to others, and to himſelf received nothing but affronts. Yet his tenderneſs increaſed upon him: And that very journey, which was Chriſt's laſt ſolemn viſit for their recovery, he doubled all the inſtruments of his mercy and their converſion. He rode in triumph, the children ſang Hoſannah to him, he cured many diſeaſed perſons, he wept for them, and pitied them, and ſighed out the intimations of a prayer, and did penance for their ingratitude, and ſtayed all day there, looking about him towards evening, and no man would invite him home; but he was forced to go to Bethany, where he was ſure of an hoſpitable entertainment. I think no chriſtian that reads this but will be full of indignation at the whole city, who for malice or for fear would not or durſt not receive their Saviour into their houſes: and yet we do worſe. For now that he is become our Lord with mightier demonſtrations of his eternal power, we ſuffer him to look round about upon us for months and years together, and poſſibly never entertain him, till our houſe is ready to ruſh upon our heads, and we are going to unuſual and ſtranger habitations. And yet in the midſt of a populous and mutinous city this great King had ſome good ſubjects, perſons that threw away their own garments, and laid them at the feet of our Lord; that being diveſted of their own, they might be re-inveſted with a robe of his righteouſneſs, wearing that till it were changed into a ſtole of glory. The very ceremony of their reception of the Lord became ſymbolical to them, and expreſſive of all our duties.

7. BUT I conſider that the bleſſed Jeſus had affections no leſs than infinite towards all mankind: and he who wept upon Jeruſalem, who had done ſo great deſpite to him, and within five days were to fill up the meaſure of their iniquities, and do an act which all ages of the world could never repeat in the ſame inſtance, did alſo in the number of his tears reckon our ſins as ſad conſiderations and incentives of his ſorrow. And it would well become us to conſider what great evil we do, when our actions are ſuch as for which our bleſſed Lord did weep. He who was ſeated in the boſom of felicity, yet he moiſtned his freſh laurels upon the day of his triumph with tears of love and bitter allay. His day of triumph was a day of ſorrow: and if we would weep for our ſins, that inſtance of ſorrow would be a day of triumph and jubilee.

8. FROM hence the holy Jeſus went to Bethany, where he had another manner of reception than at the holy city. There he ſupped: for his goodly day of triumph had been with him a faſting-day. And Mary Magdalen, who had ſpent one box of Nard piſtick upon our Lord's feet as a ſacrifice of Euchariſt for her converſion, now beſtowed another in thankfulneſs for the reſtitution of her brother Lazarus to life, and conſigned her lord unto his Burial. And here ſhe met with an evil Interpreter: Judas, an Apoſtle, one of the Lord's own family, pretended it had been a better religion to have given it to the poor. But it was malice, and the ſpirit either of envy or avarice, in him that paſſed that ſentence. For he that ſees a pious action well done, and ſeeks to undervalue it by telling how it might have been better, reproves nothing but his own ſpirit. For a man may do very well, and God would accept it; though to ſay he might have done better, is to ſay only that action was not the moſt perfect and abſolute in its kind. But to be angry at a religious perſon, and without any other pretence

but that he might have done better, is ſpiritual envy: for a pious perſon would have nouriſhed up that infant action by love and praiſe, till it had grown to the moſt perfect and intelligent piety. But the event of that man gave the interpretation of his preſent purpoſe: and at the beſt it could be no other than a raſh judgment of the action and intention of a religious, thankful and holy perſon. But ſhe found her Lord, who was her beneficiary in this, become her Patron and her Advocate. And hereafter, when we ſhall find the Devil, the great accuſer of God's ſaints, object againſt the piety and religion of holy perſons; a cup of cold water ſhall be accepted unto reward, and a good intention heightned to the value of an exterior expreſſion, and a piece of gum to the equality of an holocauſt, and an action done with great zeal and an intenſe love be acquitted from all its adherent imperfections: Chriſt receiving them into himſelf, and being like the altar of incenſe, hallowing the very ſmoak, and raiſing it into a flame, and entertaining it into the embraces of the firmament and the boſom of Heaven. Chriſt himſelf, who is the judge of our actions, is alſo the entertainer and object of our charity and duty, and the advocate of our perſons.

9. JUDAS, who declaimed againſt the woman, made tacit reflections upon his Lord for ſuffering it. And indeed, every obloquy againſt any of Chriſt's ſervants is looked on as an arrow ſhot into the heart of Chriſt himſelf. And now a perſecution being begun againſt the Lord within his own family, another was raiſed againſt him from without. For the Chief-prieſts *took crafty counſel againſt Jeſus*, and called a conſiſtory to contrive *how they might deſtroy him.* And here was the greateſt repreſentment of the goodneſs of God, and the ingratitude of man, that could be practiſed or underſtood. How often had Jeſus poured forth tears for them? how many ſleepleſs nights had he awaked to do them advantage? how many days had he ſpent in homilies and admirable viſitations of mercy and charity, in caſting out devils, in curing their ſick, in correcting their delinquencies, in reducing them to the ways of ſecurity and peace, and, that we may uſe the greateſt expreſſion in the world, that is, his own, *in gathering them as an hen gathereth her chickens under her wings*, to give them ſtrength, and warmth, and life, and ghoſtly nouriſhment? And the Chief-prieſts together with their faction uſe all arts and watch all opportunities to get Chriſt, not that they might poſſeſs him, but to deſtroy him: little conſidering that they extinguiſh their own eyes, and deſtroy that ſpring of life which was intended to them for a bliſsful immortality.

10. AND here it was that the Devil ſhewed his promptneſs to furniſh every evil-intended perſon with apt inſtruments to act the very worſt of his intentions. The Devil knew their purpoſes, and the aptneſs and proclivity of Judas; and by bringing theſe together he ſerved their preſent deſign, and his own great intendment. The Devil never fails to promote every evil purpoſe: And, except where God's reſtraining grace does intervene and interrupt the opportunity, by interpoſition of different and croſs accidents to ſerve other ends of Providence, no man eaſily is fond of wickedneſs, but he ſhall receive enough to ruin him. Indeed Nero and Julian, both witty men and powerful, deſired to have been Magicians, and could not: And although poſſibly the Devil would have correſponded with them, who yet were already his own in all degrees of ſecurity; yet God permitted not that, leſt they might have underſtood new ways of doing deſpite to martyrs and afflicted chriſtians. And it concerns us not to tempt God, or invite a forward enemy. For as we are ſure the Devil is ready to promote all vitious deſires, and bring them out to execution; ſo we are not ſure that God will not permit him: And he that deſires to be undone, and cares not to be prevented by God's reſtraining grace, ſhall find his ruine in the folly of his own deſires, and become wretched by his own election. Judas, hearing of this congregation of the Prieſts, went and offered to betray his Lord, and made a covenant, the price of which was *thirty pieces of ſilver*; and he returned.

11. IT is not intimated in the hiſtory of the life of Jeſus, that Judas had any malice againſt the perſon of Chriſt; for when afterwards he ſaw the matter was to end in the death of his Lord, he repented: but a baſe and unworthy ſpirit to covetouſneſs poſſeſſed him; and the reliques of indignation for miſſing the price of the ointment which the holy Magdalen had poured upon his feet burnt in his bowels with a ſecret dark melancholick fire, and made an eruption into an act which all ages of the world could never parallel. They appointed him for hire thirty pieces, and ſome ſay that every piece did in value equal ten ordinary current deniers: and ſo Judas was ſatisfied by receiving the worth of the three hundred pence at which he valued the Nard Piſtick. But hereafter let no Chriſtian be aſhamed to be deſpiſed and undervalued; for

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P. Fourdrinier sc

And being in Bethany in the House of Simon the Leper, as he sat at Meat, there came a **Woman**, *haveing an Alablaster* **Box** *of* **Ointment** *of Spikenard, very precious: and she brake the* **Box** *& poured it on his Head.*

St. Mark, Chap. 14th Ver. 3d.

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St. Mark, Chap. 14th. Ver. 3d.

he will hardly meet ſo great reproach, as to have ſo diſproportioned a price ſet upon his life as was upon the holy Jeſus. St. Mary Magdalen thought it not good enough to aneal his ſacred feet; Judas thought it a ſufficient price for his head. For covetouſneſs aims at baſe and low purchaſes; whilſt holy love is great and comprehenſive as the boſom of Heaven, and aims at nothing that is leſs than infinite. The love of God is a holy fountain, limpid and pure, ſweet and ſalutary, laſting and eternal; the love of money is a vertiginous pool, ſucking all into it to deſtroy it; it is troubled and uneven, giddy and unſafe, ſerving no end but its own, and that alſo in a reſtleſs and uneaſy motion. The love of God ſpends it ſelf upon him, to receive again the reflexions of grace and benediction; the love of money ſpends all its deſires upon it ſelf, to purchaſe nothing but unſatisfying inſtruments of exchange, or ſupernumerary proviſions, and ends in diſſatisfaction, and emptineſs of ſpirit, and a bitter curſe. St. Mary Magdalen was defended by her Lord againſt calumny, and rewarded with an honourable mention to all ages of the church; beſides *unction from above*, which ſhe ſhortly after received to conſign her to crowns and ſcepters: But Judas was deſcribed in the Scripture, the book of life, with the black character of death; he was diſgraced to eternal ages, and preſently after acted his own tragedy with a ſad and ignoble death.

12. Now, all things being fitted, our bleſſed Lord ſends two Diſciples to prepare the Paſſover, that he might fulfil the law of Moſes, and paſs from thence to inſtitutions evangelical, and then fulfil his ſufferings. Chriſt gave them a ſign to guide them to the houſe, *a man bearing a pitcher of water*: By which ſome, that delight in myſtical ſignifications, ſay was typified the Sacrament of Baptiſm: Meaning, that although by occaſion of the paſchal ſolemnity the holy Euchariſt was firſt inſtituted, yet it was afterwards to be applied to practice according to the ſenſe of this accident; only baptized perſons were apt ſuſcipients of the other more perfective rite, as the taking nutriment ſuppoſes perſons born into the world, and within the common conditions of human nature. But in the letter it was an inſtance of the divine Omniſcience, who could pronounce concerning accidents at diſtance as if they were preſent: And yet alſo, like the proviſion of the colt to ride on, it was an inſtance of Providence, and ſecurity of all God's ſons for their portion of temporals. Jeſus had not a lamb of his own, and poſſibly no money in the bags to buy one; and yet Providence was his guide, and the charity of a good man was his Proveditore, and he found excellent conveniencies in the entertainments of an hoſpitable good man, as if he had dwelt in Ahab's Ivory-houſe, and had had the riches of Solomon, and the meat of his houſhold.

The PRAYER.

I.

O Holy King of Sion, Eternal Jeſus, who with great humility and infinite love didſt enter into the holy city, riding upon an aſs, that thou mighteſt verify the predictions of the Prophets, and give example of meekneſs, and of the gentle and paternal government which the eternal Father laid upon thy ſhoulders; be pleaſed, deareſt Lord, to enter into my ſoul with triumph, trampling over all thine enemies; and give me grace to entertain thee with joy and adoration, with abjection of my own deſires, with lopping off all my ſuperfluous branches of a temporal condition, and ſpending them in the offices of charity and religion, and diveſting my ſelf of all my deſires, laying them at thy holy feet; that I may bear the yoke and burthen of the Lord with alacrity, with love, and the wonders of a ſatiſfied and triumphant ſpirit. Lord, enter in and take poſſeſſion; and thou, to whoſe honour the very ſtones would give teſtimony, make my ſtony heart an inſtrument of thy praiſes; let me ſtrew thy way with flowers of virtue, and the holy roſary of chriſtian graces. And by thy aid and example let us alſo triumph over all our infirmities and hoſtilities, and then lay our victories at thy feet, and at laſt follow thee into thy heavenly Jeruſalem with palms in our hands, and joy in our hearts, and eternal acclamations on our lips, rejoicing in thee, and ſinging Hallelujahs in a happy eternity to thee, O holy King of Sion, Eternal Jeſus. Amen.

II.

O Bleſſed and dear Lord, who wert pleaſed to permit thy ſelf to be ſold to the aſſemblies of evil perſons for a vile price by one of thy own ſervants, for whom thou hadſt done ſo great favours, and hadſt deſigned a crown and a throne to him, and he turned himſelf into a ſooty coal, and entred into the portion of evil angels; teach us to value thee above all the joys of men, to prize thee at an eſtimate beyond all the wealth of nature, to buy wiſdom, and not to ſell it, to part with all that we may enjoy thee. And let no temptation abuſe our underſtandings, no loſs vex us into impatience, no fruſtration of hope fill us with indignation, no preſſure of calamitous accidents make us angry at thee the fountain of love and bleſſing, no covetouſneſs tranſport us into the ſuburbs of hell and the regions of ſin; but make us to love thee as well as ever any creature loved thee, that we may never burn in any fires but of a holy love, nor ſink in any inundation but what proceeds from penitential ſhowers, and ſuffer no violence but of implacable deſires to live with thee, and when thou calleſt us, to ſuffer with thee, and for thee. Amen.

III.

LORD, let me never be betrayed by my ſelf, or any violent accident and importunate temptation; let me never be ſold for the vile price of temporal gain, or tranſient pleaſure; or a pleaſant Dream: But ſince thou haſt bought me with a price, even then when thou wert ſold thy ſelf, let me never be ſeparated from thy poſſeſſion. I am thine, bought with a price; Lord, ſave me; and in the day when thou bindeſt up thy jewels, remember, Lord, that I coſt thee as dear as any, and therefore caſt me not into the portion of Judas; but let me walk and dwell and bathe in the field of thy blood, and paſs from hence pure and ſanctified into the ſociety of the elect Apoſtles, receiving my part with them, and my lot in the communications of thy inheritance, O gracious Lord, and deareſt Saviour, Jeſus. Amen.

Conſiderations upon the waſhing of the Diſciples Feet by Jesus, *and his Sermon of Humility.*

1. THE holy Jeſus went now to eat his laſt paſchal ſupper, and to finiſh the work of his legation, and to fulfil that part of the law of Moſes in every of its ſmalleſt and moſt minute particularities; in which alſo the actions were ſignificant of ſpiritual duties. Which we may transfer from the letter to the ſpirit in our own inſtances; That as Jeſus ate the paſchal Lamb with a ſtaff in his hand, with his loins girt, with ſandals on his feet, in great haſte, with unleavened bread, and with bitter herbs; ſo we alſo ſhould do all our ſervices according to the ſignification of theſe ſymbols, leaning upon the croſs of Jeſus for a ſtaff, and bearing the rod of his government, with loins girt with angelical chaſtity, with ſhoes on our feet, that ſo we may guard and have cuſtody over our affections, and *be ſhod with the preparation of the Goſpel of Peace,* eating in haſte, as becomes perſons *hungring and thirſting after righteouſneſs,* doing the Work of the Lord zealouſly and fervently, without the leven of malice and ſecular intereſt, with bitter herbs of ſelf-denial, and mortification of our ſenſual and inordinate deſires. The ſenſe and myſtery of the whole act with all its circumſtances is, that we obey all the ſanctions of the divine law, and that every part of our religion be pure and peaceable, chaſte and obedient, confident in God, and diffident in our ſelves, frequent and zealous, humble and reſigned, juſt and charitable; and there will not eaſily be wanting any juſt circumſtance to hallow and conſecrate the action.

2. When the holy Jeſus had finiſhed his laſt Moſaick rite, he deſcends to give example of the firſt-fruit of evangelical graces: *He riſes from ſupper, lays aſide his garment,* like a ſervant, and with all the circumſtances of an humble miniſtry, *waſhes the feet of his Diſciples,* [a] beginning at firſt with St. Peter, until he came to Judas the traytor; that we might in one ſcheme ſee a rare conjunction of charity and humility, of ſelf-denial and indifferency, repreſented by a perſon glorious and great, their Lord and Maſter ſad and

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[a] Λοίσθιον ἐκ πρώτου μετανεύμενος ἄλλον ἀπ' ἄλλου, Ἀρχόμενος Σίμωνος, ἕως ἰδίοιο φονῆος. Nonn.

P. Fourdrinier sculp.

If I then your Lord and Master have washed your Feet? ye also ought to wash one anothers Feet. If ye know these things happy are ye if you do them. St. John, Chap. 13th. Ver. 14th. & 17th.

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and troubled. And he choſe to waſh their [a] feet rather than their head, that he might have the opportunity of a more humble poſture, and a more apt ſignification of his charity. Thus God lays every thing aſide that he may ſerve his ſervants; Heaven ſtoops to Earth, and one abyſs calls upon another, and the miſeries of man, which were next to infinite, are excelled by a mercy equal to the immenſity of God. And this waſhing of their feet, which was an accuſtomed civility and entertainment of honoured ſtrangers at the beginning of their meal, Chriſt deferred to the end of the paſchal ſupper, that it might be the preparatory to the ſecond, which he intended ſhould be feſtival to all the world. St. Peter was troubled that the hands of his Lord ſhould waſh his ſervants feet; thoſe hands which had opened the eyes of the blind, and cured lepers, and healed all diſeaſes, and when lift up to Heaven were omnipotent, and could reſtore life to dead and buried perſons: he counted it a great indecency for him to ſuffer it. But it was no more than was neceſſary: for they had but lately been earneſt in diſpute for precedency; and it was of itſelf ſo apt to ſwell into tumour and inconvenience, that it was not to be cured but by ſome prodigy of example and miracle of Humility; which the holy Jeſus offered to them in this expreſs, calling them to learn ſome great leſſon: A leſſon which God deſcended from Heaven to Earth, from riches to poverty, from eſſential innocence to the diſreputation of a ſinner, from a maſter to a ſervant, to learn us; that is, that we ſhould eſteem ourſelves but juſt as we are, low, ſinful, miſerable, needy and unworthy. It ſeems it is a great thing, that man ſhould come to have juſt and equal thoughts of himſelf, that God uſed ſuch powerful arts to tranſmit this leſſon, and ingrave it in the ſpirits of men: and if the receipt fails, we are eternally loſt in the miſts of vanity, and enter into the condition of thoſe Angels whom pride transformed and ſpoiled into the condition of Devils. And upon conſideration of this great example, Guericus a good man cried out, *Thou haſt overcome, O Lord, thou haſt overcome my pride; this example hath maſtered me: I deliver myſelf up into thy hands, never to receive liberty or exaltation but in the condition of thy humbleſt ſervant.*

3. AND to this purpoſe St. [b] Bernard hath an affectionate and devout conſideration, ſaying, "That ſome of the Angels as ſoon as they were created had an ambition to "become like God, and to aſpire into the throne which God had appointed to the "holy Jeſus in eternal ages. When God created man, preſently the devil rubbed his "leproſy upon him, and he would needs be like God too, and Satan promiſed him "that he ſhould. As the evil Angels would have been like to God in power and ma"jeſty, ſo man would have been like him in knowledge, and have imitated the wiſ"dom of the eternal Father. But Man had the fate of Gehazi; he would needs have "the talent and garments of Lucifer, and he had alſo his plague; he loſt paradiſe for "his pride. And now what might befit the Son God to do, ſeeing man ſo loſt, and "God ſo zealous of his honour? I ſee (ſaith he) that by occaſion of me the Father "loſes his creatures; for they have all aſpired to be like me, and are fallen into the "greateſt infelicities. Behold, I will go toward man in ſuch a form, that whoſoever "from henceforth would become like me ſhall be ſo, and be a gainer by it. And for "this cauſe the Son of God came from Heaven, and made himſelf a poor humble per"ſon, and by all the actions of his life commented upon the preſent diſcourſe, [c] *Learn of me, for I am meek and humble of heart*. Bleſſed be that mercy and bounty which moved almighty God to condeſcend to that ſo great appetite we had of being like him: For now we may be like unto God, but it muſt be by humility, of which he hath given us an example powerful as miracles, and as great as our own pride and miſery.

4. AND indeed our bleſſed Lord, knowing that examples are like maps and perfect ſchemes, in which the whole continent may at once be repreſented to the eye to all the purpoſes of art and benefit, did in the latter end of his life draw up the diſperſions and larger harveſt of his precepts, binding them in the bundle of great examples, and caſting them into actions as into ſums total. For ſo this act of waſhing the feet of his own miniſters, and then dying for them, and for all his enemies, did preach the three great ſums of evangelical perfection with an admirable energy, and abbreviature; humility and charity, and ſufferings, being to chriſtianity, as the body and the ſoul and the ſpirit are to the whole man. For no man brings a ſad funeral into the theatre to make his ſpectators merry, nor can well preach [d] chaſtity in the impurity of the

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[a] Idcirco pedes potius quam manus & caput; quia in lavandis pedibus, & affectuoſior eſt geſtus humilitatis, & propinquior ſignificatio charitatis, qua nos lavat ſanguine ſuo a peccatis noſtris. *Rupert.*

[b] Quomodo non humiliabitur homo ſub tam humili Deo? S. Bernard.

[c] Matth. 11. 29.

[d] Turgidus hic epulis, atque albo ventre lavatur, Gutture ſulphureas lente exhalante Mephites. Perſ. Sat. 3.

Bordelli, or perſuade temperance when himſelf is full of wine and luxury, and enters into the baths to boil his undigeſted meat, that he may return to his ſecond ſupper, and breathes forth impure belchings together with his homily. A poor Eremite, or a ſeverely-living Philoſopher, into whoſe life his own precepts have deſcended, and his doctrine is mingled with his ſoul, mingles alſo effect and virtue with homilies, and incorporates his doctrine in the hearts of his diſciples. And this the holy Jeſus did in his own perſon, bearing the burthen firſt upon his own ſhoulders, that we may with better alacrity undergo what our bleſſed Lord bears with us and for us. But that we may the better underſtand what our bleſſed Lord deſigned to us in this lecture, let us conſider the proper acts of humility which integrate the virtue.

5. THE firſt is, *Chriſt's humble man thinks meanly of himſelf.* And there is great reaſon every man ſhould. For his body is but rottenneſs and infirmity covered with a fair mantle, a dunghill overcaſt with ſnow. And if we conſider ſadly, that from trees and plants come oil, balſam, wine, ſpices, and aromatick odours, and that from the ſinks of our body no ſuch ſweet or ſalutary emanations are obſerved: we may at leaſt think it unreaſonable to boaſt our beauty, which is nothing but a clear and well-coloured skin, which every thing in the world can ſpoil; or our ſtrength, which an ague tames into the infirmities of a child, and in which we are excelled by a bull; or any thing of our body, which is nothing but an unruly ſervant of the ſoul, marked with characters of want and dependance, and begging help from all the elements, and upon a little diſturbance growing troubleſome to it ſelf by its own impurities. And yet there is no reaſon in reſpect of the ſoul for any man to exalt himſelf above his brother; becauſe all reaſonable ſouls are equal, and that one is wiſe, and another is fooliſh or leſs learned, is by accident and extrinſick cauſes. God at firſt makes all alike; but an indiſpoſed body, or an inopportune education, or evil cuſtoms, ſuperinduce variety and difference. And if God diſcerns a man from his brother by diſtinction of gifts, it alters not the caſe; ſtill the man hath nothing of himſelf that can call him excellent. It is as if a wall upon which the Sun reflects ſhould boaſt it ſelf againſt another that ſtands in the ſhadow. Greater glory is to be paid to God for the diſcerning gifts; but to take any of it to our ſelves, or riſe higher than our brother, or advance our own opinion, is as if a man ſhould be proud of being in debt, and think it the greater excellency that he is charged with heavier and more ſevere accounts.

6. THIS act conſiſts not in declamations and forms of ſatyr againſt our ſelves, ſaying, I am a miſerable[a] ſinful creature, I am proud, or covetous, or ignorant. For many men ſay ſo that are not willing to be thought ſo. Neither is humility a virtue made up of wearing old cloaths, or doing ſervile and mean employments by voluntary undertaking, or of ſullen geſtures, or demiſs behaviour, and artifice of lowly expreſſions; for theſe may become ſnares to invite and catch at honour; and then they are collateral deſigns of pride, and direct actions of hypocriſy. But it conſiſts in a true underſtanding of our own condition, and ſeparating our own nothing from the good we have received, and giving to God all the glory, taking to our ſelves all the ſhame and diſhonour due to our ſinful condition. He that thinks himſelf truly miſerable and vilified by ſin, hates it perfectly; and he that knows himſelf to be nothing, cannot be exalted in himſelf; and whatſoever is beſides theſe two extremes, of a natural nothing, and a ſuperadded ſin, muſt be thoſe good things we have received, which, becauſe they derive from God, muſt make all their returns thither. But this act is of greater difficulty in perſons pious, full of gifts and eminent in graces, who, being fellow-workers together with God, ſometimes grow tacitly and without notice given, to confide in themſelves, and with ſome freer fancy aſcribe too much of the good action to their own choice and diligence, and take up their crowns, which lie at the foot of the throne, and ſet them upon their own heads. For a ſinner to deſire to be eſteemed a ſinner, is no more humility than it is for the ſon of a plowman to confeſs his father: But indeed it is hard for a man to be cried up for a ſaint, to walk upon the ſpire of glory, and to have no adherence or impure mixtures of vanity grow upon the outſide of his heart. All men have not ſuch heads as to walk in great heights without giddineſs and unſettled eyes. Lucifer and many angels walking upon the battlements of heaven grew top-heavy and fell into the ſtate of devils. And the father of the chriſtian Eremites, S. [b] Anthony, was frequently attempted by the devil, and ſolicited to vanity, the devil uſually making fantaſtick noiſes to be heard before him, *Make room for the ſaint and ſervant of God.* But the good man knew Chriſt's voice to be a low baſe of humility, and that it was the noiſe of hell that invited to complacencies and vanity; and therefore took the example of the Apoſtles, who, in the midſt

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[a] Auferantur omnia figmenta verborum, ceſſent mulati geſtus, verum humilem patientia oſtendit. *S. Hier.* [b] *S. Hier.* in vit. *S. Anton.*

of the greateſt reputation and ſpiritual advancements, were dead unto the World, and ſeemed to live in the ſtate of ſeparation. For the true ſtating our own queſtion, and knowing our ſelves, muſt needs repreſent us ſet in the midſt of infinite imperfections, loaden with ſins, choaked with the noiſes of a polluted conſcience, perſons fond of trifles, neglecting objects fit for wiſe men, full of ingratitude, and all ſuch things which in every man elſe we look upon as ſcars and deformities, and which we uſe to ſingle out, and take one alone as ſufficient to diſgrace and diſrepute all the excellencies of our neighbour. But if we would eſteem them with the ſame ſeverity in our ſelves, and remember with how many ſuch objections our little felicities are covered, it would make us charitable in our cenſures, compaſſionate and gentle to others, apt to excuſe, and as ready to ſupport their weakneſſes, and in all accidents and chances to our ſelves, to be content and thankful, as knowing the worſt of poverty and inconvenience to be a mercy and a ſplendid fortune in reſpect of our demerits. I have read, that “ when the duke “ of Candia had voluntarily entred into the incommodities of a religious poverty and “ retirement, he was one day ſpied and pitied by a Lord of Italy, who out of tender- “ neſs wiſhed him to be more careful and nutritive of his perſon. The good Duke an- “ ſwered, Sir, be not troubled, and think not that I am ill provided of conveniencies: “ for I ſend a harbinger before, who makes my lodgings ready, and takes care that I “ be royally entertained. The Lord asked him who was his harbinger? He anſwered, “ The knowledge of my ſelf, and the conſideration of what I deſerve for my ſin, which “ is eternal torments; and when with this knowledge I arrive at my lodging, how un- “ provided ſoever I find it, methinks it is ever better than I deſerve.” The ſum of this meditation conſiſts in believing, and conſidering, and reducing to practice thoſe thoughts, that we are nothing of our ſelves, that we have nothing of our own, that we have received more than ever we can diſcharge, that we have added innumerable ſins, that we can call nothing our own but ſuch things which we are aſhamed to own, and ſuch things which are apt to ruin us. If we do nothing contrary to the purpoſe and hearty perſuaſion of ſuch thoughts, then we think meanly of ourſelves. And in order to it, we may make uſe of this advice, To let no day paſs without ſome ſad recollection and memory of ſomewhat which may put us to confuſion and mean opinion of our ſelves; either call to mind the worſt of our ſins, or the undiſcreeteſt of our actions, or the greateſt of our ſhame, or the unciviliſt of our affronts, any thing to make us deſcend lower, and kiſs the foot of the mountain. And this conſideration applied alſo to every tumour of ſpirit, as ſoon as it riſes, may poſſibly allay it.

7. SECONDLY, [a] *Chriſt's humble man bears contumelies evenly and ſweetly, and deſires not to be honoured by others.* He chuſes to do thoſe things that deſerve honour and a fair name; but then eats not of thoſe fruits himſelf, but tranſmits them to the uſe of others, and the glory of God. This is a certain conſequence of the other: For he that truly diſeſteems himſelf, is content that others ſhould do ſo too; and he who with ſome regret and impatience hears himſelf ſcorned or undervalued, hath not acquired the grace of humility. Which Serapion in Caſſian noted to a young perſon, who perpetually accuſed himſelf, with the greateſt ſemblances of humility, but was impatient when Serapion [b] reproved him. “ Did you hope that I would have praiſed your humility, and “ have reputed you for a ſaint? It is a ſtrange perverſeneſs to deſire others to eſteem highly “ of you for that, in which to your ſelf you ſeem moſt unworthy.” He that enquires into the faults of his own actions, requiring them that ſaw them to tell him in what he did amiſs, not to learn the fault but to engage them to praiſe it, cozens himſelf into pride, and makes humility the inſtrument. And a man would be aſhamed were he told that he uſed ſtratagems for praiſe. But ſo glorious a thing is humility, that pride, to hide her own ſhame, puts on the others vizour; it being more to a proud man's purpoſes to ſeem humble than to be ſo. And ſuch was the Cynick whom Lucian derided, becauſe that one ſearching his ſcrip in expectation to have found in it mouldy bread or old rags, he diſcovered a bale of dice, a box of perfumes, and the picture of his fair miſtreſs. [c] Cariſianus walked in his gown in the feaſt of Saturn; and when all Rome was let looſe in Wantonneſs, he put on the long robe of a Senator, and a ſevere perſon; and yet nothing was more laſcivious than he. But the Devil's pride prevails ſometimes upon the ſpirit of luſt. Humility neither directly nor by conſequence ſeeks for praiſe, and ſuffers

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[a] Ama neſciri & pro nihilo reputari. *Gerſon.*

Eſt qui nequiter humiliat ſe, & interiora ejus ſunt plena dolo. *Ecclus.* xii. 11.

[b] Appetere de humilitate laudem, humilitatis non eſt virtus, ſed ſubverſio. Quid enim perverſum magis aut indignius, quam ut inde velis haberi melior, unde tibi videris deterior? *S. Bernard.*

[c] Nil laſcivius eſt Cariſiano: In Saturnalibus ambulat togatus. *Mart.*

it not to reſt upon its own pavement, but reflects it all upon God, and receives all leſſenings and inſtruments of affront and diſgrace, that mingle not with ſin or indecencies, more willingly than panegyricks. When others have their deſires, thou not thine; the ſayings of another are eſteemed, thine ſlighted; others ask and obtain, thou beggeſt and art refuſed; they are cried up, thou diſgraced and hiſſed at; and while they are employed, thou art laid by, as fit for nothing; or an unworthy perſon commands thee and rules thee like a tyrant, he reproves thee, ſuſpects thee, reviles thee; canſt thou bear this ſweetly, and entertain the uſage as thy juſt portion, and as an accident moſt fit and proper to thy perſon and condition? Doſt thou not raiſe theatres to thy ſelf, and take delight in the ſuppletories of thy own good opinion, and the flatteries of ſuch whom thou endeareſt to thee, that their praiſing thee ſhould heal the wounds of thine honour by an imaginary and phantaſtick reſtitution? He that is not content and patient in affronts, hath not yet learned humility of the holy Jeſus.

8. THIRDLY, As *Chriſt's humble man is content in affronts, and not greedy of praiſe*; ſo *when it is preſented to him, he takes no contentment in it*: and if it be eaſy to want praiſe when it is denied, yet it is harder not to be delighted with it when it is offered. But there is much reaſon that we ſhould put reſtraints upon ourſelves, leſt if we be praiſed without deſert, we find a greater judgment of [a] God; or if we have done well, and received praiſe for it, we loſe all our reward, which God hath depoſited for them that *receive not their good things in this life.* For *as ſilver is tried in the melter, and gold in the crucible; ſo is a man tried in the mouth of him that praiſes him*: that is, he is either clarified from his droſs, by looking upon the praiſe as a homily to teach and an inſtrument to invite his duty; or elſe, if he be already pure, he is conſolidated, ſtrengthened in the ſobriety of his ſpirit, and retires himſelf cloſer into the ſtrengths and ſecurities of humility. Nay, this ſtep of humility uſes in very holy perſons to be enlarged to a delight in affronts and diſreputation in the world. *Now I begin to be* Chriſt's *Diſciple*, ſaid Ignatius the martyr, when in his journey to Rome he ſuffered perpetual revilings and abuſe. St. *Paul rejoiced in his infirmities and reproach*: and all the Apoſtles at Jeruſalem went from the tribunal [b] *rejoicing that they were eſteemed worthy to ſuffer ſhame for the name of Jeſus.* This is an excellent condition and degree of humility. But I chuſe to add one that is leſs, but in all perſons neceſſary.

9. FOURTHLY, *Chriſt's humble man is careful never to ſpeak any thing that may redound to his own praiſe*, unleſs it be with a deſign of charity or duty, that either God's glory or the profit of his neighbour be concerned in it; but never ſpeaking with a deſign to be eſteemed learned or honourable. St. Arſenius had been tutor to three Cæſars, Theodoſius, Arcadius, and Honorius: but afterwards when be became religious, no word eſcaped him that might repreſent and tell of his former greatneſs. And it is obſervable concerning St. Jerome, that although he was of noble extraction, yet in all his own writings there is not the ſmalleſt intimation of it. This I deſire to be underſtood only to the ſenſe and purpoſes of humility, and that we have no deſigns of vanity and fancy in ſpeaking learnedly, or recounting our exterior advantages: but if either the profit of our brother or the glory of God, if either there be piety or charity in the deſign, it is lawful to publiſh all thoſe excellencies with which God hath diſtinguiſhed us from others. The young Marquis of Caſtilion being to do publick exerciſe in his courſe of philoſophy, made it a caſe of conſcience whether he were bound to diſpute his beſt, fearing leſt vanity might tranſport him in the midſt of thoſe praiſes which his collegiates might give him. It was an excellent conſideration in the young gentleman: But in actions civil and human, ſince the danger is not ſo immediate, and a little complacency, becoming the inſtrument of virtue and encouragement of ſtudies, may with like care be referred to God as the giver, and celebrate his praiſes; he might with more ſafety have done his utmoſt: it being in ſome ſenſe a duty to encourage others, to give account of our graces and our labours, and all the appendent vanity may quickly be ſuppreſſed. A good name may give us opportunity of perſwading others to their duty, eſpecially in an age in which men chuſe their doctrines by the men that preach them: and St. Paul uſed his liberty when he was zealous for his Corinthian Diſciples, but reſtrained himſelf when it began to make reflections upon his own ſpirit. But although a good name be neceſſary, and in order to ſuch good ends whither it may ſerve, it is lawful to deſire it; yet a great name, and a pompous honour, and ſecular greatneſs, hath

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[a] Tanta enim conſideratione trepidat (*David,*) ne aut de his in quibus laudatur, & non ſunt, majus Dei judicium inveniat; aut de his in quibus laudatur, & ſunt, competens præmium perdat. S. *Greg.*

[b] *Acts* 5. 41.

more danger in it to ourſelves, than ordinarily it can have of benefit to others. And although a man may uſe the greateſt honours to the greateſt purpoſes, yet ordinary perſons may not ſafely deſire them; becauſe it will be found very hard to have ſuch myſterious and abſtracted conſiderations, as to ſeparate all our proper intereſt from the publick end. To which I add this conſideration, That the contempt of honour, and the inſtant purſuit of humility, is more effective of the ghoſtly benefit of others, than honours and great dignities can be, unleſs it be rarely and very accidentally.

10. IF we need any new incentives to the practice of this grace, I can ſay no more, but that humility is truth, and pride is a lye; that the one glorifies God, the other diſhonours him; humility makes men like Angels, pride makes Angels to become Devils; that pride is folly, humility is the temper of a holy ſpirit and excellent wiſdom; that humility is the way to glory, pride to ruin and confuſion. Humility makes Saints on earth, pride undoes them: humility beatifies the Saints in Heaven, and the Elders throw their crowns at the foot of the throne; pride diſgraces a man among all the ſocieties on earth: God loves one, and Satan ſolicits the cauſe of the other, and promotes his own intereſt in it moſt of all. And there is no one grace in which Chriſt propounded himſelf imitable ſo ſignally as in this of meekneſs and humility: for the enforcing of which he undertook the condition of a ſervant, and a life of poverty, and a death of diſgrace; and waſhed the feet of his Diſciples, and even of Judas himſelf, that his action might be turned into a ſermon to preach this duty, and to make it as eternal as his own ſtory.

The PRAYER.

O Holy and eternal Jeſus, who wert pleaſed to lay aſide the glories and incomprehenſible Majeſty which cloathed thy infinity from before the beginning of creatures, and didſt put on a cloud upon thy brightneſs, and wert inveſted with the impure and imperfect broken robe of human nature, and didſt abate thoſe ſplendours which broke through the veil, commanding Devils not to publiſh thee, and men not to proclaim thy excellencies, and the Apoſtles not to reveal thoſe glories of thine which they diſcovered incircling thee upon mount Tabor in thy transfiguration, and didſt by perpetual homilies and ſymbolical myſterious actions, as with deep characters, engrave humility into the ſpirits of thy Diſciples and the diſcipline of chriſtianity; teach us to approach near to theſe thy glories, which thou haſt ſo covered with a cloud that we might without amazement behold thy excellencies; make us to imitate thy gracious condeſcenſions; take from us all vanity and phantaſtick complacencies in our own perſons or actions; and when there ariſes a reputation conſequent to the performance of any part of our duty, make us to reflect the glory upon thee, ſuffering nothing to adhere to our own ſpirits but ſhame at our own imperfection, and thankfulneſs to thee for all thy aſſiſtances. Let us never ſeek the praiſe of men from unhandſome actions, from flatteries and unworthy diſcourſes, nor entertain the praiſe with delight, though it proceed from better principles; but fear and tremble, leſt we deſerve puniſhment, or loſe a reward which thou haſt depoſited for all them that ſeek thy glory, and deſpiſe their own, that they may imitate the example of their Lord. Thou, O Lord, didſt triumph over ſin and death; ſubdue alſo my proud underſtanding and my prouder affections, and bring me under thy yoke; that I may do thy work, and obey my ſuperiors, and be a ſervant of all my brethren in their neceſſities, and eſteem myſelf inferior to all men by a deep ſenſe of my own unworthineſs, and in all things may obey thy laws, and conform to thy precedents, and enter into thine inheritance, O holy and eternal Jeſus. Amen.

DISCOURSE XIX.

Of the Inſtitution and Reception of the Holy Sacrament of the Lord's Supper.

1. AS the Sun among the ſtars; and man among the ſublunary creatures, is the moſt eminent and noble, the prince of the inferiors, and their meaſure, or their guide; ſo is this action among all the inſtances of religion: it is the moſt perfect and conſummate; it is an union of myſteries, and a conſolidation of duties; it joins God and man, and confederates all the ſocieties of men in mutual complexions, and the entertainments of an excellent charity; it actually performs all that could be neceſſary for man, and it preſents to man as great a thing as God could give; for it is impoſſible any thing ſhould be greater than himſelf. And when God gave his Son to the World, it could not be but he ſhould *give us all things elſe*. And therefore this bleſſed Sacrament is a conſigning us to all felicities, becauſe after a myſterious and ineffable manner we receive him who is light and life, the fountain of grace, and the ſanctifier of our ſecular comforts, and the author of holineſs and glory. But as it was at firſt, ſo it hath been ever ſince: *Chriſt came into the world, and the world knew him not:* So Chriſt hath remained in the World by the communication of this ſacrament, and yet he is not rightly underſtood, and leſs truly valued. But Chriſt may ſay to us as once to the woman of Samaria, *Woman, if thou didſt know the gift of God, and who it is that ſpeaks to thee, thou would'ſt aſk him:* So, if we were ſo wiſe, or ſo fortunate to know the excellency of this gift of the Lord, it would fill us full of wonder and adoration, joy and thankfulneſs, great hopes and actual felicities, making us heirs of glory by the great additions and preſent increment of grace.

2. *After ſupper Jeſus took bread and bleſſed it*, and made it to be a heavenly gift. He gave them *bread*, and told them it was *his body*; that body which was broken for the redemption of man, for the ſalvation of the World. St. Paul calls it *(Bread)* even after conſecration; [a] *The bread which we break, is it not the communication of the body of Chriſt?* So that by divine faith we are taught to expreſs our belief of this myſtery in theſe words [the bread, which is conſecrated and made ſacramental, is the body of our Lord; and the fraction and diſtribution of it is the communication of that body which died for us upon the croſs.] He that doubts of either of the parts of this propoſition, muſt either think Chriſt was not able to verify his word, and to make *bread* by his benediction to become to us *his body*; or that St. Paul did not well interpret and underſtand this myſtery, when he called it *bread*. Chriſt reconciles them both, calling himſelf *the bread of life:* And if we be offended at it, becauſe it is *alive*, and therefore leſs apt to become food, we are invited to it becauſe it is *bread*; and if the ſacrament to others ſeems leſs myſterious, becauſe it is *bread*, we are heightned in our faith and reverence becauſe it is *life*. The bread of the ſacrament is the life of our ſoul, and the body of our Lord is now conveyed to us being the bread of the Sacrament. And if we conſider how eaſy it is to faith, and how impoſſible it ſeems to curioſity, we ſhall be taught confidence, and modeſty; a reſigning our underſtanding to the voice of Chriſt and his Apoſtles, and yet expreſſing our own articles as Chriſt did, in indefinite ſignifications. And poſſibly it may not well conſiſt with our duty, to be inquiſitive into the ſecrets of the kingdom, which we ſee by plain event hath divided the church almoſt as much as the Sacrament hath united it; and which can only ſerve the purpoſes of the ſchool and of evil men, to make queſtions for that, and factions for theſe, but not promote the ends of a holy life, obedience, or charity.

3. SOME ſo obſerve the literal ſenſe of the words, that they underſtand them alſo in a natural: Some ſo alter them by metaphors and preternatural ſignifications, that they will not underſtand them at all in a proper. We ſee it, we feel it, we taſte it, and we ſmell it to be bread; and by philoſophy we are led into a belief of that ſubſtance whoſe accidents theſe are, as we are to believe that to be fire which burns and flames and ſhines: but Chriſt alſo affirmed concerning it, *this is my body*; and if faith can create an aſſent as ſtrong as its object is infallible, or can be as certain in its concluſions as ſenſe is certain in its apprehenſions, we muſt at no hand doubt but that it is Chriſt's body. Let the ſenſe of that be what it will, ſo that we believe thoſe words, and (whatſoever that ſenſe

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[a] 1 Cor. x. 16.

Sartor fecit Londini.

And as they did eat, Jeſus *took the Bread, and bleſsed, and break it, and gave to them, and said, take, eat; this is my Body. And* he *took the Cup, and when* he *had given thanks,* he *gave it to them: and they all drank of it.*

St. Mark, Chap. 14th. Ver. 22d. 23d.

ſenſe is which Chriſt intended) that we no more doubt in our faith than we do in our ſenſe; then our faith is not reprovable. It is hard to do ſo much violence to our ſenſe, as not to think it bread; but it is more unſafe to do ſo much violence to our faith, as not to believe it to be Chriſt's Body. But it would be conſidered, that no intereſt of religion, no ſaying of Chriſt, no reverence of opinion, no ſacredneſs of the myſtery is diſavowed, if we believe both what we hear and what we ſee. He that believes it to be bread, and yet verily to be Chriſt's Body, is only tied alſo by implication to believe God's omnipotence, that he who affirmed it can, alſo verify it. And they that are forward to believe the change of ſubſtance, can intend no more but that it be believed verily to be the body of our Lord. And if they think it impoſſible to reconcile its being Bread with the verity of being Chriſt's Body, let them remember that themſelves are put to more difficulties, and to admit of more miracles, and to contradict more ſciences, and to refuſe the teſtimony of ſenſe, in affirming the ſpecial manner of tranſubſtantiation. [a] And therefore it were ſafer to admit the words in their firſt ſenſe, in which we ſhall no more be at war with reaſon, nor ſo much with ſenſe, and not at all with faith. And for perſons of the contradictory perſwaſion, who, to avoid the natural ſenſe, affirm it only to be figurative, ſince their deſign is only to make this ſacrament to be Chriſt's Body in the ſenſe of faith, and not of philoſophy, they may remember that its being really preſent does not hinder but that all that reality may be ſpiritual; and if it be Chriſt's Body, ſo it be not affirmed ſuch in a natural ſenſe and manner, it is ſtill only the object of faith and ſpirit: and if it be affirmed only to be ſpiritual, there is then no danger to faith in admitting the words of Chriſt's inſtitution, *This is my body.* I ſuppoſe it to be a miſtake, to think whatſoever is real muſt be natural; and it is no leſs to think ſpiritual to be only figurative: that is too much, and this is too little. Philoſophy and faith may well be reconciled; and whatſoever objection can invade this union, may be cured by modeſty. And if we profeſs we underſtand not the manner of this myſtery, we ſay no more but that it is a myſtery: if it had been neceſſary we ſhould have conſtrued it into the moſt latent ſenſe, Chriſt himſelf would have given a clavis, and taught the church to unlock ſo great a ſecret. Chriſt ſaid, *This is my body, this is my blood:* St. Paul ſaid, [b] *The bread of bleſſing that we break is the communication of the body of Chriſt, and the chalice which we bleſs is the communication of the blood of Chriſt*; and, *we are all one body, becauſe we eat of one bread.* One propoſition as well as the other is the matter of faith, and the latter of them is alſo of ſenſe; one is as literal as the other, and he that diſtinguiſhes in his belief, as he may place the impropriety upon what part he pleaſe, and either ſay it is improperly called Bread, or improperly called Chriſt's Body; ſo he can have nothing to ſecure his propoſition from error, or himſelf from boldneſs, in decreeing concerning myſteries againſt the teſtimonies of ſenſe, or beyond the modeſty and ſimplicity of chriſtian faith. Let us love and adore the abyſs of divine wiſdom and goodneſs, and entertain the ſacrament with juſt and holy receptions; and then we ſhall receive all thoſe fruits of it which an earneſt diſputer, or a peremptory dogmatizer, whether he happen right or wrong, hath no warrant to expect upon the intereſt of his opinion.

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[a] Acceptum panem & diſtributum diſcipulis corpus ſuum illum fecit, Hoc eſt corpus meum, dicendo, id eſt, figura corporis mei. Figura a non fuiſſet, niſi veritatis eſſet corpus. *Tert,* l. 4. cont. Marcion. c. 40. Quod ſi quicquid ingreditur in os, in ventrem abit, & in ſeceſſum ejicitur, & ille cibus qui ſanctificatur per verbum Dei perque obſecrationem, juxta id quod habet materiale in ventrem abit, & in ſeceſſum ejicitur, &c. & hæc quidem de typico ſymbolicoque corpore. *Origen* in 15. cap S. Matt. Τὰ σύμβολα τοῦ σώματος δὲ δεσποτικοῦ καὶ τοῦ αἵματος μετὰ τὴν ἐπίκλησιν ἀντιβάλλεται, καὶ ἕτερα γίνεται, ἀλλ' οὐκ οἰκείας ἐξίσταται φύσεως· μένει γὰρ ἐπὶ τῆς προτέρας οὐσίας, καὶ τοῦ σχήματος, καὶ τοῦ εἴδους, καὶ ὁρατά ἐστι, καὶ ἁπτὰ, οἷα καὶ πρότερον ἦν. Theod. Dial. 2. Idem diſputando contra Eutychianos, docentes humanam Chriſti naturam converſum iri in divinam, eodem ſcil. modo quo panis in corpus Chriſti, ait. Certe eodem ſcil. modo, hoc eſt, nullo. Ὁ δὲ Σωτὴρ ὁ ἡμέτερος, *&c.* Our bleſſed Saviour, who hath called himſelf the living Bread, and a Vine, hath alſo honoured the viſible Signs with the Title and Appellation of his Body and Blood, not changing their Nature, but adding to Nature Grace. *See the Dialog. called* The Immovable. Sacramenta quæ ſumimus Corporis & Sanguinis Chriſti, divina res eſt. Propter quod per eadem divinæ efficimur conſortes naturæ, & tamen non deſinit eſſe ſubſtantia vel natura panis & vini: & certe imago & ſimilitudo corporis & ſanguinis Chriſti in actione myſteriorum celebrantur. *P. Gelaſius libr. contra Neſtorium & Eutychetem.* Non quod proprie corpus ejus ſit panis, & poculum ſanguis; ſed quod myſterium corporis ejus ſanguiniſque contineant. *Facundus.* Si n. Sacramenta quandam ſimilitudinem non haberent earum rerum quarum ſunt ſacramenta, omnino Sacramenta non eſſent: Ex hac a. ſimilitudine plerumque ipſarum rerum nomina accipiunt. *S. Aug. Epiſt.* 23. *Idem contra Fauſtum Manich. lib.* 10. *c.* 2. Quod ab omnibus appellatur ſacrificium, ſignum eſt veri ſacrificii, in quo caro Chriſti poſt aſſumptionem per ſacramentum memoriæ celebratur. Apud *Gratianum de Conſecrat. diſt.* 2. *c.* 48. citatur *Auguſtinus* in Libro Sententiarum Proſperi in hæc verba. Sicut ergo cœleſtis panis, qui Chriſti caro eſt, ſuo modo vocatur corpus Chriſti, cum revera ſit ſacramentum corporis Chriſti, illius, viz. quod viſibile, quod palpabile, mortale in cruce poſitum eſt; vocaturque ipſa immolatio carnis quæ ſacerdotis manibus fit Chriſti paſſio, mors, crucifixio, non rei veritate ſed ſignificante myſterio: ſic Sacramentum Fidei quod Baptiſmus intelligitur, Fides eſt. Si ergo hæc vaſa ſanctificata ad privatos uſus transferre ſic periculoſum eſt, in quibus non eſt verum corpus Chriſti, ſed myſterium corporis ejus continetur; quanto magis vaſa corporis noſtri, &c. *S. Chryſoſt.* Opere imperf. in *Matth.* Idem in Epiſt. ad *Cæſarium,* in *Biblioth. Pp. Colon.* 1618. Sicut n. antequam ſanctificetur panis, Panem nominamus, divina autem illum ſanctificante gratia, mediante ſacerdote, liberatus quidem eſt ab appellatione Panis, dignus autem habitus eſt Dominici corporis appellatione, etiamſi natura Panis in eo permanſit, &c.

[b] 1 Cor. x. 16, 17.

Chryſoſt. notat Apoſtolum non dixiſſe panem eſſe μετοχὴν, ſed κοινωνίαν τοῦ σώματος Χριστοῦ, ut indicaret ita participari corpus Domini, ut fiant unum participans, & res participata, ſicut Verbum & Dei Caro. ὁ μετέχων, partem aliquam ſibi vendicat, ὁ κοινωνῶν, totius particeps eſt.

4. In the inſtitution of this ſacrament Chriſt manifeſted, firſt, his almighty power, ſecondly, his infinite wiſdom, and thirdly, his unſpeakable charity. Firſt, his power is manifeſt in making the ſymbols to be the inſtruments of conveying himſelf to the ſpirit of the receiver. He nouriſhes the ſoul with bread, and feeds the body with a ſacrament: he makes the body ſpiritual by his graces there miniſtred, and makes the ſpirit to be united to his body by a participation of the divine nature. In the ſacrament that body which is reigning in heaven is expoſed upon the table of bleſſing; and his body which was broken for us is now broken again, and yet remains impaſſible. Every conſecrated portion of bread and wine does exhibit Chriſt intirely to the faithful receiver: and yet Chriſt remains one, while he is wholly miniſtred in 10,000 portions. So long as we call theſe myſterious, and make them intricate to exerciſe our faith, and to repreſent the wonder of the myſtery, and to encreaſe our charity; our being inquiſitive into the abyſs can have no evil purpoſes. God hath inſtituted the rite in viſible ſymbols, to make the ſecret grace as preſential and diſcernable as it might, that by an inſtrument of ſenſe our ſpirits might be accommodated as with an exterior object to produce an internal act. But it is the prodigy of a miraculous power, by inſtruments ſo eaſy to produce effects ſo glorious. This then is the object of wonder and adoration.

5. Secondly, And this effect of power does alſo remark the divine wiſdom, who hath ordained ſuch ſymbols, which not only, like ſpittle and clay toward the curing blind eyes, proclaim an almighty power, but they are appoſite and proper to ſignify a duty, and become to us like the word of life, and from bread they turn into a homily. For therefore our wiſeſt Maſter hath appointed bread and wine, that we may be corporally united to him; that as the ſymbols becoming nutriment are turned into the ſubſtance of our bodies, ſo Chriſt being the food of our ſouls ſhould aſſimilate us, making us partakers of the divine nature. It alſo tells us, that from hence we derive life and holy motion; *for in him we live, and move, and have our being.* He is the ſtaff of our life, and the light of our eyes, and the ſtrength of our ſpirit; He is the viand for our journey, and the antepaſt of Heaven. And becauſe this holy myſtery was intended to be a ſacrament of union, that leſſon is morally repreſented in the ſymbols; That as the ſalutary juice is expreſſed from many cluſters running into one chalice, and the bread is a maſs made of many grains of wheat; ſo we alſo (as the Apoſtle infers from hence, himſelf obſerving the analogy) ſhould *be one bread and one body, becauſe we partake of that one bread.* And it were to be wiſhed that from hence alſo all chriſtians would underſtand a ſignification of another duty, and that they would often communicate, as remembring that the ſoul may need a frequent miniſtration as well as the body its daily proportion. This conſideration of the divine wiſdom is apt to produce reverence, humility and ſubmiſſion of our underſtanding to the immenſity of God's unſearchable abyſſes.

6. Thirdly, But the ſtory of the love of our deareſt Lord is written in largeſt characters, who not only was at that inſtant buſy in doing man the greateſt good, even then when man was contriving his death and his diſhonour, but contrived to repreſent his bitter paſſion to us without any circumſtances of horrour, in ſymbols of pleaſure and delight; that *we may taſte and ſee how gracious our* LORD *is*, who would not tranſmit the record of his paſſion to us in any thing that might trouble us. No love can be greater than that which is ſo beatifical as to beſtow the greateſt good; and no love can be better expreſſed than that which, although it is productive of the greateſt bleſſings, yet is curious alſo to obſerve the ſmalleſt circumſtances. And not only both theſe, but many other circumſtances and arguments of love concur in the holy ſacrament. 1. It is a tenderneſs of affection that miniſters wholſom phyſick with arts and inſtruments of pleaſure. And ſuch was the charity of our Lord, who brings health to us in a golden chalice; life not in the bitter drugs of Egypt, but in ſpirits and quinteſſences; giving us apples of Paradiſe, at the ſame time yielding food, and health, and pleaſure. 2. Love deſires to do all good to its beloved object, and that is the greateſt love which gives us the greateſt bleſſings. And the ſacramenr therefore is the argument of his greateſt love; for in it we receive the honey and the honey-comb, the paſchal lamb with his bitter herbs, Chriſt with all his griefs, and his paſſion with all the ſalutary effects of it. 3. Love deſires to be remembred, and to have his object in perpetual

repreſentment. And this ſacrament Chriſt deſigned to that purpoſe, that he, who is not preſent to our eyes, might always be preſent to our ſpirits. 4. Love demands love again, and to deſire to be beloved is of itſelf a great argument of love. And as God cannot give us a greater bleſſing than his love, which is himſelf with an excellency of relation to us ſuperadded; ſo what greater demonſtration of it can he make to us, than to deſire us to love him with as much earneſtneſs and vehemency of deſire, as if we were that to him which he is eſſentially to us, the author of our being and our bleſſing? 5. And yet to conſummate this love, and repreſent it to be the greateſt and moſt excellent, the holy Jeſus hath in this ſacrament deſigned that we ſhould be united in our ſpirits with him, incorporated to his body, partake of his divine nature, and communicate in all his graces: and love hath no expreſſion beyond this, that it deſires to be united unto its object. So that what Moſes ſaid to the men of Iſrael, *What nation is ſo great, who hath God ſo nigh unto them, as the* LORD *our God is in all things for which we call upon him?* we can enlarge in the meditation of this holy ſacrament: for now the Lord our God calls upon us, not only to be nigh unto him, but to be all one with him; not only as he was in the incarnation, fleſh of our fleſh and bone of our bone, but alſo to communicate in ſpirit, in grace, in nature, in divinity itſelf.

7. UPON the ſtrength of the premiſſes we may ſooner take an eſtimate of the graces which are conveyed to us in the reception and celebration of this holy ſacrament and ſacrifice. For as it is a commemoration and repreſentment of Chriſt's death, ſo it is a commemorative ſacrifice; as we receive the ſymbols and the myſtery, ſo it is a ſacrament. In both capacities the benefit is next to infinite. Firſt, for whatſoever Chriſt did at the inſtitution, the ſame he commanded the church to do in remembrance and repeated rites; and himſelf alſo does the ſame thing in Heaven for us, making perpetual interceſſion for his church, the body of his redeemed ones, by repreſenting to his father his death and ſacrifice: there he ſits a high-prieſt continually, and offers ſtill the ſame one perfect ſacrifice, that is, ſtill repreſents it as having been once finiſhed and conſummate in order to perpetual and never-failing events. And this alſo his miniſters do on earth, they offer up the ſame ſacrifice to God, the ſacrifice of the croſs, by prayers, and a commemorating rite and repreſentment according to his holy inſtitution. And as all the effects of grace and the titles of glory were purchaſed for us on the croſs, and the actual myſteries of redemption perfected on earth, but are applied to us and made effectual to ſingle perſons and communities of men by Chriſt's interceſſion in Heaven: ſo alſo they are promoted by acts duty and religion here on earth, that we may be [a] *workers together with God,* (as St. Paul expreſſes it,) and in virtue of the eternal and all-ſufficient ſacrifice may offer up our prayers and our duty, and by repreſenting that ſacrifice may ſend up together with our prayers an inſtrument of their graciousneſs and acceptation. The funerals of a deceaſed friend are not only performed at his firſt interring, but in the monthly minds and anniverſary commemorations, and our grief returns upon the ſight of a picture, or upon any inſtance which our dead friend deſired us to preſerve as his memorial: we *celebrate* and *exhibit the Lord's death* in ſacrament and ſymbol. And this is that great expreſs, which when the church offers to God the Father, it obtains all thoſe bleſſings which that ſacrifice purchaſed. Themiſtocles ſnatched up the ſon of king Admetus, and held him between himſelf and death, to mitigate the rage of the king, and prevailed accordingly. Our very holding up the Son of God, and repreſenting him to his Father, is the doing an act of mediation and advantage to ourſelves in the virtue and efficacy of the mediator. As Chriſt is a prieſt in Heaven for ever, and yet does not ſacrifice himſelf afreſh, nor yet without a ſacrifice could he be a prieſt, but by a daily miniſtration and interceſſion repreſents his ſacrifice to God, and offers himſelf as ſacrificed: ſo he does upon earth by the miniſtry of his ſervants; he is offered to God, that is, he is by prayers and the ſacrament repreſented or *offered up to God as ſacrificed,* which, in effect, is a celebration of his death, and the applying it to the preſent and future neceſſities of the church, as we are capable, by a miniſtry like to his in Heaven. It follows then, that the celebration of this ſacrifice be in its proportion [b] an inſtrument of applying the proper ſacrifice to all the purpoſes which it firſt deſigned. It is miniſterially and by application an inſtrument propitiatory, it is euchariſtical, it is an homage, and an act of adoration, and it is impetratory, and obtains for us and for the whole Church

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[a] 2 Cor. 6. 1.

[b] Iſte calix, benedictione ſolenni ſacratus, ad totius hominis vitam ſalutemque proficit; ſimul medicamentum & holocauſtum, ad ſanandas infirmitates & purgandas iniquitates, exiſtens. *S. Cyp.* de cœna Dom.

all the benefits of the ſacrifice, which is now celebrated and applied: that is, As this rite is the remembrance and miniſterial celebration of Chriſt's ſacrifice, ſo it is deſtined to do honour to God, to expreſs the homage and duty of his ſervants, to acknowledge his ſupreme dominion, to give him thanks and worſhip, to beg pardon, bleſſings and ſupply of all our needs. And its profit is enlarged not only to the perſons celebrating, but to all to whom they deſign it, according to the nature of ſacrifices and prayers, and all ſuch ſolemn actions of religion.

8. SECONDLY, If we conſider this, not as the act and miniſtry of eccleſiaſtical perſons, but as the duty of the whole church communicating, that is, as it is a ſacrament, ſo it is like the ſprings of Eden, from whence iſſue many rivers, or the trees of celeſtial Jeruſalem, bearing various kinds of fruit. For whatſoever was offered in the ſacrifice, is given in the ſacrament; and whatſoever the teſtament bequeaths, the holy myſteries diſpenſe. 1. [a] *He that eateth my fleſh and drinketh my blood, abideth in me and I in him*; Chriſt in his temple and his reſting-place, and the worthy communicant in ſanctuary and a place of protection: and every holy ſoul having feaſted at his table may ſay, as St. Paul, [b] *I live, yet not I, but Chriſt liveth in me.* So that [c] *to live is Chriſt:* [d] *Chriſt is our life*, and he dwells in the body and the ſpirit of every one that eats Chriſt's fleſh and drinks his blood. Happy is that man that ſits at the table of Angels, that puts his hand into the diſh with the king of all the creatures, and feeds upon the eternal Son of God, joining things below with things above, Heaven with Earth, Life with Death, that *mortality might be ſwallowed up of life*, and ſin be deſtroyed by the inhabitation of its greateſt conqueror. And now I need not enumerate any particulars, ſince the ſpirit of God hath aſcertained us that Chriſt enters into our hearts, and takes poſſeſſion, and abides there; that we are made temples and celeſtial manſions; that we are all one with our Judge, and with our Redeemer; that our Creator is bound unto his creature with bonds of charity which nothing can diſſolve, unleſs our own hands break them; that Man is united with God, and our weakneſs is fortified by his ſtrength, and our miſeries wrapped up in the golden leaves of glory. 2. Hence it follows that the ſacrament is an inſtrument of reconciling us to God, and taking off the remanent guilt, and ſtain, and obligations of our ſins. *This is the blood that was ſhed for you for the remiſſion of ſins. For there is no condemnation to them that are in Chriſt Jeſus.* And ſuch are all they who worthily eat the fleſh of Chriſt: by receiving him, they more and more receive remiſſion of ſins, redemption, ſanctification, wiſdom, and certain hopes of glory. For as the ſoul touching and united to the fleſh of Adam, contracts the ſtain of original miſery and imperfection; ſo much the rather ſhall the ſoul united to the fleſh of Chriſt receive pardon and purity, and all thoſe bleſſed emanations from our union with the ſecond Adam. But this is not to be underſtood, as if the firſt beginnings of our pardon were in the holy communion; for then a man might come with his impurities along with him, and lay them on the holy table, to ſtain and pollute ſo bright a preſence. No; firſt repentance muſt *prepare the way of the Lord:* and in this holy rite thoſe words of our Lord are verified, *He that is juſtified let him be juſtified ſtill*; that is, here he may receive the increaſe of grace; and as it grows, ſo ſin dies, and we are reconciled by nearer unions and approximations to God.

9. THIRDLY, The holy ſacrament is the pledge of Glory, and the earneſt of Immortality. [e] For when we have received him who hath *overcome death, and henceforth dies no more*, he becomes to us like the tree of life in Paradiſe: and the conſecrated ſymbols are like the ſeeds of an eternal duration, ſpringing up in us to eternal life, nouriſhing our ſpirits with grace, which is but the prologue and the infancy of glory, and differs from it only as a child from a man. But God firſt raiſed up his ſon to life, and by giving him to us hath alſo conſigned us to the ſame ſtate; for [f] *our life is hid with Chriſt in God.* "When we lay down and caſt aſide the impurer robes of fleſh, they "are then but preparing for glory: and if by the only touch of Chriſt, bodies were "redintegrate and reſtored to natural perfections, how ſhall not we live for ever who "eat his fleſh and drink his blood?" It is the diſcourſe of St. Cyril. [g] Whatſoever the ſpirit can convey to the body of the church, we may expect from this ſacrament: for as the ſpirit is the inſtrument of life and action, ſo the blood of Chriſt is the con-

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[a] John vi. 56.

[b] Gal. ii. 20.

[c] Phil. i. 21.

[d] Col. iii. 4.

[e] Ἀθανασίας φάρμακον. apud S. Ignat. epiſt. ad Epheſ. Spes reſurrectionis. *Optat. Milevit.* l. 6. Contra Parmen. et S. *Joan.* 6. 54 Qui manducat carnem meam, habet vitam æternam, & reſuſcitabo eum in noviſſimo die.

[f] Coloſ. iii. 3.

[g] S. *Cyril. Alex.* l. 4. in Jo. c. 14. et Iren. l. 4. c. 34. Sic & corpora noſtra percipientia Euchariſtiam jam non ſunt corruptibilia, ſpem reſurrectionis habentia.

veyance of his ſpirit. And let all the myſterious places of holy ſcripture concerning the effects Chriſt communicated in the bleſſed ſacrament be drawn together in one ſcheme, we cannot but obſerve, that although they are ſo expreſſed as that their meaning may ſeem intricate and involved, yet they cannot be drawn to any meaning at all, but it is as glorious in its ſenſe as it is myſterious in the expreſſion; and the more intricate they are, the greater is their purpoſe; no words being apt and proportionate to ſignify this ſpiritual ſecret and excellent effects of the ſpirit. A veil is drawn before all theſe teſtimonies, becauſe the people were not able to behold the glory which they cover with their curtain: and *Chriſt dwelling in us*, and *giving us his fleſh to eat and his blood to drink*, and *the hiding of our life with God*, and *the communion of the body of Chriſt*, and *Chriſt being our life*, are ſuch ſecret glories, that as the fruition of them is the portion of the other world, ſo alſo is the full perception and underſtanding of them. For therefore God appears to us in a cloud, and his glories in a veil, that we underſtanding more of it by its concealment than we can by its open face, which is too bright for our weak eyes, may with more piety alſo entertain the greatneſs by theſe indefinite and myſterious ſignifications, than we can by plain and direct intuitions, which like the ſun in a direct ray enlightens the object, but confounds the organ.

10. I ſhould but in other words deſcribe the ſame glories, if I ſhould add, That this holy ſacrament does enlighten the ſpirit of man, and clarify it with ſpiritual diſcernings; and as he was to the two diſciples at Emmaus, ſo alſo to other faithful people, *Chriſt is known in the breaking of bread:* That it is a great [a] defence againſt the hoſtilities of our ghoſtly enemies, this holy bread being like the cake of Gideon's camp, overturning the tents of Midian: That it is the relief of our ſorrows, the antidote and preſervative of ſouls, the viand of our journey, the guard and paſſport of our death, the wine of Angels: That it is more healthful than rhubarb, more pleaſant than Caſſia: That the beetle and lareca of the Indians, the [b] moly or nepenthe of Pliny, the lirinon of the Perſians, the balſam of Judæa, the manna of Iſrael, the honey of Jonathan, are but weak expreſſions to tell us that this is excellent above art and nature, and that nothing is good enough in philoſophy to become its emblem. All theſe muſt needs fall very ſhort of thoſe plain words of Chriſt, *This is my body.* The other may become the ecſtaſies of piety, the tranſportation of joy and wonder, and are like the diſcourſe of St. Peter upon mount Tabor, he was reſolved to ſay ſome great thing, but he knew not what: but when we remember that the body of our Lord and his blood is communicated to us in the bread and chalice of bleſſing, we muſt ſit down and reſt ourſelves; for this is the mountain of the Lord, and we can go no farther.

11. IN the next place it will concern our enquiry to conſider how we are to prepare ourſelves. For at the gate of life a man may meet with death: and although this holy ſacrament be like manna, in which the obedient find the reliſhes of obedience, the chaſt of purity, the meek perſons of content and humility; yet vicious and corrupted palates find alſo the guſt of death and coloquintida. The [c] Syberites invited their women to their ſolemn ſacrifices a full year before the ſolemnity, that they might by previous diſpoſitions and a long foreſight attend with gravity and fairer order the celebration of the rites. And it was a reaſonable anſwer of Pericles, to one that aſked him why he, being a philoſophical and ſevere perſon, came to a wedding trimmed and adorned like a paranymph; *I come adorned to an adorned perſon*, trimmed to a bridegroom. And we alſo, if we come to the marriage of the ſon with the ſoul (which marriage is celebrated in this ſacred myſtery,) and have not on a wedding garment, ſhall be caſt into outer darkneſs, the portion of undreſſed and unprepared ſouls.

12. FOR from this ſacrament are excluded all unbaptized perſons, and ſuch who lie in a known ſin, of which they have not purged themſelves by the apt and proper inſtruments of repentance. For if the paſchal lamb was not to be eaten but by perſons pure and clean according to the ſanctifications of the law; the Son of God can leſs endure the impurities of the ſpirit, than God could ſuffer the uncleanneſſes of the law. St. Paul hath given us inſtruction in this: [d] *Firſt let a man examine himſelf, and ſo let him eat. For he that eats and drinks unworthily, eats and drinks damnation to himſelf, not diſcerning the Lord's body.* That is, although in the church of Corinth, by reaſon of the preſent

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[a] Tanquam leones ignem ſpirantes recedamus ex illa menſa, Dæmonibus facti terribiles. S. *Chryſ.*
Poculum quo inebriatur affectus fidelium.
S. *Ambroſ.* Ser. 15. in Pſalm. 118.

[b] Μῶλυ δέ μιν καλέουσι θεοί, χαλεπὸν δέ τ' ὀρύσσειν
Ἀνδράσι γε θνητοῖσι· θεοὶ δὲ τε πάντα δύνανται. Hom.

[c] Plutarch. Sympoſ.

[d] 1 Cor. 11. 28, 29.

ſent ſchiſm, the publick diſcipline of the church was neglected, and every man permitted to himſelf: yet even then no man was diſobliged from his duty of private repentance, and holy preparations to the perception of ſo great a myſtery; that *the Lord's body* may be diſcerned from common nutriment. Now nothing can ſo unhallow and deſecrate the rite as the remanent affection to a ſin, or a crime unrepented of. And ſelf-examination is preſcribed, not for itſelf, but in order to the abolition of ſin and death: for itſelf is a relative term and an imperfect duty, whoſe very nature is in order to ſomething beyond it. And this was in the primitive church underſtood to ſo much ſeverity, that if a man had relapſed after one publick repentance into a foul crime, he was never again re-admitted to the holy communion. And the fathers of the [a] council of Eliberis call it [a mocking and jeſting at the communion of our Lord, to give it once again after repentance and a relapſe, and a ſecond or third poſtulation.] And indeed we uſe to make a ſport of the greateſt inſtruments of religion, when we come to them after an habitual vice, whoſe face we have, it may be, wetted with a tear and breathed upon it with a ſigh, and abſtained from the worſt of crimes for two or three days, and come to the ſacrament to be purged, and to take our riſe by going a little back from our ſin, that afterwards we may leap into it with more violence, and enter into its utmoſt angle. This is diſhonouring the body of our Lord, and deceiving ourſelves. Chriſt and Belial cannot cohabit. But if we have left all our ſins, and have no fondneſs of affection towards them, if we hate them, (which then we ſhall beſt know when we leave them, and with complacency entertain their contraries,) then Chriſt hath waſhed our feet, and then he invites us to his holy ſupper. Hands dipt in blood, or polluted with unlawful gains, or ſtained with the ſpots of fleſh, are moſt unfit to handle the holy body of our Lord, and miniſter nouriſhment to the ſoul. Chriſt loves not to enter into the mouth full of curſings, oaths, blaſphemies, revilings, or evil-ſpeakings; and a heart full of vain and vicious thoughts ſtinks like the lake of Sodom: he finds no reſt there; and when he enters, he is vexed with the unclean converſation of the impure inhabitants, and flies from thence with the wings of a dove, that he may retire to pure and whiter habitations. St. Juſtin Martyr, [b] reckoning the prediſpoſitions required of every faithful ſoul for the entertainment of his Lord, ſays, That "it is not lawful for any "to eat the Euchariſt, but him that is waſhed in the laver of regeneration for the re"miſſion of ſins, that believes Chriſt's doctrines to be true, and that lives according "to the diſcipline of the holy Jeſus". And therefore St. Ambroſe refuſed to miniſter the holy communion to the emperor Theodoſius, till by publick repentance he had reconciled himſelf to God and the ſociety of faithful people, after the furious and cholerick rage and ſlaughter committed at Theſſalonica. And as this act was like to cancellating and a circumvallation of the holy myſteries, and in that ſenſe and ſo far was a proper duty for a prelate, to whoſe diſpenſation the rites are committed: ſo it was an act of duty to the emperor, of paternal and tender care; not of proper authority or juriſdiction, which he could not have over his Prince, but yet had a care and the ſupraviſion of a teacher over him; whoſe ſoul St. Ambroſe had betrayed, unleſs he had repreſented his diſpoſition to communicate in expreſſions of magiſterial or doctoral authority and truth. For this holy ſacrament is a nouriſhment of ſpiritual life, and therefore cannot with effect be miniſtred to them who are in the ſtate of ſpiritual death, it is giving a cordial to a dead man: And although the outward rite be miniſtred, yet the grace of the ſacrament is not communicated; and therefore it were well that they alſo abſtained from the rite itſelf. For a [c] fly can boaſt of as much priviledge as a wicked perſon can receive from this holy feaſt; and oftentimes pays his life for his acceſs to forbidden delicacies, as certainly as they.

13. IT is more generally thought by the doctors of the church, that our bleſſed Lord adminiſtred the ſacrament to Judas, although he knew he ſold him to the Jews: [d] Some others deny it, and ſuppoſe Judas departed preſently after the ſop given him, before he communicated. However it was, Chriſt, who was Lord of the ſacraments, might diſpenſe it as he pleaſed: but we muſt miniſter and receive it according to the

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[a] Concil. Eliber. cap. 3.

[b] S. *Baſil.* l. 2. de Bapt. c. 3. Legatur totum caput.

S. *Ambroſ.* l. 6. c. 37. in Luc. 9.

Ubique myſterii ordo ſervatur, ut prius per remiſſionem peccatorum vulneribus medicina tribuatur, poſtea alimonia menſæ cœleſtis exuberet. *Paulin.* in vita S. *Ambroſ.*

Si Dux quiſpiam, ſi conſul ipſe, ſi qui diademate ornatur, indigne adeat, cohibe & coerce. Quod ſi ipſe pellere non audes, mihi dicas, non permittàm iſta fieri: animam potius tradam meam, quam dominicum alicui corpus indigne. *S. Chryſoſt.* hom. 83. in Matth.

[c] Exta præguſto Deûm, moror inter aras, templa perluſtro omnia; In capite regis ſedeo cum viſum eſt mihi. Et matronarum caſta delibo oſcula. *Phædr. Fab.* 80.

[d] Negaturà *Clemente* Rom. 5. Conſt. c. 16. ab *Hilario* c. 30. in Matth. ab *Innocentio.* l. 3. de Myſter. c. 13. a *Ruperto, Hildebrand. Cenoman.* & paucis aliis.

rules he hath ſince deſcribed. But it becomes a precedent to the church in all ſucceeding ages; although it might alſo have ſomething in it extraordinary and apter to the firſt inſtitution. For becauſe the fact of Judas was ſecret, not yet made notorious, Chriſt choſe rather to admit him into the rites of external communion, than to ſeparate him with an open ſhame for a fault not yet made open. For our bleſſed Lord did not reveal the man and his crime till the very time of miniſtration, if Judas did communicate. But if Judas did not communicate, and that our bleſſed Lord gave him the ſop at the paſchal ſupper, or at the interval between it and the inſtitution of his own, it is certain that Judas went out as ſoon as he was diſcovered, and left this part of diſcipline upon record: That when a crime is made publick and notorious, the governors of the church, according to their power, are to deny to give the bleſſed ſacrament, till by repentance ſuch perſons be reſtored. [a] In private ſins, or ſins not known by ſolemnities of law, or evidence of fact, good and bad are entertained in publick communion: and it is not to be accounted a crime in them that miniſter it, becauſe they cannot avoid it, or have not competent authority to ſeparate perſons, whom the publick act of the church hath not ſeparated. But if once a publick ſeparation be made, or that the fact is notorious and the ſentence of law is in ſuch caſes already declared, they that come, and he that rejects them not, both pollute the blood of the everlaſting covenant. And here it is applicable what God ſpake by the prophet, [b] *if thou wilt ſeparate the precious thing from the vile, thou ſhalt be as my mouth.*

BUT this is wholly a matter of diſcipline, arbitrary, and in the power of the church; nothing in it of divine commandment, but what belongs to the communicants themſelves. For St. Paul reproves them that receive diſorderly, but gives no orders to the Corinthian preſbyters to reject any that preſent themſelves. Neither did our bleſſed Lord leave any commandment concerning it, or hath the holy ſcripture given rules or meaſures concerning its actual reduction to practice; neither who are to be ſeparated, nor for what offences, nor by what authority, nor who is to be the judge. And indeed it is a judgment that can only belong to God, who knows the ſecrets of hearts, the degrees of every ſin, the beginnings and portions of repentance, the ſincerity of purpoſes, by what thoughts and deſigns men begin to be accepted, who are hypocrites, and who are true men. But when many and common men come to judge, they are angry upon trifling miſtakes and weak diſputes: they call that ſin that angers their party, or grieves their intereſt; they turn charity into pride, and admonition into tyranny: they ſet up a tribunal that themſelves may ſit higher, not that their brethren may walk more ſecurely. And then concerning ſins, in moſt caſes, they are moſt incompetent Judges; they do not know all their kinds; they miſcall many; they are ignorant of the ingredient and conſtituent parts and circumſtances; they themſelves make falſe meaſures, and give out according to them, when they pleaſe; and when they liſt not, they can change the balance. When the matter is publick, evident and notorious, the man is to be admoniſhed of his danger by the miniſter, but not by him to be forced from it. For the power of the miniſter of holy things is but the pow- of a preacher, and a counſellor, of a phyſician and a guide: it hath in it no coercion or violence, but what is indulged to it by human laws and by conſent, which may vary as its principle.

ADD to this, that the grace of God can begin the work of repentance in an inſtant, and in what period or degree of repentance the holy communion is to be adminiſtred, no law of God declares; which therefore plainly allows it to every period, and leaves no difference, except where the diſcipline of the Church and the authority of the ſupreme power doth intervene. For ſince we do not find in ſcripture that the Apoſtles did drive from the communion of holy things even thoſe whom they delivered over to Satan or other cenſures; we are left to conſider, that, in the nature of the thing, thoſe who are in the ſtate of weakneſs and infirmity have more need of the ſolemn prayers of the church, and therefore, by preſenting themſelves to the holy ſacrament, approach towards that miniſtry which is the moſt effectual cure; eſpecially ſince the very preſenting themſelves is an act of religion, and therefore ſuppoſes an act of repentance and faith, and other little introductions to its fair reception. And if they may be prayed for, and prayed with, why they may not alſo be communicated, which is the ſolemnity of the greateſt prayer, is not yet clearly revealed.

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[a] Nec a communione prohibere quenquam poſſumus, niſi aut ſponte confeſſum, aut in aliquo ſive ſeculari ſive eccleſiaſtico Judicio nominatum atque convictum. S. *Aug.* l. 5. Homil. hom. 50. S. *Thomas* 3. p. q. 81. a. 2.

[b] Jer. 15. 19.

THIS diſcourſe relates only to private miniſtry. For when I affirm that there is no command from Chriſt, to all his miniſters to refuſe whom they are pleaſed to call ſcandalous or ſinners, I intend to defend good people from the tyranny and arbitrary power of thoſe great companies of miniſters, who in ſo many hundred places would have a judicature ſupreme in ſpirituals, which would be more intolerable than if they had in one province 20000 judges of life and death. But when the power of ſeparation and interdiction is only in ſome more eminent and authorized perſons, who take publick cognizance of cauſes by ſolemnities of law, and exerciſe their power but in ſome rare inſtances, and then alſo for the publick intereſt, in which although they may be deceived, yet they are the moſt competent and likely judges; much of the inconvenience, which might otherwiſe follow, is avoided. And then it only remains that they conſider, in what caſes it can be a competent and a proper infliction upon ſinners, to take from them that which is the means and miniſtry of grace and recovery; whether they have any warrant from Chriſt, or precedent in the Apoſtles practice, and how far. As for the forms and uſages of the primitive church, they were hugely different, ſometimes for one cauſe, ſometimes for another. Sometimes whole churches have been excommunicated; ſometimes the criminal and all his houſhold for his offence, as it happened in the excommunication of Andronicus and Thoas in [a] Syneſius, in the year 411. Sometimes they were abſolved and reſtored by lay-confeſſors, ſometimes by Emperors; as it happened to Euſebius of Nicomedia and Theognis of Nice, who were abſolved by Conſtantine from the ſentence of excommunication inflicted by the Nicene fathers: and a monk did excommunicate [b] Theodoſius the younger. So that in this there can be no certainty to make a meaſure and a rule. The ſureſt way, moſt agreeable to the precedents of ſcripture and the analogy of the goſpel, is, that *by the word of their proper miniſtry* all ſinners ſhould be ſeparate from the holy communion; that is, threatned by the words of God with damnation, and fearful temporal dangers, if themſelves, knowing an unrepented ſin, and a remanent affection to ſin to be within them, ſhall dare to profane that body and blood of our Lord by ſo impure an addreſs. The evil is to themſelves; and, if the miniſters declare this powerfully, they are acquitted. But concerning other judgments or ſeparations; the ſupreme power can forbid all aſſembling, and therefore can permit them to all, and therefore can deny them or grant them to ſingle perſons; and therefore when he by laws makes ſeparations in order to publick benefit, they are to be obeyed. But it is not to be endured that ſingle preſbyters ſhould upon vain pretences erect ſo high a tribunal and tyranny over conſciences.

14. THE duty of preparation that I here diſcourſe of, is ſuch a preparation as is a diſpoſition to life. It is not a matter of convenience or advantage, to repent of our ſins before the communion, but it is of abſolute neceſſity, we periſh if we neglect it; for we eat damnation, and Satan enters into us, not Chriſt. And this preparation is not the act of a day or a week; but it is a new ſtate of life: no man that is an habitual ſinner muſt come to this feaſt, till he hath wholly changed his courſe of life. And then, according as the actions of infirmity have made leſs or greater invaſion upon his peace and health, ſo are the acts of repentance to be proportioned: in which the greatneſs of the prevarications, their neighbourhood to death, or their frequent repetition, and the conduct of a ſpiritual man, are to give us counſel and determination. When a ravening and hungry wolf is deſtitute of prey, he eats the turf, and loads his ſtomach with the glebe he treads on; but as ſoon as he finds better food, he vomits up his firſt load. Our ſecular and ſenſual affections are loads of earth upon the conſcience, and when we approach to the table of the Lord to eat the bread of the elect, and to drink the wine of Angels, we muſt reject ſuch impure adheſions, that holy perſons, being nouriſhed with holy ſymbols, may be ſanctified, and receive the eternal reward of holineſs.

15. BUT as none muſt come hither but they that are in the ſtate of grace, or charity, and the love of God and their neighbours, and that the abolition of the ſtate of ſin is the neceſſary preparation, and is the action of years, and was not accepted as ſufficient till the expiration of divers years by the primitive diſcipline, and in ſome caſes not till the approach of death: ſo there is another preparation which is of leſs neceſſity, which ſuppoſes the ſtate of grace, and that oil is burning in our lamps: but yet it is a preparation of ornament, a trimming up the ſoul, a dreſſing the ſpirit with degrees and inſtances of piety and progreſſes of perfection. And it conſiſts in ſetting apart

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[a] *Syneſ. ep.* 79.

[b] *Theod.* Hiſt. l. 5. 36. *Baron.* tom. 5. A. D. 425. Sect. 16.

ſome portion of our time before the communion, that it be ſpent in prayer, in meditations, in renewing the vows of holy obedience, in examining our conſciences, in mortifying our leſſer irregularities, in devotions and actions of preciſe religion, in acts of faith, of hope, of charity, of zeal and holy deſires, in acts of Euchariſt or thankſgiving, of joy at the approach of ſo bleſſed opportunity, and all the acts of virtue whatſoever, which have indefinite relation to this and to other myſteries; but yet are ſpecially to be exerciſed upon this occaſion, becauſe this is the moſt perfect of external rites, and the moſt myſterious inſtrument of ſanctification and perfection. There is no time or degree to be determined in this preparation; but they *to whom much is forgiven will love much*: and they who underſtand the excellence and holineſs of the myſtery, the glory of the gueſt that comes to inhabit, and the undecency of the cloſet of their hearts by reaſon of the adherences of impurity, the infinite benefit then deſigned, and the increaſe of degrees by the excellence of theſe previous acts of holineſs, will not be too inquiſitive into the neceſſity of circumſtances and meaſures, but do it heartily, and devoutly, and reverently, and as much as they can, ever eſteeming it neceſſary, that the actions of ſo great ſolemnity ſhould by ſome actions of piety, attending like handmaids, be diſtinguiſhed from common employments, and remarked for the principal and moſt ſolemn of religious actions. The primitive church gave the holy ſacraments to infants [a] immediately after baptiſm, and by that act tranſmitted this propoſition: That nothing was of abſolute neceſſity [b] but innocency and purity from ſin, and a being in the ſtate of grace. Other actions of religion are excellent additions to the dignity of the perſon and honour of the myſtery, but they were ſuch of which infants were not capable. The ſum is this; after the greateſt conſociation of religious duties for preparation, no man can be ſufficiently worthy to communicate: let us take care that we be not unworthy, by bringing a guilt with us, or the remanent affection to a ſin.

Eſt glorioſus ſane convictus Dei;
Sed illi qui invitatur, non qui inviſus eſt.

16. WHEN the happy hour is come in which the Lord vouchſafes to enter into us, and dwell with us, and be united with his ſervants, we muſt then do the ſame acts over again with greater earneſtneſs and intention; confeſs the glories of God and thy own unworthineſs, praiſe his mercy with ecſtaſy of thankſgiving and joy, make oblation of thyſelf, of all thy faculties and capacities, pray, and read, and meditate, and worſhip. And that thou mayſt more opportunely do all this, riſe early to meet the bridegroom, pray for ſpecial aſſiſtance, enter into the aſſembly of faithful people chearfully, attend there diligently, demean thyſelf reverently, and before any other meat or drink receive the body of thy Saviour with pure hands, with holy intention, with a heart full of joy, and faith, and hope, and wonder, and euchariſt. Theſe things I therefore ſet down irregularly and without method, becauſe in theſe actions no rule can be given to all perſons; and only ſuch a love and ſuch a religion in general is to be recommended, which will over-run the banks, and not eaſily ſtand confined within the margin of rules, and artificial preſcriptions. Love and religion are boundleſs, and all acts of grace relating to the preſent myſtery are fit and proportioned entertainments of our Lord. This only remember, That we are by the myſtery of one bread confederated into one body, and the communion of Saints, and that the ſacrifice which we then commemorate was deſigned by our Lord for the benefit of all his church: Let us be ſure to draw all faithful people into the ſociety of the preſent bleſſing, joining with the holy man that miniſters in prayers and offerings of that myſtery for the benefit of all ſorts of men, of Chriſt's catholick church. And it were alſo an excellent act of chriſtian communion, and agreeable to the practice of the church in all ages, to make an oblation to God for the poor; that as we are fed by Chriſt's body, ſo we alſo ſhould feed Chriſt's body, making ſuch returns as we can, a grain of frankincenſe in exchange for a Province, an act of duty and chriſtian charity as euchariſtical for the preſent grace, that all the body may rejoice and glory in the ſalvation of the Lord.

17. AFTER thou haſt received that pledge of immortality and antepaſt of glory, even the Lord's body in a myſtery, leave not thy Saviour there alone, but attend him with

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[a] *Clem. Rom.* l. 8. Conſtit. c. 20. *Concil. Tolet.* 1. c. 11. S. *Aug.* ep. 23. ad *Bonif.* & ep. 107. & lib. 4. de Trin. c. 10.

[b] Habentem adhuc voluntatem peccandi gravari magis dico Euchariſtiæ perceptione quam purificari: ſed hoc de iis dico quos capitalia & mortalia non gravant. *Gennad.* l. 3. de eccl. dogmat. c. 53.

holy thoughts and colloquies of prayer and Euchariſt. It was ſometime counted infamous for a woman to entertain a ſecond love, till the body of her dead huſband was diſſolved into aſhes, and diſappeared in the form of a body. [a] And it were well, that ſo long as the conſecrated ſymbols remain within us according to common eſtimate, we ſhould keep the flame bright, and the perfume of an actual devotion burning, that our communion be not a tranſient act, but a permanent and laſting intercourſe with our Lord. But in this every man beſt knows his own opportunities and neceſſities of diverſion. I only commend earneſtly to practice, that every receiver ſhould make a recollection of himſelf, and the actions of the day; that he improve it to the beſt advantage; that he ſhew unto our Lord all the defects of his houſe, all his poverty and weakneſſes: and this let every man do by ſuch actions and devotions which he can beſt attend, and himſelf by the advice of a ſpiritual man finds of beſt advantage. I would not make the practice of religion, eſpecially in ſuch irregular inſtances, to be an art, or a burthen, or a ſnare to ſcrupulous perſons. What St. Paul ſaid in the caſe of charity, I ſay alſo in this; *He that ſows plentifully ſhall reap plentifully, and he that ſows ſparingly ſhall gather at the ſame rate: let every man do as himſelf purpoſeth in his heart.* Only it were well in this ſacrament of love we had ſome correſpondency, and proportionable returns of charity and religious affections.

18. SOME religious perſons have moved a Queſtion, Whether it were better to communicate often, or ſeldom: ſome thinking it more reverence to thoſe holy myſteries to come but ſeldom; while others ſay, it is greater religion or charity to come frequently. But I ſuppoſe this queſtion does not differ much from a diſpute; whether is better, to pray often, or to pray ſeldom? For whatſoever is commonly pretended againſt a frequent communion, may in its proportion object againſt a ſolemn prayer; remanent affection to a ſin, enmity with neighbours, ſecular avocations to the height of care and trouble; for theſe either are great undecencies in order to a holy prayer; or elſe are direct irregularities, and unhallow the prayer. And the celebration of the holy ſacrament is in itſelf and its own formality a ſacred, ſolemn and ritual prayer, in which we invocate God by the merits of Chriſt, expreſſing that adjuration not only in words, but in actual repreſentment and commemoration of his paſſion. And if the neceſſities of the church were well conſidered, we ſhould find, that a daily ſacrifice of prayer and a daily prayer of ſacrifice were no more but what her condition requires. And I would to God the Governors of Churches would take care, that the neceſſities of kings and kingdoms, of churches and ſtates were repreſented to God by the moſt ſolemn and efficacious interceſſions: and Chriſt hath taught us none greater than the praying in the virtue and celebration of his ſacrifice. And this is the counſel that the church received from Ignatius; *Haſten frequently to approach the Euchariſt, the glory of God. For when this is daily celebrated, we break the powers of Satan, who turns all his actions into hoſtilities and darts of fire.* But this concerns the miniſters of religion, who living in communities and colleges, muſt make religion the buſineſs of their lives, and ſupport kingdoms, and ſerve the intereſt of kings by the prayer of a daily ſacrifice. And yet in this miniſtry the clergy may ſerve their own neceſſary affairs, if the miniſtration be divided into courſes, as it was by the oeconomy and wiſdom of Solomon for the temple.

19. BUT concerning the communion of ſecular and lay perſons, the conſideration is ſomething different. [b] St. Auſtin gave this anſwer to it: *To receive the ſacrament every day I neither praiſe nor reprove: at leaſt let them receive it every Lord's day.* And this he ſpake to huſbandmen and merchants. At the firſt commencement of chriſtianity, while the fervours apoſtolical and the calentures of infant Chriſtendom did laſt, the whole aſſembly of faithful people communicated every day: And this laſted in Rome and Spain until the time of St. [c] Jerome: concerning which diligence he gives the ſame cenſure which I now recited from St. Auſtin; for it ſuffered inconvenience by reaſon of a declining piety, and the intervening of ſecular intereſts. [d] But then it came to once a week; and yet that was not every where ſtrictly obſerved. But that it be received once every fortnight, St. Hierom counſels very ſtrongly to Euſtochium a holy virgin; *Let the virgins confeſs their ſins twice every month, or oftner, and being fortified with the communion of the Lord's Body, let them manfully fight againſt the Devil's forces and attempts.* A while after it came to once a month, then once a year, then it fell

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[a] Male olim actum eſt, cum ſacrificia compotationibus finierant. Ἀπὸ τούτου γέ φασι τὸ μεθύειν ὠνομάσθαι, ὅτι μετὰ τὸ θύειν ἔθος ἦν τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις οἰνοῦσθαι.

[b] *Gennadius*, c. 54. de eccl. dogmat.

[c] Epiſt. 80. ad *Lucinum*.

[d] Itaque ſicut nobis licet vel jejunare ſemper, vel ſemper orare, & diem Dominicum, accepto corpore Domini, indeſinenter celebrare gaudentibus, &c. *Idem*.

from that too; till all the chriſtians in the weſt were commanded to communicate every Eaſter by the decree of a great[a] council above 500 years ſince. But the church of England finding that too little, hath commanded all her children to receive thrice every year at leaſt, intending that they ſhould come oftner; but of this ſhe demands an account. For it hath fared with this ſacrament as with other actions of religion, which have deſcended from flames to ſtill fires, from fires to ſparks, from ſparks to embers, from embers to ſmoke, from ſmoke to nothing. And although the publick declenſion of piety is ſuch, that in this preſent conjuncture of things it is impoſſible men ſhould be reduced to a daily communion; yet that they are to communicate frequently is ſo a duty, that as no excuſe but impoſſibility can make the omiſſion innocent, ſo the loſs and conſequent want is infinite and invaluable.

20. FOR the holy communion being a remembrance and ſacramental repetition of Chriſt's paſſion, and the application of his ſacrifice to us and the whole catholick church; as they who ſeldom communicate delight not to remember the paſſion of our Lord, and ſin againſt his very purpoſe, and one of the deſigns of inſtitution; ſo he cares not to receive the benefits of the ſacrifice who ſo neglects their application, and reducing them to actual profit and reception. "Whence came the ſanctimony of the primitive chriſtians? whence came their ſtrict obſervation of the divine commandments? whence was it that they perſevered in holy actions with hope and an unweary diligence? from whence did their deſpiſing worldly things come, and living with common poſſeſſion, and the diſtributions of an univerſal charity? Whence came theſe and many other excellencies, but from a conſtant prayer, and a daily euchariſt? They who every day repreſented the death of Chriſt, every day were ready to die for Chriſt." It was the diſcourſe of an ancient and excellent perſon. And if we conſider this ſacrament is intended to unite the ſpirits and affections of the world, and that it is diffuſive and powerful to this purpoſe, [*for we are one body*, (ſaith St. Paul) *becauſe we partake of one bread*;] poſſibly we may have reaſon to ſay, that the wars of kingdoms, the animoſity of families, the infinite multitude of law-ſuits, the perſonal hatreds, and the univerſal want of charity, which hath made the world miſerable and wicked, may in a great degree be attributed to the neglect of this great ſymbol and inſtrument of charity. The chalice of the ſacrament is called by St. Paul, *The cup of bleſſing:* And if children need every day to beg bleſſing of their parents, if we alſo thirſt not after this cup of bleſſing, bleſſing may be far from us. It is called, *The communication of the blood of Chriſt:* and it is not imaginable that man ſhould love Heaven, or felicity, or his Lord, that deſires not perpetually to bathe in that ſalutary ſtream, the blood of the holy Jeſus, the immaculate Lamb of God.

21. BUT I find that the religious fears of men are pretended a colour to excuſe this irreligion. Men are wicked, and not prepared, and buſy, and full of cares and affairs of the world, and cannot come with due preparation; and therefore better not come at all. Nay, men are not aſhamed to ſay, they are at enmity with certain perſons, and therefore cannot come. 1. Concerning thoſe perſons who are unprepared becauſe they are in a ſtate of ſin or uncharitableneſs; It is true, they muſt not come: but this is ſo far from excuſing their not coming, that they increaſe their ſin, and ſecure miſery to themſelves, becauſe they do not *lay aſide every weight, and the ſin that doth ſo eaſily beſet them*, that they may come to the marriage-ſupper. It is as if we ſhould excuſe ourſelves from the duties of charity, by ſaying we are uncharitable; from giving alms, by ſaying we are covetous; from chaſtity, by ſaying we are laſcivious. To ſuch men it is juſt that they graze with the goats, becauſe they refuſe to waſh their hands, that they may come to the ſupper of the Lamb. 2. Concerning thoſe that pretend cares and incumbrances of the world; If their affairs make ſin and impure affections to ſtick upon them, they are in the firſt conſiderations: but if their office be neceſſary, juſt, or charitable, they imitate Martha, and chuſe the leſs perfect part, when they neglect the offices of religion for duties oeconomical. 3. But the other ſort have more pretence and fairer virtue in their outſide. They ſuppoſe, like the Perſian princes, the ſeldomer ſuch myſterious rites are ſeen, the more reverence we ſhall have, and they the more majeſty: and they are fearful leſt the frequent attrectation of them ſhould make us leſs to value the great earneſts of our redemption and immortality. It is a pious conſideration, but not becoming them. For it cannot be that the ſacrament be undervalued by frequent reception, without the great unworthineſs of the perſons, ſo turning God's grace into lightneſs, and loathing manna: nay, it can-

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[a] *Concil. Lat.*

not be without an unworthy communication. For he that receives worthily increaſes in the love of God and religion, and the fires of the altar are apt to kindle our ſparks into a flame. And when Chriſt our Lord enters into us, and we grow weary of him, or leſs fond of his frequent entrance and perpetual cohabitation, it is an infallible ſign we have let his enemy in, or are preparing for it. For this is the difference between ſecular and ſpiritual objects, nothing in this world hath any pleaſure in it long beyond the hope of it; for the poſſeſſion and enjoyment is found ſo empty, that we grow weary of it: but whatſoever is ſpiritual, and in order to God, is leſs before we have it, but in the fruition it ſwells our deſires, and enlarges the appetite, and makes us more receptive and forward in the entertainment. And therefore thoſe acts of religion that ſet us forward in time, and backward in affection, do declare that we have not well done our duty, but have communicated unworthily. So that the mending of our fault will anſwer the objection. Communicate with more devotion, and repent with greater contrition, and walk with more caution, and pray more earneſtly, and meditate diligently, and receive with reverence and godly fear; and we ſhall find our affections increaſe together with the ſpiritual emolument: ever remembring that pious and wiſe advice of St.[a] Ambroſe, *Receive every day, that which may profit thee every day: But he that is not diſpoſed to receive it every day, is not fit to receive it every year.*

22. AND if after all diligence it be ſtill feared that a man is not well prepared, I muſt ſay that it is a ſcruple, that is, a trouble beyond a doubt and without reaſon, next to ſuperſtition and the dreams of religion: and it is nouriſhed by imagining that no duty is accepted, if it be leſs than perfection; and that [b] God is buſied in Heaven, not only to deſtroy the wicked, and daſh in pieces veſſels of diſhonour, but to *break a bruiſed reed* in pieces, and to caſt the ſmoaking flax into the flames of Hell. In oppoſition to which we muſt know, that nothing makes us unprepared but an evil conſcience, a ſtate of ſin, or a deadly act: but the leſſer infirmities of our life, againſt which we daily ſtrive, and for which we never have any kindneſs or affections, are not ſpots in theſe feaſts of charity, but inſtruments of humility, and ſtronger invitations to come to thoſe rites which are ordained for corroboratives againſt infirmities of the ſoul, and for the growth of the ſpirit in the ſtrengths of God. For thoſe other acts of preparation which precede and accompany the duty, the better and more religiouſly they are done, they are indeed of more advantage, and honorary to the ſacrament: yet he that comes in the ſtate of grace, though he takes the opportunity upon a ſudden offer, ſins not. And in ſuch indefinite duties, whoſe degrees are not deſcribed, it is good counſel to do our beſt: But it is ill to make them inſtruments of ſcruple, as if it were eſſentially neceſſary to do that in the greateſt height, which is only intended for advantage and the fairer accommodation of the myſtery. But theſe very acts, if they be eſteemed neceſſary preparations to the ſacrament, are the greateſt arguments in the world that it is beſt to communicate often: becauſe the doing of that which muſt ſuppoſe the exerciſe of ſo many graces, muſt needs promote the intereſt of religion, and diſpoſe ſtrongly to habitual graces by our frequent and ſolemn repetition of the acts. It is neceſſary that every communicant be firſt examined concerning the ſtate of his ſoul, by himſelf or his ſuperior: And that very ſcrutiny is in admirable order towards the reformation of ſuch irregularities which time and temptation, negligence and incuriouſneſs, infirmity or malice, have brought into the ſecret regions of our will and underſtanding. Now although this examination be therefore enjoyned, that no man ſhould approach to the holy table in the ſtate of ruine and reprobation; and that therefore it is an act not of direct preparation, but an enquiry whether we be prepared or no: Yet this very examination will find ſo many little irregularities, and ſo many great imperfections, that it will appear the more neceſſary, to repair the breaches and leſſer ruines by ſuch acts of piety and religion; becauſe every communication is intended to be a nearer approach to God, a farther ſtep in grace, a progreſs towards glory, and an inſtrument of perfection; and therefore upon the ſtock of our ſpiritual intereſts, for the purchaſe of a greater hope, and the advantages of a growing charity, ought to be frequently performed. I end with the words of a pious and learned perſon: [c] *It is a vain fear and an imprudent reverence, that procraſtinates and defers going to the Lord that calls them:* they deny to go to the fire, pretending they are cold; and refuſe phyſick, becauſe they need it.

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[a] De Sacram. l. 5. c. 4.

[b] Tempeſtivum acceſſum ſola Conſcientiæ integritas facit, S. *Chryſ.*

[c] *Joan. Gerſon* in Magnifica.

The PRAYER.

O *Bleſſed and Eternal Jeſus, who gaveſt thyſelf a ſacrifice for our ſins, thy Body for our ſpiritual food, thy blood to nouriſh our ſpirits, and to quench the flames of Hell and luſt, who didſt ſo love us, who were thine enemies, that thou deſiredſt to reconcile us to thee, and becameſt all one with us, that we may live the ſame life, think the ſame thoughts, love the ſame love, and be partakers of thy reſurrection and immortality; open every window of my ſoul, that I may be full of light, and may ſee the excellency of thy love, the merits of thy ſacrifice, the bitterneſs of thy Paſſion, the glories and virtues of the myſterious ſacrament. Lord, let me ever hunger and thirſt after this inſtrument of righteouſneſs; let me have no guſt or reliſh of the unſatisfying delights of things below, but let my ſoul dwell in thee: Let me for ever receive thee ſpiritually, and very frequently communicate with thee ſacramentally, and imitate thy virtues piouſly and ſtrictly, and dwell in the pleaſures of thy houſe eternally.* Lord, thou haſt prepared a table for me, againſt them that trouble me. *Let that holy ſacrament of the Euchariſt be to me a defence and ſhield, a nouriſhment and medicine, life and health, a means of ſanctification and ſpiritual growth: that I, receiving the body of my deareſt Lord, may be one with his myſtical body, and of the ſame ſpirit, united with indiſſoluble bands of a ſtrong faith, and a holy hope, and a neverfailing charity; that from this veil I may paſs into the viſions of eternal clarity, from eating thy body to beholding thy face in the glories of thy everlaſting Kingdom, O bleſſed and eternal Jeſus.* Amen.

Conſiderations upon the Accidents happening on the Veſpers of the Paſſion.

1. WHEN Jeſus had ſupped, and ſang a hymn, and prayed, and exhorted and comforted his Diſciples with a farewel-ſermon, in which he repeated ſuch of his former precepts which were now appoſite to the preſent condition, and re-inforced them with proper and pertinent arguments, he went over the brook Cedron, and entred into a garden, and into the prologue of his paſſion; chuſing that place for his agony and ſatisfactory pains, in which the firſt ſcene of human miſery was repreſented, and where he might beſt attend the offices of devotion preparatory to his death. Beſides this, he therefore departed from the houſe, that he might give opportunity to his enemies ſurpriſe, and yet not incommodate the good man by whoſe hoſpitality they had eaten the paſchal lamb. So that he went like a [a] lamb to the ſlaughter, to the garden as to a priſon; as if by an agreement with his perſecutors he had expected their arreſt, and ſtayed there to prevent their farther enquiry. For ſo great was his deſire to pay our ranſom, that himſelf did aſſiſt by a forward patience and active opportunity towards the perſecution: teaching us that by an active zeal and a ready ſpirit we aſſiſt the deſigns of God's glory, though in our own ſufferings and ſecular infelicities.

2. When he entred the garden, he left his Diſciples at the entrance of it, calling with him only Peter, James and John: *he withdrew himſelf from the reſt about a ſtone's caſt, and began to be exceeding heavy.* He was not ſad till he had called them, (for his ſorrow began when he pleaſed:) which ſorrow he alſo choſe to repreſent to thoſe three who had ſeen his transfiguration, the earneſt of his future glory, that they might ſee of how great glory for our ſakes he diſrobed himſelf; and that they alſo might, by the confronting thoſe contradictory accidents, obſerve, that God uſes to diſpenſe his comforts, the irradiations and emiſſions of his glory, to be preparatives to thoſe ſorrows with which our life muſt be allayed and ſeaſoned; that none ſhould refuſe to partake of the ſufferings of Chriſt, if either they have already felt his comforts, or hope hereafter to wear his crown. And it is not ill obſerved, that St. Peter, being the chief of the Apoſtles, and doctor of the circumciſion, St. John, being a virgin, and St. James, the

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[a] Etenim in horto tanquam in carcere. S. *Chryſ.* Ut laborem minuat Judæis ſe quærentibus. *Theophyl.*

firſt of the Apoſtles that was martyred, were admitted to Chriſt's greateſt retirements and myſterious ſecrecies, as being perſons of ſo ſingular and eminent diſpoſitions, to whom according to the pious opinion of the church, eſpecial coronets are prepared in Heaven, beſides the great crown of righteouſneſs, which in common ſhall beautifie the heads of all the ſaints: meaning this, that Doctors, Virgins and Martyrs ſhall receive, even for their very ſtate of life and accidental graces, more eminent degrees of accidental glory; like as the Sun, reflecting upon a limpid fountain, receives its rays doubled, without any increment of its proper and natural light.

3. *Jeſus began to be exceeding ſorrowful,* to be *ſore amazed,* and *ſad even to death.* And becauſe he was now to ſuffer the pains of our ſins, there began his paſſion whence our ſins ſpring. From an evil heart and a prevaricating ſpirit all our ſins ariſe: and in the *ſpirit of Chriſt* began his ſorrow; where he truly felt the full value and demerit of ſin, which we think not worthy of a tear or a hearty ſigh, but he groaned and fell under the burthen. But therefore he took upon him this ſadneſs, that our imperfect ſorrow and contrition might be heightned in his example, and accepted in its union and confederacy with his. And Jeſus ſtill deſigned a farther mercy for us: for he ſanctified the paſſion of fear, and hallowed natural ſadneſſes, that we might not think the infelicities of our nature and the calamities of our temporal condition to become criminal, ſo long as they make us not omit a duty, nor diſpoſe us to the election of a crime, nor force us to ſwallow a temptation, nor yet to exceed the value of their impulſive cauſe. He that grieves for the loſs of friends, and yet had rather loſe all the friends he hath than loſe the love of God, hath the ſorrow of our Lord for his precedent. And he that fears death, and trembles at its approximation, and yet had rather die again than ſin once, hath not ſinned in his fear; Chriſt hath hallowed it, and the neceſſitous condition of his nature is his excuſe. But it were highly to be wiſhed, that in the midſt of our careſſes and levities of ſociety, in our feſtivities and triumphal merriments, when we laugh at folly and rejoice in ſin, we would remember, that for thoſe very merriments our bleſſed Lord felt a bitter ſorrow; and not one vain and ſinful laughter, but coſt the holy Jeſus a ſharp pang and throe of paſſion.

4. Now that the holy Jeſus began to taſte the bitter cup, he betook him to his great antidote, which himſelf, the great phyſician of our ſouls, preſcribed to all the world to cure their calamities, and to make them paſs from miſeries into virtue, that ſo they may arrive at glory. He prays to his heavenly Father, he kneels down, and not only ſo, but *falls flat upon the earth,* and would in humility and fervent adoration have deſcended low as the centre: he prays with an intention great as his ſorrow, and yet with a dereliction ſo great, and a conformity to the divine will ſo ready, as if it had been the moſt indifferent thing in the world, for him to be delivered to death, or from it. For though his nature did decline death, as that which hath a natural horrour and contradiction to the preſent intereſt of its preſervation, yet when he looked upon it as his heavenly Father had put it in the order of redemption of the world, it was that baptiſm which he was *ſtraitned till he had accompliſhed.* And now there is not in the world any condition of prayer which is eſſential to the duty, or any circumſtances of advantage to its performance, but were concentred in this one inſtance; Humility of ſpirit, lowlineſs of deportment, importunity of deſire, a fervent ſpirit, a lawful matter, reſignation to the will of God, great love, the love of a ſon to his father, (which appellative was the form of his addreſs,) perſervance, (he went thrice, and prayed the ſame prayer.) It was not long, and it was ſo retired as to have the advantages of a ſufficient ſolitude and opportune recollection; for he was withdrawn from the moſt of his Diſciples: and yet not ſo alone as to loſe the benefit of communion; for Peter and the two Boanerges were near him. Chriſt in this prayer, which was the moſt fervent that he ever made on earth, intending to tranſmit to all the world a precedent of devotion to be tranſcribed and imitated; that we ſhould caſt all our cares and empty them in the boſom of God, being content to receive ſuch a portion of our trouble back again, which he aſſigns us for our ſpiritual emolument.

5. THE holy Jeſus having in a few words poured out torrents of innocent deſires, was pleaſed ſtill to interrupt his prayer, that he might viſit his charge, that little flock which was preſently after to be ſcattered: he was careful of them in the midſt of his agonies; they in his ſufferings were faſt aſleep. He awakens them, gives them command to *watch and pray,* that is, to be vigilant in the cuſtody of their ſenſes, and obſervant of all accidents, and to pray that they may be ſtrengthened againſt all incurſions of enemies and temptations; and then returns to prayer; and ſo a third time: his

devotion

J. Pine delin. & Sculp.

And he *kneeled down and prayed, saying,* Father, *if thou be willing, remove this Cup from me; nevertheleſs, not my Will, but thine be done.*

S.t Luke, Chap. 22.d Ver. 41.st 42.d

Pag. 366.

BRITISH 5 AU 70 MUSEUM

devotion ſtill encreaſing with his ſorrow. [a] And when his prayer was full, and his ſorrow come to a great meaſure, after the third, God ſent his *Angel to comfort him*: and by that act of grace then only expreſſed, hath taught us to continue our devotions ſo long as our needs laſt. It may be God will not ſend a comforter till the third time, that is, after a long expectation, and a patient ſufferance, and a laſting hope: in the interim God ſupports us with a ſecret hand, and in his own time will refreſh the ſpirit with the viſitations of his Angels, with the emiſſions of comfort from the ſpirit, the comforter. And know this alſo, that the holy Angel, and the Lord of all the Angels, ſtands by every holy perſon when he prays: And although he draws before his glories the curtain of a cloud, yet in every inſtant he takes care we ſhall not periſh, and in a juſt ſeaſon diſſolves the cloud, and makes it to diſtill in holy dew, and drops ſweet as manna, pleaſant as nard, and wholſome as the breath of Heaven. And ſuch was the conſolation which the holy [b] Jeſus received by the miniſtry of the Angel, repreſenting to Chriſt the Lord of the Angels, how neceſſary it was that he ſhould die for the glory of God; that in his paſſion his juſtice, wiſdom, goodneſs, power and mercy ſhould ſhine; that unleſs he died, all the world ſhould periſh, but his blood ſhould obtain their pardon; and that it ſhould open the gates of Heaven, repair the ruine of Angels, eſtabliſh a holy church, be productive of innumerable adoptive children to his Father, whom himſelf ſhould make heirs of glory; and that his paſſion ſhould ſoon paſs away, his Father hearing and granting his prayer, that the cup ſhould paſs ſpeedily, though indeed it ſhould paſs through him; that it ſhould be attended and followed with a glorious reſurrection, with eternal reſt and glory of his humanity, with the exaltation of his name, with a ſupream dominion over all the world, and that his father ſhould make him King of kings, and Prince of the catholick church. Theſe, or whatſoever other comforts the Angel miniſtred, were ſuch conſiderations which the holy Jeſus knew, and the Angel knew not but by communication from that God to whoſe aſſumed humanity the Angel ſpake: yet he was pleaſed to receive comfort from his ſervant, juſt as [c] God receives glory from his creatures, and as he rejoices in his own works, even becauſe he is good and gracious, and is pleaſed ſo to do; and becauſe himſelf had cauſed a voluntary ſadneſs to be interpoſed between the habitual knowledge and the actual conſideration of theſe diſcourſes. And we feel a pleaſure when a friendly hand lays upon our wound the plaiſter which ourſelves have made, and applies ſuch inſtruments and conſiderations of comfort which we have in notion and an ineffective habit, but cannot reduce them to act, becauſe no man is ſo apt to be his own comforter: which God hath therefore permitted, that our need ſhould be the occaſion of a mutual charity.

6. IT was a great ſeaſon for the Angel's coming, becauſe it was a great neceſſity which was incumbent upon our Lord: For his ſadneſs and his agony was ſo great, mingled and compounded of ſorrow and zeal, fear and deſire, innocent nature and perfect grace, that he ſweat drops as great as if the blood had ſtarted through little undiſcerned fontinels, and outrun the ſtreams and rivers of his croſs. [d] Euthymius and [e] Theophylact ſay, that the Evangeliſts uſe this as a tragical expreſſion of the greateſt agony, and an unuſual ſweat, it being uſual to call the tears of the greateſt ſorrow *tears of blood.* But from the beginning of the church it hath been more generally apprehended literally, and that ſome blood mingled with the ſerous ſubſtance iſſued from his veins in ſo great abundance, that they moiſtened the ground, and bedecked his garment, which ſtood like a new firmament ſtudded with ſtars, portending an approaching ſtorm. Now *he came from Bozrah with his garments red and bloody.* And this agony verified concerning the holy Jeſus thoſe words of David, *I am poured out like water, my bones are diſperſed, my heart in the midſt of my body is like melting wax,* [f] ſaith Juſtin Martyr. [g] Venerable Bede ſaith, that the deſcending of theſe drops of blood upon the earth, beſides the general purpoſe had alſo a particular relation to the preſent infirmities of the Apoſtles; that our bleſſed Lord obtained of his Father, by the merits of thoſe holy drops, mercies and ſpecial ſupport for them; and that effuſion redeemed them from the preſent participation of death. And St. Auſtin me-

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Καὶ γενόμενος ἐν ἀγωνίᾳ ἐκτενέςερον προσηύχετο, Luc. 22. 44. Extenſius orabat, ſic Latinus interpres reddit: Alii plures reddunt per [*intenſius*]

[b] Confortatus eſt, ſed tali confortatione quæ dolorem non minuit, ſed magis auxit: confortatus enim eſt ex fructus magnitudine, non ſubtracta doloris amaritudine. *Beda* in Luc. 22

[c] Cum triſtaris ſolamen triſtium,
Te ſolantur cives cœleſtium.
Res miranda! ſolus dans gaudium
Rex a cive ſumit ſolatium.
Hondemius Anglus.

[d] In cap. 24. Matt. [e] In 22. Lucæ.

[f] *Juſtin. Mart.* Dial. Tryph. *Athanaſ.* l. 6. de Beat. filii Dei. *Aug.* l. 6. c. 5. de Conſecr. Evang. *Hier.* l. de Trad. Heb. *Iren.* l. 4. c. 31. contra hæreſ. Idem aiunt *Dionyſ. Alex. Aymonius, Epiphan.* & alii.

[g] Lib. 6. in Luc.

ditates, that the body of our Lord all overſpread with drops of bloody ſweat did prefigure the future ſtate of martyrs, and that his body myſtical ſhould be clad in a red garment variegated with the ſymbols of labour and paſſion, ſweat and blood; by which himſelf was pleaſed to purify his church, and preſent her to God holy and ſpotleſs. What collateral deſigns and tacit ſignifications might be deſigned by this myſterious ſweat, I know not: certainly it was a ſad beginning of a moſt dolorous paſſion. And ſuch griefs, which have ſo violent, permanent and ſudden effects upon the body, which is not of a nature ſymbolical to interior and immaterial cauſes, are proclaimed by ſuch marks to be high and violent. We have read of ſome perſons, that the grief and fear of one night hath put a cover of ſnow upon their heads, as if the labours of thirty years had been extracted, and the quinteſſence drank off in the paſſion of that night. But if nature had been capable of a greater or more prodigious impreſs of paſſion than a bloody ſweat, it muſt needs have happened in this agony of the holy Jeſus, in which he undertook a grief great enough to make up the imperfect contrition of all the ſaints, and to ſatisfie for the impenitencies of all the world.

7. By this time the traytor Judas was arrived at Gethſemane; and being in the vicinage of the garden, Jeſus riſes from his prayers, and firſt calls his Diſciples from their ſleep, and by an irony ſeems to give them leave to ſleep on, but reproves their drouzineſs, when danger is ſo near, and bids them *henceforth take their reſt*; meaning, if they could for danger, which now was indeed come to the garden-doors. But the holy Jeſus, that it might appear he undertook the paſſion with choice and a free election, not only refuſed to fly, but called his Apoſtles to riſe, that they might meet his murtherers, who came to him *with ſwords and ſtaves*, as if they were to ſurpriſe a prince of armed out-laws, whom without force they could not reduce. So alſo might Butchers do well to go armed, when they are pleaſed to be afraid of lambs, by calling them lions. Judas only diſcovered his Maſter's retirements, and betrayed him to the opportunities of an armed band: For he could not accuſe his Maſter of any word or private action, that might render him obnoxious to ſuſpicion or the law. For ſuch are the rewards of innocence and prudence, that the one ſecures againſt ſin, the other againſt ſuſpicion and appearances.

8. The holy Jeſus had accuſtomed to receive every of his Diſciples after abſence with entertainment of a kiſs, which was the endearment of perſons, and the expreſſion of the oriental civility: and Judas was confident that his Lord would not reject him, whoſe feet he had waſhed at the time when he foretold this event, and therefore had agreed to ſignify him by this [a] ſign; and did ſo, beginning war with a kiſs, and breaking the peace of his Lord by the ſymbol of kindneſs. Which becauſe Jeſus entertained with much evenneſs and charitable expreſſions, calling him [b] Friend, he gave evidence, that if he retained civilities to his greateſt enemies in the very acts of hoſtility, he hath banquets and crowns and ſceptres for his friends, that adore him with the kiſſes of charity, and love him with the ſincerity of an affectionate ſpirit. But our bleſſed Lord, beſides his eſſential ſweetneſs and ſerenity of ſpirit, underſtood well how great benefits himſelf and all the world were to receive by occaſion of that act of Judas: and our greateſt enemy does by accident to holy perſons the offices of their deareſt friends; telling us our faults without a cloak to cover their deformities, but out of malice laying open the circumſtances of aggravation, doing us affronts, from whence we have an inſtrument of our patience, and reſtraining us from ſcandalous crimes, leſt we become *a ſcorn and reproof to them that hate us.* And it is none of God's leaſt mercies, that he permits enmities amongſt men, that animoſities and peeviſhneſs may reprove more ſharply, and correct with more ſeverity and ſimplicity, than the gentle hand of friends, who are apter to bind our wounds up, than to diſcover them and make them ſmart. But they are to us an excellent probation how friends may beſt do the offices of friends, if they would take the plainneſs of enemies in accuſing, and ſtill mingle it with the tenderneſs and good affections of friends. But our bleſſed Lord called Judas, Friend, as being the inſtrument of bringing him to glory, and all the world to pardon, if they would.

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[a] O ſignum ſacrilegum! O placitum fugiendum! ubi ab oſculo incipitur bellum, & per pacis indicium pacis rumpitur Sacramentum. *Aug. Serm.* 12.

[b] Si honoras, O dulcis Domine,
Inimicum amici nomine,
Quales erunt amoris carmine
Qui te canunt & modulamine?
Hondem. de Paſſione.

9. JESUS himſelf begins the enquiry, and leads them into their errand, and tells them he was JESUS of Nazareth whom they ſought. But this alſo, which was an anſwer ſo gentle, had in it a ſtrength greater than the eaſtern wind or the voice of thunder: for God was in that ſtill voice, and it [a] ſtruck them down to the ground. And yet they, and ſo do we, ſtill perſiſt to perſecute our Lord, and to provoke the eternal God, who can with the breath of his mouth, with a word or a ſign, or a thought, reduce us into nothing, or into a worſe condition, even an eternal duration of torments, and cohabitation with a never-ending miſery. And if we cannot bear a ſoft anſwer of the merciful God, how ſhall we dare to provoke the wrath of the almighty judge? But in this inſtance there was a rare mixture of effects, as there was in Chriſt of natures; the voice of a man, and the power of God. For it is obſerved by the [b] doctors of the primitive ages, that from the nativity of our Lord to the day of his death, the divinity and humanity did ſo communicate in effects, that no great action paſſed, but it was like the ſun ſhining through a cloud, or a beauty with a thin veil drawn over it, they gave illuſtration and teſtimony to each other. The holy Jeſus was born a tender and a crying infant; but is adored by the Magi as a king, by the Angels as their GOD. He is circumciſed as a man; but a name is given him to ſignify him to be the SAVIOUR of the world. He flies into Egypt like a diſtreſſed child under the conduct of his helpleſs parents; but as ſoon as he enters the country, the idols fall down and confeſs his true divinity. He is preſented in the temple as the ſon of man; but by Simeon and Anna he is celebrated with divine praiſes for the MESSIAS, the SON OF GOD. He is baptized in Jordan as a ſinner; but the Holy Ghoſt deſcending upon him proclaimed him to be the well-beloved of God. He is hungry in the Deſart as a man; but ſuſtained his body without meat and drink for forty days together by the power of his divinity. There he is tempted of Satan as a weak man; and the Angels of light miniſter unto him as their ſupream Lord. And now a little before his death, when he was to take upon him all the affronts, miſeries and exinanitions of the moſt miſerable, he receives teſtimonies from above, which are moſt wonderful. For he was transfigured upon mount Tabor, entred triumphantly into Jeruſalem, had the acclamations of the people: when he was dying, he darkned the ſun; when he was dead, he opened the ſepulchres; when he was faſt nailed to the croſs, he made the earth to tremble; now when he ſuffers himſelf to be apprehended by a guard of ſoldiers, he ſtrikes them all to the ground only by replying to their anſwer, that the words of the [c] Prophet might be verified, *Therefore my people ſhall know my name; therefore they ſhall know in that day, that I am he that doth ſpeak, behold it is I.*

10. THE ſoldiers and ſervants of the Jews having recovered from their fall, and riſen by the permiſſion of Jeſus, ſtill perſiſted in their enquiry after him, who was preſent, ready, and deſirous to be ſacrificed. He therefore permitted himſelf to be taken, but not his Diſciples: for he it was that ſet them their bounds; and he ſecured his Apoſtles to be witneſſes of his ſuffering and his glories; and this work was the redemption of the world, [d] in which no man could have an active ſhare, he alone was to tread the wine-preſs; and time enough they ſhould be called to a fellowſhip of ſufferings. But Jeſus went to them, and they bound him with cords: and ſo began our liberty and redemption from ſlavery, and ſin, and curſings and death. But he was bound faſter by bands of his own; his Father's will, and mercy, pity of the world, prophecies, and [e] myſteries, and love held him faſt: and theſe cords were as ſtrong as death; and the cords which the ſouldiers malice put upon his holy hands were but ſymbols and figures, his own compaſſion and affection were the morals. But yet he undertook this ſhort reſtraint and condition of a priſoner, that all ſorts of perſecution and exterior calamities might be hallowed by his ſuſception, and theſe pungent ſorrows ſhould like bees ſting him, and leave their ſting behind, that all the ſweetneſs ſhould remain for us. Some melancholick devotions have from uncertain ſtories added ſad circumſtances of the firſt violence done to our Lord; That they bound him with three cords, and that with ſo much violence, that they cauſed blood to ſtart from his tender hands; That they ſpate then alſo upon him with a violence and incivility like that which their fathers had uſed towards Hur the brother of Aaron, whom they

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[a] Πάντες ἐπ' ἀλλήλοισι μαχήμονες ἀσπιδιῶται
Ἀντίμαχοι πίπτοντες ἐπεστόρνυντο κονίῃ,
Πρηνέες, οἱ στρηνθέντες ἀτευχέϊ λαίλαπι φωνῆς. Nonn.

[b] *S. Cyril. S. Athanaſ. S. Leo, &c.*

[c] Iſaiah 52. 6.

[d] Semovet a periculo diſcipulos, non ignorans ad ſe ſolum certamen illud & opus ſalutis noſtræ pertinere. Regnantis enim, & non ſervientis, naturæ opus eſt. S. *Cyril.*

[e] Dominum omnium myſteria, non arma, tenuerunt. S. *Amb.* in Lucam.

choaked with impure ſpittings into his throat, becauſe he refuſed to conſent to the making a golden calf. Theſe particulars are not tranſmitted by certain records. Certain it is, they wanted no malice, and now no power; for the Lord had given himſelf into their hands.

11. ST. Peter ſeeing his Maſter thus ill uſed, aſked, *Maſter ſhall we ſtrike with the ſword?* and, before he had his anſwer, cut off the ear of Malchus. Two ſwords there were in Chriſt's family, and St Peter bore one: either becauſe he was to kill the paſchal lamb; or, according to the cuſtom of the country, to ſecure them againſt beaſts of prey, which in that region were frequent, and dangerous in the night. But now he uſed it in an unlawful war: he had no competent authority; it was againſt the miniſters of his lawful prince; and againſt our prince we muſt not draw a ſword for Chriſt himſelf, himſelf having forbidden us. As his *kingdom is not of this world*, ſo neither were his defences ſecular. He could have called for many legions of Angels for his guard, if he had ſo pleaſed: and we read that one Angel ſlew 185000 armed men in one night: and therefore it was a vaſt power which was at the command of our Lord; and he needs not ſuch low auxiliaries as an army of rebels, or a navy of pirates, to defend his cauſe. He firſt lays the foundation of our happineſs in his ſufferings, and hath ever ſince ſupported religion by patience and ſuffering, and in poverty, and in all the circumſtances and conjunctures of improbable cauſes. Fighting for religion is certain to deſtroy charity, but not certain to ſupport faith. St. Peter therefore may uſe his keys, but he is commanded to put up his ſword; and he did ſo: and preſently he and all his fellows fairly ran away. And yet that courſe was much the more chriſtian: for though it had in it much infirmity, yet it had no malice. In the mean time the Lord was pleaſed to touch the ear of Malchus, and he cured it; adding to the firſt inſtance of power, in throwing them to the ground, an act of miraculous mercy, curing the wounds of an enemy made by a friend. But neither did this pierce their callous and obdurate ſpirits; but they led him in uncouth ways, and through the brook [a] Cedron, in which it is ſaid the ruder ſoldiers plunged him, and paſſed upon him all the affronts and rudeneſſes which an inſolent and cruel multitude could think of, to ſignify their contempt and their rage. And ſuch is the nature of evil men, who, when they are not ſoftned by the inſtruments and arguments of grace, are much hardned by them: ſuch being the purpoſe of God, that either grace ſhall cure ſin, or accidentally increaſe it; that it ſhall either pardon it, or bring it to greater puniſhment. For ſo I have ſeen healthful medicines abuſed by the incapacities of a healthleſs body become fewel to a fever, and increaſe the diſtemperature from indiſpoſition to a ſharp diſeaſe, and from thence to the margin of the grave. But it was otherwiſe in Saul, whom Jeſus threw to the ground with a more angry ſound than theſe perſecutors: but Saul roſe a ſaint, and they perſiſted Devils, and the grace of God diſtinguiſhed the events.

The PRAYER.

I.

O Holy Jeſus, make me by thy example to conform to the will of that eternal God who is our Father, merciful and gracious; that I may chuſe all thoſe accidents which his providence hath actually diſpoſed to me; that I may know no deſires but his commands, and his will; and that in all afflictions I may fly thither for mercy, pardon and ſupport, and may wait for deliverance in ſuch times and manners which the Father hath reſerved in his own power, and graciouſly diſpenſes according to his infinite wiſdom and compaſſion. Holy Jeſus, give me the gift and ſpirit of prayer; and do thou by thy gracious interceſſion ſupply my ignorances and paſſionate deſires and imperfect choices, procuring and giving to me ſuch returns of favour which may ſupport my needs, and ſerve the ends of religion and the ſpirit, which thy wiſdom chuſes, and thy paſſion hath purchaſed, and thy grace loves to beſtow upon all thy ſaints and ſervants. Amen.

II.

Eternal God, ſweeteſt Jeſu, who didſt receive Judas with the affection of a Saviour, and ſufferedſt him to kiſs thy cheek, with the ſerenity and tranquillity of God; and didſt permit the ſoldiers to bind thee, with patience exemplary to all ages of martyrs; and didſt cure the wound of thy enemy with the charity of a parent, and the tenderneſs of an

[a] De torrente in via bibet. *Pſal.* 110. ult.

an infinite pity. O kiſs me with the kiſſes of thy mouth, embrace me with the entertainments of a gracious Lord, and let my ſoul dwell and feaſt in thee who art the repoſitory of eternal ſweetneſs and refreſhments. Bind me, O Lord, with thoſe bands which tied thee faſt, the chains of love; that ſuch holy union may diſſolve the cords of vanity, and confine the bold pretenſions of uſurping paſſions, and impriſon all extravagancies of an impertinent ſpirit, and lead ſin captive to the dominion of grace aud ſanctified reaſon: that I alſo may imitate all the parts of thy holy paſſion, and may by thy bands get my liberty, by thy kiſs enkindle charity, by the touch of thy hand and the breath of thy mouth have all my wounds cured and reſtored to the integrity of a holy penitent, and the purities of innocence; that I may love thee, and pleaſe thee, and live with thee for ever, O holy and ſweeteſt Jeſu. Amen.

Conſiderations upon the Scourging and other Accidents happening from the Apprehenſion till the Crucifixion of JESUS.

1. THE houſe of Annas ſtood in the mount Sion, and in the way to the houſe of Caiaphas; and thither he was led as to the firſt ſtage of their triumph for their ſurpriſe of a perſon ſo feared and deſired; and there a naughty perſon ſmote the holy Jeſus upon his face, for ſaying to Annas that he had made his doctrine publick, and that all the people were able to give account of it: to whom the Lamb of God ſhewed as much meekneſs and patience in his anſwer, as in his anſwer to Annas he had ſhewed prudence and modeſty. For now that they had taken Jeſus, they wanted a crime to object againſt him, and therefore were deſirous to ſnatch occaſion from his diſcourſes, to which they reſolved to tempt him, by queſtions and affronts: but his anſwer was general and indefinite, ſafe and true, enough to acquit his doctrine from ſuſpicions of ſecret deſigns, and yet ſecure againſt their preſent ſnares; for now himſelf, who always had the innocence of doves, was to join with it the prudence and warineſs of ſerpents; not to prevent death, (for that he was reſolved to ſuffer) but that they might be deſtitute of all appearance of a juſt cauſe on his part. Here it was that Judas received his money; and here that holy face which was deſigned to be that object in the beholding of which much of the celeſtial glory doth conſiſt, that face which the Angels ſtare upon with wonder, like infants at a bright Sun-beam, was ſmitten extrajudicially by an incompetent perſon, with circumſtances of deſpight, in the preſence of a judge, in a full aſſembly, and none reproved the inſolency and the cruelty of the affront: for they reſolved to uſe him as they uſe wolves and tigers, with all things that may be deſtructive, violent and impious: and in this the injury was heightned, becauſe the blow was ſaid to be given by [a] Malchus an Idumean ſlave, and therefore a contemptible perſon; but far more unworthy by his ingratitude, for ſo he repayed the holy Jeſus for working a miracle and healing his ear. But ſo the ſcripture was fulfilled; *He ſhall give his body to the ſmiters, and his cheeks to the nippers*, ſaith the prophet Iſay; and *They ſhall ſmite the cheek of the judge of Iſrael*, ſaith Micah. And this very circumſtance of the paſſion Lactantius [b] affirms to have been foretold by the Erythræan Sibyl. But no meekneſs or indifferency could engage our Lord not to proteſt his innocency: and though following his ſteps we muſt walk in the regions of patience, and tranquillity, and admirable toleration of injuries; yet we may repreſent ſuch defences of ourſelves, which by not reſiſting the ſentence may teſtify that our ſuffering is undeſerved: and if our innocency will not preſerve our lives, it will advance our title to a better; and every good cauſe ill judged ſhall be brought to another tribunal to receive a juſt and unerring ſentence.

2. ANNAS having ſuffered this unworthy uſage towards a perſon ſo excellent, ſent him away to [c] Caiaphas, who had formerly in a full council reſolved he ſhould die; yet now palliating the deſign with the ſcheme of a tribunal, they ſeek out for witneſſes, and the witneſſes are to ſeek for allegations; and when they find them, they are to ſeek for proof, and thoſe proofs were to ſeek for unity and conſent, and nothing was ready for their purpoſes; but they were forced to uſe the ſemblance of a judicial proceſs, that, becauſe they were to make uſe of Pilate's authority to put him to death,

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[a] Malchus Idumæis miſſus captivus ab oris. *Vide* Epiſc. Cremon. l. 2. Chriſteidos. *Iſai.* 50. 6. Micah 5. 1.

[b] Lib. 4. Inſtit. cap. 18. Εἰς ἀνόμων χεῖρας ϗ ἀπίστων ὕστερον ἥξει. Δώσουσιν τῷ Θεῷ ῥαπίσματα χερσὶν ἀνάγνοις.

[c] *Victor* in S. Mart.

they might perſuade Pilate to accept of their examination and conviction without farther enquiry. But ſuch had been the excellency and exemplary piety and prudence of the life of Jeſus, that if they pretended againſt him queſtions of their law, they were not capital in a Roman court; if they affirmed that he had moved the people to ſedition, and affected the kingdom, they ſaw that all the world would convince them of falſe teſtimony. At laſt, after many attempts, they accuſed him for a figurative ſpeech, a trope which they could not underſtand; which if it had been ſpoken in a literal ſenſe, and had been acted too according to the letter, had been ſo far from a fault, that it would have been a prodigy of power; and it had been eaſier to raiſe the temple of Jeruſalem, than to raiſe the temple of his body. In the mean time, the Lamb of God left his cauſe to defend itſelf under the protection of his heavenly Father; not only becauſe himſelf was determined to die, but becauſe if he had not, thoſe premiſes could never have inferred it. But this ſilence of the holy Jeſus fulfilled a prophecy, it made his enemies full of murmur and amazement, it made them to ſee that he deſpiſed the accuſations as certain and apparent calumnies; but that himſelf was fearleſs of the iſſue, and in the ſenſe of morality and myſteries taught us not to be too apt to excuſe ourſelves, when the ſemblance of a [a] fault lies upon us, unleſs by ſome other duty we are obliged to our defences; ſince he who was moſt innocent was moſt ſilent: and it was expedient, that as the firſt Adam increaſed his ſin by a vain apology, the ſilence and ſufferance of the ſecond Adam ſhould expiate and reconcile it.

3. BUT Caiaphas had a reſerve which he knew ſhould do the buſineſs in that aſſembly; he adjured him by God to tell him if he were the CHRIST. The holy Jeſus, being adjured by ſo ſacred a name, would not now refuſe an anſwer, leſt it might not conſiſt with that honour which is due to it, and which he always payed, and that he might neither deſpiſe the authority of the High-prieſt, nor upon ſo ſolemn occaſion be wanting to that great truth which he came down to earth to perſwade to the world. And when three ſuch circumſtances concur, it is enough to open our mouths, though we let in death. And ſo did our Lord, confeſſed himſelf to be the CHRIST, *the Son of the living God.* And this the High-prieſt was pleaſed, as the deſign was laid, to call blaſphemy; and there they voted him to die. Then it was the High-prieſt rent his cloaths; the veil of the temple was rent when the paſſion was finiſhed, the cloaths of the prieſts at the beginning of it: and as that ſignified the departing of the ſynagogue, and laying religion open; ſo did the [b] rending the garments of Caiaphas prophetically ſignify that the prieſthood ſhould be rent from him, and from the nation. And thus the perſonated and theatrical admiration at Jeſus became the type of his own puniſhment, and conſigned the nation to deletion: and uſually God ſo diſpenſes his judgments, that when men perſonate the tragedies of others, they really act their own.

4. WHILST theſe things were acting concerning the Lord, a ſad accident happened to his ſervant Peter; for being engaged in ſtrange and evil company, in the midſt of danger, ſurpriſed with a queſtion without time to deliberate an anſwer, to find ſubterfuges, or to fortify himſelf, he denyed his Lord ſhamefully, with ſome boldneſs at firſt, and this grew to a licentious confidence, and then to impudence, and denying with perjury, that he knew not his Lord, who yet was known to him as his own heart, and was dearer than his eyes, and for whom he profeſſed but a little before he would die; but did not do ſo till many years after. But thus he became to us a ſad example of human infirmity; and if the prince of the Apoſtles fell ſo foully, it is full of pity, but not to be upbraided, [c] if we ſee the fall of leſſer ſtars. And yet that we may prevent ſo great a ruine, we muſt not mingle with ſuch company who will provoke or ſcorn us into ſin; and if we do, yet we muſt ſtand upon our guard that a ſudden motion do not ſurpriſe us: or if we be arreſted, yet let us not enter farther in our ſin, like wild beaſts intricating themſelves by their impatience. For there are ſome who, being aſhamed and impatient to have been engaged, take ſanctuary in boldneſs and a ſhameleſs abetting it, ſo running into the darkneſs of Hell to hide their nakedneſs. But he alſo by returning, and riſing inſtantly, became to us a rare example of penitence; and his not lying long in the crime did facilitate his reſtitution. For the ſpirit of God being extinguiſhed by our works of darkneſs, is like a taper, which if, as ſoon as the flame is blown out, it be brought to the fire, it ſucks light, and without trouble is rekindled;

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[a] Taciturnitas Chriſti apologiam Adæ abſolvit. S. *Hieron.* in Marc.

[b] Conſcidit veſtimenta ſua, oſtendens turpitudinem ſuam, & nuditatem animæ, & myſterium manifeſtans, conſcindendum eſſe ſacerdotium vetus. *Origen.* idem ait S. *Hier.*

[c] Ὃν τρόπον αἱ σκιαὶ τοῖς σώμασιν ἕπονται. οὕτως αἱ ἁμαρτίαι ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἀκολουθοῦσιν. *Agapet.* Diac. Capit. admonit. 69. *Leo* Serm. 9. de paſſ. Dom. & *Euthym.* in hunc locum.

Clark & Pine Sc.

Judas *said I have sinned; in that I have betrayed the Innocent Blood, and they said, what is that to us? see thou to that, And he cast down the Peices of Silver in the Temple, and departed, and went, and hanged himself.*

St. Matth. Chap. 27th Ver. 4th. 5th.

but if it cools into death and ſtiffneſs, it requires a longer ſtay and trouble. The holy Jeſus in the midſt of his own ſufferings forgot not his ſervant's danger, but was pleaſed to look upon him when the cock crew; and the cock was the preacher, and the look of Jeſus was the grace that made his ſermon effectual: and becauſe he was but newly fallen, and his habitual love of his Maſter though interrupted, yet had ſuffered no natural abatement, he returned with the ſwiftneſs of an eagle to the embraces and primitive affections of his Lord.

5. By this time ſuppoſe ſentence given, Caiaphas prejudging all the Sanhedrim; for he firſt declared Jeſus to have ſpoken blaſphemy, and the fact to be notorious, and then aſked their votes; which whoſo then ſhould have denied, muſt have conteſted the judgment of the High-prieſt, who by the favour of the Romans was advanced, (Valerius Gratus, who was preſident of Judæa, having been his patron) and his faction potent, and his malice great, and his heart ſet upon this buſineſs: all which inconveniencies none of them durſt have ſuffered, unleſs he had had the confidence greater than of an Apoſtle at that time. But this ſentence was but like ſtrong diſpoſitions to an enraged fever; he was only declared apt and worthy for death, they had no power at that time to inflict it; but yet they let looſe all the fury of mad-men and inſolency of wounded ſmarting ſoldiers: and although from the time of his being in the houſe of Annas till the council met, they had uſed him with ſtudied indignities; yet now they renewed and doubled the unmercifulneſs, and their injuſtice, to ſo great a height, that their injuries muſt needs have been greater than his patience, if his patience had been leſs than infinite. For thus Man's redemption grows up as the load ſwells which the holy Jeſus bare for us; for theſe were our portion, and we, having turned the flowers of paradiſe into thiſtles, ſhould for ever have felt their infelicity, had not Jeſus paid the debt. But he bearing them upon his tender body with an even and excellent and diſpaſſionate ſpirit, offered up theſe beginnings of ſufferings to his Father, to obtain pardon even for them that injured him, and for all the world.

6. JUDAS now ſeeing that this matter went farther than he intended it, repented of his fact. For although evil perſons are in the progreſs of their iniquity invited on by new arguments, and ſupported by confidence and a careleſs ſpirit: yet when iniquity is come to the height, or ſo great a proportion that it is apt to produce deſpair or an intolerable condition, then the Devil ſuffers the conſcience to thaw and grow tender, but it is the tenderneſs of a bile, it is ſoreneſs rather and a new diſeaſe; and either it comes when the time of repentance is paſt, or leads to ſome act which ſhall make the pardon to be impoſſible: and ſo it happened here. For Judas, either impatient of the ſhame or of the ſting, was thruſt on to deſpair of pardon, with a violence as haſty and as great as were his needs. And deſpair is very often uſed like the bolts and bars of Hell-gates, it ſeizes upon them that had entred into the ſuburbs of eternal death by an habitual ſin, and it ſecures them againſt all retreat. And the Devil is forward enough to bring a man to repentance, provided it be too late; and Eſau wept bitterly and repented him, and the five fooliſh virgins lift up their voice aloud when the gates were ſhut, and in Hell men ſhall repent to all eternity. But I conſider the very great folly and infelicity of Judas: it was at midnight he received his money in the houſe of Annas; betimes in that morning he repented his bargain: he threw the money back again, but his ſin ſtuck cloſe, and it is thought to a ſad eternity. Such is the purchaſe of treaſon and the reward of covetouſneſs; it is cheap in its offers, momentary in its poſſeſſion, unſatisfying in the fruition, uncertain in the ſtay, ſudden in its departure, horrid in the remembrance, and a ruin, a certain and miſerable ruin is in the event. When Judas came in that ſad condition, and told his miſerable ſtory to them that ſet him on work, they let him go away unpitied; he had ſerved their ends in betraying his Lord, and thoſe that hire ſuch ſervants uſe to leave them in the diſaſter, to ſhame and to ſorrow; and ſo did the prieſts, but took the money, and refuſed to put it into the treaſury, becauſe it was [a] *the price of blood*; but they made no ſcruple to take it from the treaſury to buy that blood. Any thing ſeems lawful that ſerves the ends of ambitious and bloody perſons, and then they are ſcrupulous in their caſes of conſcience when nothing of intereſt does intervene; for evil men make religion the ſervant of intereſt; and ſometimes weak men think that it is the fault of the religion, and ſuſpect that all of it is a deſign, becauſe many great politicks make it ſo. The end of the tragedy was, that [b] Judas died with an ignoble death, marked with the cir-

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[a] Inde ſacerdotes, pretium quod ſanguinis eſſet,
Illicitum fantes adytis jam condere templi,
Quod dare tum licitum, dum ſanguis diſtraheretur,
Credebant ——— *Juvencus* l. 4. hiſt. Evang.

[b] Non potuit Judas pejore manu perire, & quamvis ſceleratum occiderit, non debuit tamen. S. *Auguſt.* de civit. Dei, l. 1. c. 17.

cumſtances of a horrid judgment, and periſhed by the moſt infamous hands in the world, that is, by his own. Which if it be confronted againſt the excellent ſpirit of St. Peter, who did an act as contradictory to his honour and the grace of God as could be eaſily imagined; yet taking ſanctuary in the arms of his Lord, he lodged in his heart for ever, and became an example to all the world of the excellency of the divine mercy, and the efficacy of a holy hope, and a hearty, timely and an operative repentance.

7. BUT now all things were ready for the purpoſe, the High-prieſt and all his council go along with the holy Jeſus to the houſe of Pilate, hoping he would verifie their ſentence, and bring it to execution, that they might once be rid of their fears, and enjoy their ſin and their reputation quietly. [a] S. Baſil affirms, that the High-prieſt cauſed the holy Jeſus to be led with a cord about his neck, and in memory of that, the prieſts for many ages wore a ſtole about theirs. But the Jews did it according to the cuſtom of the nation, to ſignifie he was condemned to death: They deſired Pilate that he would crucify him, they having found him worthy. And when Pilate enquired into the particulars, they gave him a general and indefinite anſwer; *if he were not guilty, we would not have brought him unto thee:* they intended not to make Pilate judge of the cauſe, but executor of their cruelty. But Pilate had not learned to be guided by an implicit faith of ſuch perſons, which he knew to be malicious and violent; and therefore ſtill called for inſtances and arguments of their accuſation. And that all the world might ſee with how great unworthineſs they proſecuted the Meſſias, they chiefly there accuſed him of ſuch crimes upon which themſelves condemned him not, and which they knew to be falſe, but yet likely to move Pilate, if he had been paſſionate or inconſiderate in his ſentences; [*He offered to make himſelf a king.*] This diſcourſe happened at the entry of the Prætorium; for the Jews, who had no conſcience of killing the king of Heaven, made a conſcience of the external cuſtoms and ceremonies of their law, which had in them no interior ſanctity, which were apt to ſeparate them from the nations, and remark them with characters of religion and abſtraction: it would defile them to go to a Roman Forum, where a capital action was to be judged; and yet the effuſion of the beſt blood in the world was not eſteemed againſt their religion; ſo violent and blind is the ſpirit of malice which turns humanity into cruelty, wiſdom into craft, diligence into ſubornation, and religion into ſuperſtition.

8. Two other articles they alledged againſt him: But the firſt concerned not Pilate, and the ſecond was involved in the third, and therefore he choſe to examine him upon this only of his being a King. To which the holy Jeſus anſwered, that it is true, he was a king indeed, but *not of this world*; his throne is Heaven, the Angels are his courtiers, and the whole creation are his ſubjects: His regiment is ſpiritual, his judicatories are the courts of conſcience and church tribunals, and at dooms-day the clouds: The tribute which he demands are conformity to his laws, faith, hope and charity; no other gabels but the duties of a holy ſpirit, and the expreſſes of a religious worſhip, and obedient will, and a conſenting underſtanding. And in all this Pilate thought the intereſt of Cæſar was not invaded. For certain it is, the diſcipline of Jeſus confirmed it much, and ſupported it by the ſtrongeſt pillars. And here Pilate ſaw how impertinent and malicious their accuſation was. And we, who declaim againſt the unjuſt proceedings of the Jews againſt our deareſt Lord, ſhould do well to take care that we, in accuſing any of our brethren either with malicious purpoſe, or with an uncharitable circumſtance, do not commit the ſame fault which in them we ſo hate and accuſe. Let no man ſpeak any thing of his neighbour but what is true. And yet if the truth be heightned by the biting rhetorick of a ſatyrical ſpirit, extended and drawn forth in circumſtances and arts of aggravation, the truth becomes a load to a guilty perſon, is a prejudice to the ſentence of the judge, and hath not ſo much as the excuſe of zeal, much leſs the charity of chriſtianity. Sufficient to every man is the plain ſtory of his crime: and to excuſe as much of it as we can, would better become us, who periſh unleſs we be excuſed for infinite irregularities. But if we add this alſo, that we accuſe our brethren before them that may amend them and reform their error, if we pity their perſons, and do not hate them, if we ſeek nothing of their diſgrace, and make not their ſhame publick, but when the

publick

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[a] In Myſtagog. Eccleſ. Autho. Com. in Marc. apud S. *Hieron.*

BRITISH MUSEUM
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When Pilate saw that he could prevail nothing, but that rather a Tumult was made, he took Water and washed his Hands before the Multitude saying I am innocent of the Blood of this Juſt Perſon: *see ye to it.* *St. Matt. Chap. 27th Ver. 24th.*

publick is neceſſarily concerned, or the ſtate of the man's ſin requires it; then our accuſations are charitable: but if they be not, all ſuch accuſations are accepted by Chriſt with as much diſpleaſure, in proportion to the degree of the malice and the proper effect, as was this accuſation of his own perſon.

9. BUT Pilate having pronounced Jeſus innocent, and perceiving he was a Galilæan ſent him to Herod, as being a more competent perſon to determine concerning one of his own juriſdiction. Herod was glad at the honour done to him, and the perſon brought him, being now deſirous to ſee ſome miracle done before him. But the holy Jeſus ſpake not one word there, nor did any ſign: ſo to reprove the ſottiſh careleſneſs of Herod, who, living in the place of Jeſus's abode, never had ſeen his perſon or heard his ſermons. And if we neglect the opportunities of grace, and refuſe to hear the voice of Chriſt in the time of mercy and divine appointment, we may arrive at that ſtate of miſery in which Chriſt will refuſe to ſpeak one word of comfort to us; and the homilies of the goſpel ſhall be dead letters, and the ſpirit not at all refreſhed, nor the underſtanding inſtructed, nor the affections moved, nor the will determined; but becauſe we have during all our time ſtopt our ears, in his time God will ſtop his mouth, and ſhut up the ſprings of grace, that we ſhall receive no refreſhment, or inſtruction, or pardon, or felicity. Jeſus ſuffered not himſelf to be moved at the pertinacious accuſations of the Jews, nor the deſires of the tyrant, but perſevered in ſilence, till Herod and his ſervants deſpiſed him and diſmiſſed him. For ſo it became our High-prieſt, who was to ſanctifie all our ſufferings, to conſecrate affronts and ſcorn, that we may learn to endure contempt, and to ſuffer ourſelves in a religious cauſe to be deſpiſed; and when it happens in any other, to remember that we have our deareſt Lord for a precedent of bearing it with admirable ſimplicity and equanimity of deportment. And it is a mighty ſtock of ſelf-love that dwells in our ſpirits, which makes us of all afflictions moſt impatient of this. But Jeſus endured this deſpite, and ſuffered this to be added, that he was expoſed in ſcorn, to the boys of the ſtreets. For Herod cauſed him to be arrayed in white, ſent him out to be ſcorned by the people, and hooted at by idle perſons, and ſo he remitted him to Pilate. And ſince that accident to our Lord, the church hath not undecently choſe to clothe her prieſts with albs or white garments; and it is a ſymbolical intimation and repreſentment of that part of the paſſion and affront which Herod paſſed upon the holy Jeſus. And this is ſo far from deſerving a reproof, that it were to be wiſhed all the children of the [a] church would imitate all thoſe graces which Chriſt exerciſed when he wore that garment which ſhe hath taken up in ceremony and thankful memory; that is, in all their actions and ſufferings be ſo eſtranged from ſecular arts and mixtures of the world, ſo intent upon religion, and active in all its intereſts, ſo indifferent to all acts of providence, ſo equal in all chances, ſo patient of every accident, ſo charitable to enemies, and ſo undeterred by exterior events, that nothing may draw us forth from the ſeverities of our religion, or entice us from the retirement of a recollected and ſober and patient ſpirit, or make us to depart from the courteſies of piety, though for ſuch adheſion and purſuit we be eſteemed fools, or ignorant, or contemptible.

10. WHEN Pilate had received the holy Jeſus, and found that Herod had ſent him back uncondemned, he attempted to reſcue him from their malice, by making him a donative and a freed man at the petition of the people. But they preferred a murtherer and a rebel, Barabbas, before him: for themſelves being rebels againſt the king of Heaven, loved to acquit perſons criminal in the ſame kind of ſin, rather than their Lord, againſt whom they took up all the arms that they could receive from violence and perfect malice; *deſiring to have him crucified who raiſed the dead, and to have the other releaſed who deſtroyed the living.* And when Pilate ſaw they were ſet upon it, he conſented, and delivered him firſt to be ſcourged. Which the ſoldiers executed with violence and unrelenting hands, [b] opening his virginal body to nakedneſs, and tearing his tender fleſh, till the pavement was purpled with a ſhower of holy blood. It is reported in the eccleſiaſtical ſtory, that when St. Agnes and St. Barbara, holy virgins and martyrs, were ſtripped naked to execution, God, pitying their great ſhame and trouble to have their nakedneſs diſcovered, made for them a veil of light, and ſent them to a modeſt and deſired death. But the holy Jeſus, who choſe all ſorts of

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[a] Θεῷ δὲ θῦε διὰ τέλους δίκαιος ὤν, Μὴ λαμπρὸς ἂν ταῖς χλαμύσι, ὡς τῇ καρδίᾳ. *Menand.*

[b] S. *Aug.* tract. 15. in Joann.
Vinctus in his Dominus ſtetit ædibus atque, columnis
Annexus tergum dedit ut ſervile flagellis:
Perſtat adhuc templumque gerit veneranda columna,
Noſque docet cunctis immunes vivere flagris. *Prudent.*
Cernitur in toto corpore ſculptus amor. *Naz.* in Chr. patient.

ſhame and confuſion, that by a fulneſs of ſuffering he might expiate his Father's anger, and that he might conſecrate to our ſufferance all kind of affront and paſſion, endured even the ſhame of nakedneſs at the time of his ſcourging, ſuffering himſelf to be diveſted of his robes, that we might be cloathed with that ſtole he put off. For therefore he took on him the ſtate of ſinning Adam, and became naked, that we might firſt be cloathed with righteouſneſs, and then with immortality.

11. AFTER they had ſcourged him without remorſe, *they cloathed him with purple, and crowned him with thorns,* and *put a cane in his hand for a ſcepter, and bowed their knees before him,* and *ſaluted him* with mockery, with a [*Hail King of the Jews,*] and they *beat him,* and *ſpat upon him:* And then Pilate brought him forth, and ſhewed this ſad ſpectacle to the people, hoping this might move them to compaſſion, who never loved to ſee a man proſperous, and are always troubled to ſee the ſame man in miſery. But the Earth, which was curſed for Adam's ſake, and was ſowed with thorns and thiſtles, produced the full harveſt of them; and the ſecond Adam gathered them all, and made garlands of them as enſigns of his victory which he was now in purſuit of againſt ſin, the grave, and Hell. And we alſo may make our thorns, which are in themſelves pungent and dolorous, to be a crown, if we bear them patiently, and unite them to Chriſt's paſſion, and offer them to his honour, and bear them in his cauſe, and rejoice in them for his ſake. And indeed, after ſuch a grove of thorns growing upon the head of our Lord, to ſee one of Chriſt's members ſoft, delicate and effeminate, is a great indecency, next to this of ſeeing the Jews uſe the king of glory with the greateſt reproach and infamy.

12. BUT nothing prevailing, nor the innocence of Jeſus, nor his immunity from the ſentence of Herod, nor the induſtry and diligence of Pilate, nor the miſery nor the ſight of the afflicted Lamb of God, at laſt (for ſo God decreed to permit it, and Chriſt to ſuffer it) Pilate gave ſentence of death upon him, having firſt waſhed his hands. Of which God ſerved his end, to declare the innocence of his ſon, of which in this whole proceſs he was moſt curious, and ſuffered not the leaſt probability to adhere to him: yet Pilate ſerved no end of his, nor preſerved any thing of his innocence. He that rails upon a prince, and cries, ſaving your honour, you are a tyrant; and he that ſtrikes a man upon the face, and cries him mercy, and undoes him, and ſays it was in jeſt; does juſt like that perſon that ſins againſt God, and thinks to be excuſed by ſaying it was againſt his conſcience: that is waſhing our hands when they are ſtained in blood; as if a ceremony of purification were enough to cleanſe a ſoul from the ſtains of a ſpiritual impurity. So ſome refuſe not to take any oath in times of perſecution, and ſay it obliges not, becauſe it was forced, and done againſt their will; as if the doing of it were waſhed off by proteſting againſt it: whereas the proteſting againſt it declares me criminal, if I rather chuſe not death than that which I profeſs to be a ſin. But all the perſons which co-operated in this death, were in this life conſigned to a fearful judgment after it. The Jews took the blood (which Pilate ſeemed to waſh off) *upon themſelves and their children;* and the blood of this paſchal Lamb ſtuck upon their forehead, and marked them, not to eſcape, but to fall under the ſword of the deſtroying Angel, and they periſhed either by a more haſty death, or ſhortly after in the extirpation and miſerable ruine of their nation. And Pilate who had a leſs ſhare in the crime, yet had a black character of a ſecular judgment: for not long after he was by Vitellius, the preſident of Syria, ſent to Rome to anſwer to the crimes objected againſt him by the Jews, whom to pleaſe he had done ſo much violence to his conſcience; and by Cæſar's ſentence he was baniſhed to Vienna, deprived of all his honours, where he lived ingloriouſly, till by impatience of his calamity he killed himſelf with his own hand. And thus the blood of Jeſus, ſhed for the ſalvation of the world, became to them a curſe; and that which purifies the ſaints, ſtuck to them that ſhed it, (and mingled it not with the tears of repentance,) to be a leproſy loathſome and incurable. So manna turns to worms, and the wine of Angels to vinegar and lees, when it is received into impure veſſels, or taſted by wanton palates; and the ſun itſelf produces rats and ſerpents, when it reflects upon the dirt of Nilus.

J. Cole Sculp.

And they **Stripped him** *and put on him a* **Scarlet Robe**.
And when they had platted a Crown of **Thorns** *they put it upon his* **Head** *and a* **Reed** *in his right hand and they bowed the Knee before him and mocked him saying* **Hail King** *of ye* **Iews**.

BRITISH MUSEUM
5 AU 70

BRITISH MUSEUM 5 AU 70

Clark & Pine sculpsit.

While the Bridegroom *tarried they all ſlumbered and ſlept, and at Midnight there was a Cry made, behold the* Bridegroom *cometh, then all thoſe* Virgins *aroſe and trimmed their* Lamps. *S.t Matt. Chap. 25.th Ver. 5.th 6.th 7.th*

The PRAYER.

O Holy and immaculate Lamb of God, who wert pleaſed to ſuffer ſhame and ſorrow, to be brought before tribunals, to be accuſed maliciouſly, betrayed treacherouſly, condemned unjuſtly, and ſcourged moſt rudely, ſuffering the moſt ſevere and moſt unhandſome inflictions which could be procured by potent, ſubtle and extreameſt malice; and didſt chuſe this out of love greater than the love of mothers, more affectionate than the tears of joy and pity dropt from the eyes of moſt paſſionate women, by theſe fontinels of blood iſſuing forth life and health and pardon upon all thine enemies; teach me to apprehend the baſeneſs of ſin, in proportion to the greateſt of thoſe calamities which my ſin made it neceſſary for thee to ſuffer, that I may hate the cauſe of thy ſufferings, and adore thy mercy, and imitate thy charity, and copy out thy patience and humility, and love thy perſon to the uttermoſt extent and degrees of my affections. Lord, what am I, that the eternal Son of God ſhould ſuffer one ſtripe for me? But thy love is infinite. And how great a miſery is it to provoke by ſin ſo great a mercy, and deſpiſe ſo miraculous a goodneſs, and to do freſh deſpite to the Son of God? But our ſins are innumerable, and our infirmities are mighty. Deareſt Jeſu, pity me, for I am accuſed by my own conſcience, and am found guilty; I am ſtripped naked of my innocence, and bound faſt by luſt, and tormented with ſtripes and wounds of enraged appetites. But let thy innocence excuſe me, the robes of thy righteouſneſs cloath me, thy bondage ſet me free, and thy ſtripes heal me: that thou being my advocate, my phyſician, my patron, and my Lord, I may be adopted into the union of thy merits, and partake of the efficacy of thy ſufferings, and be crowned as thou art, having my ſins changed to virtues, and my thorns to rays of glory under thee our head, in the participation of eternity, O holy and immaculate Lamb of God. Amen.

DISCOURSE XX.

Of Death, and the due manner of Preparation to it.

1. THE holy ſpirit of God hath in ſcripture revealed to us but one way of preparing to death, and that is, by a holy life: and there is nothing in all the book of life concerning this exerciſe of addreſs to death, but ſuch advices which ſuppoſe the dying perſon in a ſtate of grace. St. James indeed counſels, that in ſickneſs we ſhould ſend for the miniſters eccleſiaſtical, and that they [a] *pray over us*, and that we *confeſs our ſins*, and *they ſhall be forgiven*; that is, thoſe prayers are of great efficacy for the removing the ſickneſs, and taking off that puniſhment of ſin, and healing them in a certain degree, according to the efficacy of the miniſtry, and the diſpoſitions or capacities of the ſick perſon. But we muſt know that oftentimes univerſal effects are attributed to partial cauſes: becauſe by the analogy of ſcripture we are taught, that all the body of holy actions and miniſtries are to unite in production of the event, and that without that adunation one thing alone cannot operate: but becauſe no one alone does the work, but by an united power, therefore indefinitely the effect is aſcribed ſometimes to one, ſometimes to another; meaning, that one as much as the other, that is, all together, are to work the pardon and the grace. But the doctrine of preparation to death we are cleareſt taught in the [b] parable of the ten virgins. Thoſe who were wiſe ſtood waiting for the coming of the bridegroom, their lamps burning; only when the Lord was at hand, at the notice of his coming publiſhed, they trimmed their lamps; and they, ſo diſpoſed, went forth, and met him, and entred with him into his interior and eternal joys. They whoſe lamps did not ſtand ready beforehand, expecting the uncertain hour, were ſhut forth, and bound in darkneſs. [[c] *Watch therefore*, (ſo our Lord applies and expounds the parable,) *for ye know not the day nor the hour of the coming of the Son of man.*] Whenever the arreſt of death ſeizes us, unleſs before that notice we had oil in our veſſels, that is, grace in our hearts, habitual grace, (for nothing elſe can reſide or dwell there, an act cannot inhabit or

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[a] Jam. 5. 14. &c.

[b] Matt. 25. 'Αλλ' εὐκλεῶς τοι κατθανεῖν χάρις βροτῷ. *Æſchyl.* Agam.

[c] Mat. 13. 25.

be in a veſſel,) it is too late to make preparation. But they who have it, may and muſt prepare; that is, they muſt ſtir the fire, trim the veſſel, make it more actual in its exerciſe and productions, full of ornament, advantages and degrees. And that is all we know from ſcripture concerning preparation.

2. AND indeed ſince all our life we are a dying, and this minute in which I now write death divides with me, and hath got the ſurer part and more certain poſſeſſion, it is but reaſonable that we ſhould always be doing the offices of preparation. [a] If to day we were not dying and paſſing on to our grave, then we might with more ſafety deſer our work till the morrow. But as fuel in a furnace in every degree of its heat and reception of the flame is converting into fire and aſhes, and the diſpoſing it to the laſt mutation, is the ſame work with the laſt inſtance of its change: So is the age of every day a beginning of death, and the night compoſing us to ſleep bids us go to our leſſer reſt; becauſe that night, which is the end of the preceding day, is but a leſſer death: And whereas now we have died ſo many days, the laſt day of our life is but the dying of ſo many more; and when that laſt day of dying will come we know not. There is nothing then added but the circumſtance of ſickneſs, which alſo happens many times before: Only men are pleaſed to call that death which is the end of dying, when we ceaſe to die any more. And therefore to put off our preparation till that which we call death, is to put off the work of all our life, till the time comes in which it is to ceaſe and determine.

3. BUT to accelerate our early endeavour, (beſides what hath been formerly conſidered upon the proper grounds of repentance,) I here re-inforce the conſideration of death in ſuch circumſtances which are apt to engage us upon an early induſtry. [b] Firſt, I conſider, that no man is ſure that he ſhall not die ſuddenly: And therefore if Heaven be worth ſecuring, it were fit that we ſhould reckon every day the veſpers of death; and therefore that according to the uſual rites of religion, it be begun and ſpent with religious offices. And let us conſider, that thoſe many perſons who are remarked in hiſtory to have died ſuddenly, either were happy by an early piety, or miſerable by a ſudden death. And if uncertainty of condition be an abatement of felicity, and ſpoils the good we poſſeſs, no man can be happy but he that hath lived well, that is, who hath ſecured his condition by an habitual and living piety. For ſince God hath not told us we ſhall not die ſuddenly, is it not certain he intended we ſhould prepare for ſudden death, as well as againſt death cloathed in any other circumſtances? [c] Fabius ſirnamed Pictor was choaked with a hair in a meſs of milk, Anacreon with a raiſin, cardinal Colonna with figs cruſted with ice, Adrian the fourth with a flie, Druſius Pompeius with a pear, Domitius Afer, Quintilian's tutor, with a full cup, [d] Caſimire the ſecond, king of Polonia, with a little draught of wine, Amurath with a full goblet. Tarquinius Priſcus with a fiſh-bone. For as ſoon as a man is born, that which in nature only remains to him is to die: and if we differ in way or time of our abode, or the manner of our exit, yet we are even at laſt. And ſince it is not determined by a natural cauſe which way we ſhall go, or at what age, a wiſe man will ſuppoſe himſelf always upon his death-bed: and ſuch ſuppoſition is like making of his will; he is not the nearer death for doing it, but he is the readier for it when it comes.

4. SAINT Jerom ſaid well, *He deſerves not the name of a chriſtian, who will live in that ſtate of life in which he will not die.* And indeed it is a great venture to be in an evil ſtate of life, becauſe every minute of it hath a danger: And therefore a ſucceſſion of actions, in every one of which he may as well periſh as eſcape, is a boldneſs that hath no mixture of wiſdom or probable venture. How many perſons have died in the midſt of an act of ſport, or at a merry meeting? Grimoaldus, a Lombard king, died with ſhooting of a pidgeon; Thales the Mileſian in the theatre; Lucia, the ſiſter of Aurelius

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[a] ——— feſtinat decurrere velox
Floſculus anguſtæ, miſeræque breviſſima vitæ
Portio ———
——— Τίς δὲ πλὴν θεῶν
Ἅπαντ᾽ ἀπήμων τὸν δι᾽ αἰῶνος χρόνον;
Τὸ μόρσιμον γὰρ τόν τ᾽ ἐλεύθερον μένει,
Καὶ τὸν πρὸς ἄλλης δεσποτούμενον χερός. Æſchyl. *Agam.*
Cras hoc fiet, idem cras fiet. Quid quaſi magnum
Nempe diem donas? Sed cum lux altera venit,
Jam cras heſternum conſumpſimus; ecce aliud cras
Egerit hos annos, et ſemper paulum erit ultra.
Perſ. Sat. 5.

[b] Quid quiſque vitet, nunquam homini ſatis
Cautum eſt in horas. Navita Boſphorum
Pœnus perhorreſcit, neque ultra
Cœca timet aliunde fata:
Miles ſagittas & celerem fugam
Parthi; catenas Parthus & Italum
Robur. Sed improviſa lethi
Vis rapuit, rapietque gentes. *Hor. l.* 2. *Od.* 13.

[c] *Cicero* in Brut.

[d] *Mart. Com. l.* 6. *Volaterran. l.* 4. *c.* 22.

Cui naſci contigit, mori reſtat: intervallis diſtinguimur, exitu æquamur. *Quintil.*
Diveſne, priſco natus ab Inacho,
Nil intereſt, an pauper & infima
De gente, ſub dio morieris,
Victima nil miſerantis Orci.
Omnes eodem cogimur. ——— *Hor. l.* 2. *Od.* 3.
Βιοτῆς μὲν γὰρ χρόνος ἐστὶ βραχύς· Κρυφθεὶς δὲ ὑπὸ γῆς κεῖται θνητὸς τὸν πάντα χρόνον.

the emperor, playing with her little ſon, was wounded in her breaſt with a needle, and died. Benno, biſhop of Adelburg, with great ceremony and joy conſecrating St. [a] Michael's church, was crouded to death by the people; ſo was the duke of Saxony at the inauguration of Albert I. The great lawyer Baldus, playing with a little dog, was bitten upon the lip, inſtantly grew mad and periſhed. Charles the eighth of France, ſeeing certain gentlemen playing at tenniſcourt, ſwooned, and recovered not. Henry II. was killed running at tilt; Ludovicus Borgia with riding the great horſe: and the old Syracuſan, Archimedes, was ſlain by a rude ſoldier as he was making diagrams in the ſand, which was his greateſt pleaſure. How many men have died laughing, or in the ecſtaſies of a great joy. [b] Philippides the comedian, and Dionyſius the tyrant of Sicily, died with joy at the news of a victory. [c] Diagoras of Rhodes, and Chilo the philoſopher, expired at the embraces of their ſons crowned with an olympick laurel. [d] Polycrita Naxia, being ſaluted the ſavioureſs of her country; Marcus Juventius, when the ſenate decreed him honours; the emperor [e] Conrade the ſecond, when he triumphed after the conqueſt of Italy, had a joy bigger than their heart, and their fancy ſwelled it, till they burſt and died. Death can enter in at any door. Philiſtion of Nice died with exceſſive laughter; ſo did the poet Philemon, being provoked to it only by ſeeing an aſs eat figs. [f] And the number of perſons who have been found ſuddenly dead in their beds is ſo great, that as it engages many to a more certain and regular devotion for their compline, ſo it were well it were purſued to the utmoſt intention of God; that is, that all the parts of religion ſhould with zeal and aſſiduity be entertained and finiſhed, that, as it becomes wiſe men, we never be ſurprized with that we are ſure will ſometime or other happen. A great general in Italy at the ſudden death of Alfonſus of Ferrara, and Lodovico Corbinelli at the ſight of the ſad accident upon Henry II. of France now mentioned, turned religious, and they did what God intended in thoſe deaths. It concerns us to be curious of ſingle actions, becauſe even in thoſe ſhorter periods we may expire and find our graves. But if the ſtate of life be contradictory to our hopes of Heaven, it is like affronting of a cannon before a beleaguer'd town a month together; it is a contempt of ſafety, and a rendring all reaſon uſeleſs and unprofitable. But he only is wiſe, who, having made death familiar to him by expectation and daily apprehenſion, does at all inſtants go forth to meet it. The wiſe virgins *went forth to meet the bridegroom*, for they were ready. [g] Excellent therefore is the counſel of the ſon of Sirach; *Uſe phyſick or ever thou be ſick. Before judgment examine thyſelf, and in the day of viſitation thou ſhalt find mercy. Humble thyſelf before thou be ſick, and in the time of ſins ſhew repentance. Let nothing hinder thee to pay thy vows in due time, and defer not until death to be juſtified.*

5. SECONDLY, I conſider, that it often happens that in thoſe few days of our laſt viſitation, which many men deſign for their preparation and repentance, God hath expreſſed by an exterior accident, that thoſe perſons have deceived themſelves, and neglected their own ſalvation. St. Gregory reports of Chryſaurius, a gentleman in the province of [h] Valeria, rich, vicious and witty, laſcivious, covetous and proud, that being caſt upon his death-bed he fancied he ſaw evil ſpirits coming to arreſt him and drag him to Hell. He fell into great agony and trouble, ſhrieked out, called for his ſon, who was a very religious perſon, flattered him, as willing to have been reſcued by any thing: but perceiving his danger increaſe, and grown deſperate, he called loud with repeated clamours, *Give me reſpite but till the morrow*, and with thoſe words he died; there being *no place left for his repentance, though he ſought it carefully with tears and groans*. The ſame was the caſe of a drunken monk, whom venerable [i] Bede mentions. Upon his death-bed he ſeemed to ſee Hell opened, and a place aſſigned him near to Caiaphas and thoſe who crucified our deareſt Lord. The religious perſons that ſtood about his bed called on him to repent of his ſins, to implore the mercies of God, and to truſt in Chriſt. But he anſwered with reaſon enough, *This is no time to change my life, the ſentence is paſſed upon me, and it is too late.* And it is very conſiderable and ſad [k] which Petrus Damianus tells of Gunizo, a factious and ambitious perſon, to whom, it is ſaid, the tempter gave notice of his approaching death: But when any man preached repentance to him,

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[a] *Crantzius*, l. 3. c. 51. *Matthiol.* in Dioſcor.

[b] *Plin.* l. 7. c. 53.

[c] *Cicer.* 1. Tuſc.

[d] *Plut.* & *Gel.* de Illuſt. mulier.

[e] *Cuſpin*

[f] Lotus nobiſcum eſt, hilaris cœnavit, & idem inventus mane eſt mortuus Andragoras. *Mart.* l. 6.

[g] *Ecclus.* 18. 19, &c.

[h] Homil. 12. in Evang.

[i] L. 5. c. 15 hiſt. gent. Anglor.

[k] Biblioth. Sſ. Pp. tom. 3.

him, out of a ſtrange incurioufneſs, or the ſpirit of reprobation, he ſeemed like a dead and unconcerned perſon; in all other diſcourſes he was awake and apt to anſwer. For God had ſhut up the gates of mercy, that no ſtreams ſhould iſſue forth to quench the flames of Hell; or elſe had ſhut up the gates of reception and entertainment, that it ſhould not enter. Either God denies to give them pardon when they call, or denies to them a power to call; they either cannot pray, or God will not anſwer. Now ſince theſe ſtories are related by men learned, pious and eminent in their generations, and becauſe they ſerved no deſign but the ends of piety, and have in them nothing diſſonant from revelation, or the frequent events of providence, we may upon their ſtock conſider, that God's judgments and viſible marks being ſet upon a ſtate of life, although they happen but ſeldom in the inſtances, yet they are of univerſal purpoſe and ſignification. Upon all murtherers God hath not thrown a thunder-bolt, nor broke all ſacrilegious perſons upon the wheel of an inconſtant and ebbing eſtate, nor ſpoken to every oppreſſor from Heaven in a voice of thunder, nor cut off all rebels in the firſt attempts of inſurrection: But becauſe he hath done ſo to ſome, we are to look upon thoſe judgments as divine accents, and voices of God, threatning all the ſame crimes with the like events, and with the ruins of eternity. For though God does not always make the ſame prologues to death, yet by theſe few accidents happening to ſingle perſons we are to underſtand his purpoſes concerning all in the ſame condition: It was not the perſon ſo much as the ſtate which God then remarked with ſo viſible characters of his diſpleaſure.

6. AND it ſeems to me a wonder, that ſince from all the records of ſcripture urging the uncertainty of the day of death, the horror of the day of judgment, the ſeverity of God, the diſſolution of the world, the certainty of our account, ſtill from all theſe premiſſes the ſpirit of God makes no other inference, but that we [a] watch, and *ſtand in a readineſs*, that we *live in all holy converſation and godlineſs*, and that there is no one word concerning any other manner of an eſſentially-neceſſary preparation, none but this; yet that there are doctrines commenced, and rules preſcribed, and offices ſet down, and ſuppletories invented by curates of ſouls, how to prepare a vicious perſon, and upon his death-bed to reconcile him to the hopes and promiſes of Heaven. [b] Concerning which I deſire that every perſon would but enquire, where any one promiſe is recorded in ſcripture concerning ſuch addreſſes, and what articles Chriſt hath drawn up between his Father and us concerning a preparation begun upon our death-bed: and if he ſhall find none, (as moſt certainly from Geneſis to the Revelation there is not a word concerning it, but very much againſt it,) let him firſt build his hopes upon this propoſition, that *a holy life is the only preparation to a happy death*, and then we can without danger proceed to ſome other conſiderations.

7. WHEN a good man, or a perſon concerning whom it is not certain he hath lived in habitual vices, comes to die, there are but two general ways of intercourſe with him: The one, to keep him from new ſins; the other, to make ſome emendations of the old: the one, to fortify him againſt ſpecial weakneſſes and proper temptations of that eſtate; and the other, to trim his lamp, that by excellent actions he may adorn his ſpirit, making up the omiſſions of his life, and ſupplying the imperfections of his eſtate, that his ſoul may return into the hands of his creator as pure as it can; every degree of perfection being an advantage ſo great, as that the loſs of every the leaſt portion of it cannot be recompenſed with all the good of this world. Concerning the firſt; The temptations proper to this eſtate are either weakneſs in faith, deſpair, or preſumption. For whatſoever is beſides theſe, as it is the common infelicity of all the ſeveral ſtates of life, ſo there are oftentimes arguments of an ill condition, of immortification of vicious habits, and that he comes not to this combat well prepared; ſuch as are covetouſneſs, unwillingneſs to make reſtitution, remanent affections to his former vices, an unreſigned ſpirit, and the like.

8. IN the eccleſiaſtical ſtory we find many dying perſons mentioned, who have been very much afflicted with ſome doubts concerning an article of faith. [c] S. Gregory, in an epiſtle he writ to S. Auſtin, inſtances in the temptation which Euſebius ſuffered upon his death-bed. And although ſometimes the Devil chuſes an article that is not proper to that ſtate, knowing that every ſuch doubt is well enough for his purpoſe, becauſe of

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[a] Mat. 25. 13. & 24, 42. Mark 13. 33. 2 Pet. 3. 11.

[b] ——— Tecum prius ergo voluta hæc animo ante tubas: galeatum ſero duelli pœnitet. ——— *Juven.* Sat. 1.

[c] De præconio S. *Hieron.*

the incapacity of the perſon to ſuffer long diſputes, and of the jealouſy and ſuſpicion of a dying and weak man, fearing leſt every thing ſhould cozen him: yet it is commonly inſtanced in the article of the reſurrection, or the ſtate of ſeparation or re-union. And it ſeems to ſome perſons incredible, that from a bed of ſickneſs, a ſtate of miſery, a cloud of ignorance, a load of paſſions, a man ſhould enter into the condition of a perfect underſtanding, great joy, and an intellectual life, a converſation with Angels, a fruition of God; the change is greater than his reaſon; and his faith being in concluſion tottering like the ark, and ready to fall, ſeems a pillar as unſafe and unable to rely on, as a bank of turf in an earthquake. Againſt this a general remedy is preſcribed by ſpiritual perſons; That the ſick man ſhould apprehend all changes of perſwaſion which hapned to him in his ſickneſs, contradictory to thoſe aſſents which in his cleareſt uſe of reaſon he had, to be temptations and arts of the devil. And he hath reaſon ſo to think, when he remembers how many comforts of the ſpirit of God, what joys of religion, what ſupport, what aſſiſtances, what ſtrengths he had in the whole courſe of his former life upon the ſtock of faith, and intereſt of the doctrine of chriſtianity. And ſince the diſbelieving the promiſes evangelical at that time can have no end of advantage, and that all wiſe men tell him it may have an end to make him loſe the title to them, and do him infinite diſadvantage; upon the ſtock of intereſt and prudence he muſt reject ſuch fears which cannot help him, but may ruine him. For all the works of grace which he did upon the hopes of God, and the ſtock of the divine revelations, (if he fails in his hold upon them,) are all rendred unprofitable. And it is certain, [a] if there be no ſuch thing as immortality and reſurrection, he ſhall loſe nothing for believing there is; but if there be, they are loſt to him for not believing it.

9. BUT this is alſo to be cured by proper arguments. And there is no chriſtian man but hath within him, and carries about him demonſtrations of the poſſibility, and great inſtances of the credibility of thoſe great changes, which theſe tempted perſons have no reaſon to diſtruſt, but becauſe they think them too great and too good to be true. And here, not only the conſideration of the divine power and his eternal goodneſs is a proper antidote, but alſo the obſervation of what we have already received from God. To be raiſed from nothing to ſomething is a mutation not leſs than infinite; and from that which we were in our firſt conception to paſs into ſo perfect and curious bodies, and to become diſcurſive, ſenſible, paſſionate and reaſonable, and next to Angels; is a greater change, than from this ſtate to paſs into that excellency and perfection of it which we expect as the melioration and improvement of the preſent. For this is but a mutation of degrees, that of ſubſtance: this is more ſenſible, becauſe we have perception in both ſtates; that is of greater diſtance, becauſe in the firſt term we were ſo far diſtant from what we are, that we could not perceive what then we were, much leſs deſire to be what we now perceive; and yet God did that for us unaſked, without any obligation on his part, or merit on ours; much rather then may we be confident of this alteration of accidents and degrees, becauſe God hath obliged himſelf by promiſe; he hath diſpoſed us to it by qualities, actions and habits, which are to the ſtate of glory as infancy is to manhood, as elements are to excellent diſcourſes, as bloſſoms are to ripe fruits. And he that hath wrought miracles for us, preſerved us in dangers, done ſtrange acts of providence, ſent his ſon to take our nature, made a virgin to bear a ſon, and GOD to become man, and two natures to be one individual perſon, and all in order to this end of which we doubt, hath given ſo many arguments of credibility, that if he had done any more, it would not have been left in our choice to believe or not believe; and then much of the excellency of our faith would have been loſt. Add to this, that we are not tempted to diſbelieve the Roman ſtory, or that Virgil's *Æneis* were writ by him, or that we ourſelves are deſcended of ſuch parents; becauſe theſe things are not only tranſmitted to us by ſuch teſtimony which we have no reaſon to diſtruſt, but becauſe the tempter cannot ſerve any ends upon us by producing ſuch doubts in us: and therefore ſince we have greater teſtimony for every article of faith, and to believe it is of ſo much concernment to us, we may well ſuſpect it to be an artifice of the Devil to rob us of our reward; this proceeding of his being of the ſame nature with all his other temptations, which in in our life-time like fiery

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[a] In hunc fere modum moribundus diſſeruit *Socrates* apud *Platonem* in Phædone ſuo; Εἰ μὲν τυγχάνει ἀληθῆ ὄντα ἃ ἐγὼ λέγω, καλῶς δὴ ἔχει τὸ πεισθῆναι· εἰ δὲ μηδέν ἐστι τελευτήσαντι, ἀλλ᾽ οὖν τοῦτον γε τὸν χρόνον αὐτὸν πρὸ τοῦ θανάτου ἧττον τοῖς παροῦσιν ἀηδὴς ἔσομαι ὀδυρόμενος. ἡ δὲ ἄγνοιά μοι αὕτη οὐ ξυνδιατελεῖ (κακὸν γὰρ ἦν) ἀλλ᾽ ὀλίγον ὕστερον ἀπολεῖται. Non abs re ergo erit ut moribundus, ſi non de articulis fidei diſſerat & ſentiat *de fiducia compertæ veritatis*, at ſaltem (quod de Socrate dixit *Tertullianus*) *de induſtria conſultæ æquanimitatis.*

darts he threw into our face, to deſpoil us of our glory, and blot out the image of God imprinted on us.

10. SECONDLY, if the [a] Devil tempts the ſick perſon to deſpair, he who is by God appointed to miniſter a word of comfort, muſt fortify his ſpirit with conſideration and repreſentment of the divine goodneſs, manifeſt in all the expreſſes of nature and grace, of providence and revelation; that God never *extinguiſhes the ſmoaking flax*, *nor breaks the bruiſed reed*; that a conſtant and a hearty endeavour is the ſacrifice which God delights in; that in the firmament of Heaven there are little ſtars, and they are moſt in number, and there are but few of the greateſt magnitude; that there are children and babes in Chriſt as well as ſtrong men, and amongſt theſe there are great difference; that the interruptions of the ſtate of grace by intervening crimes, if they were reſcinded by repentance, there were great danger in the interval, but ſerved as increment of the divine glory, and arguments of care and diligence to us at the reſtitution. Theſe and many more are then to be urged when the ſick perſon is in danger of being ſwallowed up with over-much ſorrow; and therefore to be inſiſted on in all caſes as the phyſician gives him cordials, that we may do charity to him and miniſter comfort, not becauſe they are always neceſſary, even in the midſt of great ſadneſſes and diſcomforts. For we are to ſecure his love to God, that he acknowledge the divine mercy, that he believe the article of remiſſion of ſins, that he be thankful to God for the bleſſings which already he hath received, and that he lay all the load of his diſcomfort upon himſelf, and his own incapacities of mercy: and then the ſadneſs may be very great, and his tears clamorous, and his heart broken all in pieces, and his humility lower than the earth, and his hope indiſcernible; and yet no danger to his final condition. Deſpair reflects upon God, and diſhonours the infinity of his mercy. And if the ſick perſon do but confeſs that God is not at all wanting in his promiſes, but ever abounding in his mercies, and that it is want of the condition on his own part that makes the miſery, and that if he had done his duty, God would ſave him; let him be aſſiſted with perpetual prayers, with examples of lapſed and returning ſinners, whom the church celebrates for ſaints, ſuch as Mary Magdalen, Mary of Egypt, Afra, Thaſis, Pelagia; let it be often inculcated to him, that as God's mercy is of itſelf infinite, ſo its demonſtration to us is not determined to any certain period, but hath ſuch latitudes in it and reſervations, which as they are apt to reſtrain too great boldneſs, ſo alſo to become ſanctuaries to diſconſolate perſons; let him be invited to throw himſelf upon God upon theſe grounds, that he who is our judge is alſo our advocate and redeemer, that he knows and pities our infirmities, and that our very hoping in him does indear him, and he will deliver us the rather for our confidence, when it is balanced with reverence and humility: and then all theſe ſupernumerary fears are advantageous to more neceſſary graces, and do more ſecure his final condition than they can diſturb it.

11. WHEN Saint Arſenius was near his death, he was obſerved to be very tremulous, ſad, weeping and diſconſolate. The ſtanders by aſked the reaſon of his fears, wondring that he, having lived in great ſanctity for many years, ſhould not now rejoice at the going forth of his priſon. The good man confeſſed the fear, and withal ſaid it was no other than he had always born about with him in the days of his pilgrimage; and what he then thought a duty, they had no reaſon now to call either a fault or a miſery. Great ſorrows, fears and diſtruſtings of a man's own condition, are oftentimes but abatements of confidence, or a remiſſion of joys and gayeties of ſpirit; they are but like ſalutary clouds, dark and fruitful: and if the tempted perſon be ſtrengthened in a love of God, though he go not farther in his hopes than to believe a poſſibility of being ſaved, than to ſay, *God can ſave him*, *if he pleaſe*, and to pray that he will ſave him, his condition is a ſtate of grace: It is like a root in the ground, trod upon, humble and ſafe, not ſo fine as the ſtate of flowers; yet that which will ſpring up in as glorious a reſurrection as that which looks fairer, and pleaſes the ſenſe, and is indeed a bleſſing, but not a duty.

12. BUT there is a ſtate of death-bed which ſeems to have in it more queſtion, and to be of nicer conſideration. A ſick perſon after a vicious and baſe life. And if upon whatſoever he can do, you give him hopes of a pardon, where is your promiſe to warrant it? if you do not give him hopes, do you not drive him to deſpair, and aſcertain his ruin, to verify your propoſition? To this I anſwer, that deſpair is oppoſed to hope, and hope relies upon the divine promiſes; and where there is no promiſe,

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[a] Θαῤῥεῖν χρὴ, φίλε Βάττε, τάχ' αὔριον ἔσσετ' ἄμεινον. Ἐλπίδες ἐν ζωοῖσι, ἀνέλπιστοι δὲ θανόντες. Theocr. Ἐν ἐλπίσι χρὴ τοὺς σοφοὺς ἔχειν βίον. Ἄνθρωπος ἀτυχῶν σώζεται ἀπὸ τῆς ἐλπίδος. Menand.

miſe, there the deſpair is not a ſin, but a meer impoſſibility. The accurſed ſpirits which are ſealed up to the judgment of the laſt day, cannot hope; and he that repents not, cannot hope for pardon. And therefore if all which the ſtate of death-bed can produce be not the duty of repentance, which is required of neceſſity to pardon, it is not in ſuch a perſon properly to be called deſpair, any more than it is blindneſs in a ſtone that it cannot ſee: Such a man is not within the capacities of pardon. And therefore all thoſe acts of exterior repentance, and all his ſorrow and reſolution and tears of emendation, and other preparatives to interior repentance, are like oil poured into mortal wounds; they are the care of the phyſician, and theſe are the cautions of the church, and they are at no hand to be neglected. For if they do not alter the ſtate, they may leſſen the judgment, or procure a temporal bleſſing: and if the perſon recover, they are excellent beginnings of the ſtate of grace; and if they be purſued in a happy opportunity, will grow up into glory.

13. BUT if it be demanded, whether in ſuch caſes the curate be bound to give abſolution; I can give no other anſwer but this, That if he lie under the cenſure of the church, the laws of the church are to determine the particular: and I know no church in the world but uſes to abſolve death-bed penitents upon the inſtances of thoſe actions of which their preſent condition is capable; though in the primitive ages in ſome caſes they denied it. But if the ſick perſon be under no poſitive cenſure, and is bound only by the guilt of habitual vice, if he deſires the prayers of the church, ſhe is bound in charity to grant them, to pray for pardon to him, and all other graces in order to ſalvation: And if ſhe abſolves the penitent, towards God it hath no other efficacy but of a ſolemn prayer. And therefore it were better that all the charity of the Office were done and the ſolemnity omitted: becauſe in the earneſt prayer ſhe [a] co-operates to his ſalvation as much as ſhe can; and by omitting the ſolemnity diſtinguiſhes evil livers from holy perſons, and walks ſecurely, whilſt ſhe refuſes to declare him pardoned whom God hath not declared to be ſo. And poſſibly that form of abſolution which the churches of the weſt now uſe, being indicative, and declaratory of a preſent pardon, is for the very form ſake not to be uſed to death-bed penitents after a vicious life: Becauſe if any thing more be intended in the form than a prayer, the truth of the affirmation may be queſtioned; and an eccleſiaſtical perſon hath no authority to ſay to ſuch a man, *I abſolve thee:* but if no more be intended but a prayer, it is better to uſe a meer prayer and common form of addreſs, than ſuch words which may countenance unſecure confidences, evil purpoſes, and worſe lives.

14. THIRDLY, if the devil tempts a ſick perſon, who hath lived well, to preſumption, and that he ſeems full of confidence and without trouble; the care that is then to be taken is to conſider the diſeaſe, and to ſtate the queſtion right. For at ſome inſtants and periods God viſits the ſpirit of a man, and ſends the immiſſion of a bright ray into him; and ſome good men have been ſo uſed to apprehenſions of the divine mercy, that they have an habitual chearfulneſs of ſpirit and hopes of ſalvation. St. [b] Hierom reports that Hilarion in a death-bed agony felt ſome tremblings of heart, till reflecting upon his courſe of life, he found comforts ſpringing from thence by a proper emanation, and departed chearfully: and Hezekiah repreſented to God in prayer the integrity of his life, and made it the inſtrument of his hope. And nothing of this is to be called preſumption, provided it be in perſons of eminent ſanctity and great experience, old diſciples and the more perfect chriſtians. But becauſe ſuch perſons are but ſeldom and rare, if the ſame confidence be obſerved in perſons of common imperfection and an ordinary life, it is to be corrected and allayed with conſideration of the divine ſeverity and juſtice, and with the ſtrict requiſites of a holy life, with the deceit of a man's own heart, with conſideration and general remembrances of ſecret ſins, and that the moſt [c] perfect ſtate of life hath very great needs of mercy, and *if the righteous ſcarcely be ſaved, where ſhall the ungodly and the ſinner appear?* And the ſpirit of the man is to be promoted and helped in the encreaſe of contrition, as being the proper deletery to cure the extravagancies of a froward and intemperate ſpirit.

15. BUT there is a preſumption commenced upon opinion, relying either upon a perſuaſion of ſingle predeſtination, or elſe (which is worſe) upon imaginary ſecurities, that Heaven is to be purchaſed upon conditions eaſier than a days labour, and that an evil life may be reconciled to Heaven by the intervening of little or ſingle acts of

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[a] Pœnitentia quæ ab infirmo petitur, infirma eſt: pœnitentia quæ a moriente tantum petitur, timeo ne & ipſa moriatur. S. *Aug.* Serm. de temp. Vide eund. l. 50. homil. 41.

[b] Egredere, anima, quid times? ſeptuaginta prope annis ſerviiſti Chriſto, & jam mori times? S. *Hier.* in vita Hilar.

[c] Væ vitæ etiam laudabili, ſi ſine miſericordia diſcutias eam, S. *Aug.* l. 9. Confeſſ.

piety or repentance. If either of them both have actually produced ill life, to which they are apt, or apt to be abuſed, the perſons are miſerable in their condition, and cannot be abſolutely remedied by going about to cure the preſumption: that was the cauſe of all, but now it is the leaſt thing to be conſidered. His whole ſtate is corrupted, and men will not by any diſcourſes or ſpiritual arts uſed on their death-beds be put into a ſtate of grace: becauſe then is no time to change the ſtate, and there is no mutation then but by ſingle actions. From good to better a dying man may proceed, but not from the ſtate of reprobation to the life of grace. And yet it is good charity to unlooſe the bonds of Satan, whereby the man is bound and led captive at his will, to take off the preſumption by deſtroying the cauſe: and then let the work of grace be ſet as forward as it can, and leave the event to God; for nothing elſe is left poſſible to be done. But if the ſick man be of a good life, and yet have a degree of confidence beyond his virtue upon the fancy of predeſtination, it is not then a time to reſcind his opinion by a direct oppoſition, but let him be drawn off from the conſideration of it by ſuch diſcourſes as are apt to make him humble and penitent; for they are the moſt apt inſtruments to ſecure the condition of the man, and attemper his ſpirit. Theſe are the great temptations incident to the laſt ſcene of our lives; and are therefore more particularly ſuggeſted by the tempter, becauſe they have in them ſomething contrary to the univerſal effect of a holy life, and are deſigns to interpoſe between the end of the journey and the reception of the crown. And therefore it concerns every man who is in a capacity of *receiving the end of his faith, the ſalvation of his ſoul,* to lay up in the courſe of his life, ſomething againſt this great day of expence, that he may be better fortified with the armour of the ſpirit againſt theſe laſt aſſaults of the Devil, that he may not ſhipwreck in the haven.

16. ESCHEWING evil is but the one half of our work, we muſt alſo do good. And now in the few remanent days or hours of our life there are certain exerciſes of religion which have a ſpecial relation to this ſtate, and are therefore of great concernment to be done, that we may make our condition as certain as we can, and our portion of glory greater, and our pardon ſurer, and our love to increaſe, and that our former omiſſions and breaches be repaired with a condition in ſome meaſure proportionable to thoſe great hopes which we then are going to poſſeſs. And firſt, let the ſick perſon, in the beginning of his ſickneſs, and in every change and great accident of it, make acts of reſignation to God, and intirely ſubmit himſelf to the divine will: remembring, that ſickneſs may, to men properly diſpoſed, do the work of God, and produce the effect of the ſpirit, and promote the intereſt of his ſoul, as well as health, and oftentimes better; as being in itſelf and by the grace of God apt to make us confeſs our own impotency and dependencies, and to underſtand our needs of mercy, and the continual influences and ſupports of Heaven; to withdraw our appetites from things below, to correct the vanities and inſolencies of an impertinent ſpirit, to abate the extravagancies of the fleſh, to put our carnal luſts into fetters and diſability, to remember us of our ſtate of pilgrimage, that this it our way, and our ſtage of trouble and baniſhment, and that Heaven is our country: for ſo ſickneſs is the tryal of our patience, a fire to purge us, an inſtructer to teach us, a bridle to reſtrain us, and a ſtate inferring great neceſſities of union and adheſions unto God. And as upon theſe grounds we have the ſame reaſon to accept ſickneſs at the hands of God, as to receive phyſick from a phyſician: So it is argument of excellent grace to give God hearty thanks in our diſeaſe, and to accept it chearfully, and with ſpiritual joy.

17. SOME perſons create to themſelves excuſes of diſcontent, and quarrel not with the pain, but the ill conſequents of ſickneſs. It makes them troubleſome to their friends; and conſider not that their friends are bound to accept the trouble, as themſelves to accept the ſickneſs; that to tend the ſick is at that time allotted for the portion of their work, and that charity receives it as a duty; and makes that duty to be a pleaſure. And however, if our friends account us a burthen, let us alſo accept that circumſtance of affliction to ourſelves with the ſame reſignation and indifferency as we entertain its occaſion, the ſickneſs itſelf; and pray to God to enkindle a flame of charity in their breaſts, and to make them compenſation for the charge and trouble we put them to: And then the care is at an end. But others excuſe their diſcontent with a more religious colour, and call the diſeaſe their trouble and affliction, becauſe it impedes their other parts of duty; they cannot preach, or ſtudy, or do exterior aſſiſtances of charity and alms, or acts of repentance and mortification. But it were well if we could let God proportion out our work, and ſet our taſk; let him chuſe what virtues we ſhall eſpecially exerciſe: and when the will of God determines

us, it is more excellent to endure afflictions with patience, equanimity and thankfulneſs, than to do actions of the moſt pompous religion, and laborious or expenſive charity: not only becauſe there is a deliciouſneſs in actions of religion and choice; which is more agreeable to our ſpirit than the toleration of ſickneſs can be, which hath great reward, but no preſent pleaſure; but alſo becauſe our ſuffering and our imployment is conſecrated to us when God chuſes it, and then there is no mixture of imperfection or ſecular intereſt, as there may be in other actions even of an excellent religion, when ourſelves are the chuſers. And let us alſo remember, that God hath not ſo much need of thy works, as thou haſt of patience, humility, and reſignation. St. Paul was a far more conſiderable perſon than thou canſt be, and yet it pleaſed God to ſhut him in priſon for two years; and in that interval God ſecured and promoted the work of the goſpel: And although Epaphroditus was an excellent miniſter, yet God laid a ſickneſs upon him, and even in his diſeaſe gave him work enough to do, though not of his own chuſing. And therefore fear it not but the ends of religion or duty will well enough proceed without thy health; and thy own eternal intereſt, when God ſo pleaſes, ſhall better be ſerved by ſickneſs, and the virtues which it occaſions, than by the opportunities of health, and an ambulatory, active charity.

18. WHEN thou art reſigned to God, uſe fair and appointed means for thy recovery. Truſt not in thy ſpirit upon any inſtrument of health: as thou art willing to be diſpoſed by God, ſo look not for any event upon the ſtock of any other cauſe or principle. Be ruled by the phyſician and the people appointed to tend thee; that thou neither become troubleſome to them, nor give any ſign of impatience or a peeviſh ſpirit. But this advice only means, that thou do not diſobey them out of any evil principle: and yet if reaſon be thy guide to chuſe any other aid, or follow any other counſel, uſe it temperately, prudently, and charitably. It is not intended for a duty, that thou ſhouldſt drink oil inſtead of wine, if thy miniſter reach it to thee, as did St. Bernard; nor that thou ſhouldſt accept a cake tempered with linſeed-oil inſtead of oil of olives, as did F. Stephen, mentioned by Ruffinus: but that thou tolerate the defects of thy ſervants, and accept the evil accidents of thy diſeaſe, or the unſucceſsfulneſs of thy phyſican's care, as deſcending on thee from the hands of God. Aſa was noted in ſcripture, that in [a] *his ſickneſs he ſought not to the Lord, but to the phyſicians.* Lewis the XI. of France was then the miſerableſt perſon in his kingdom, when he made himſelf their ſervant, courting them with great penſions and rewards; attending to their rules as oracles, and from their mouths waited for the ſentence of life or death. We are, in theſe great accidents, eſpecially to look upon God as the diſpoſer of the events, which he very often diſpoſes contrary to the expectation we may have of probable cauſes: and ſometimes without phyſick we recover, and with phyſick and excellent applications we grow worſe and worſe; And God it is that makes the remedies unproſperous. In all theſe and all other accidents, if we take care that the ſickneſs of the body derive not itſelf into the ſoul, nor the pains of one procure impatience of the other, we ſhall alleviate the burthen, and make it ſupportable and profitable. And certain it is, if men knew well to bear their ſickneſſes, humbly towards God, charitably towards their miniſters, and chearfully in themſelves, there were no greater advantage in the world to be received than upon a ſick bed; and that alone hath in it the benefits of a church, of a religious aſſembly, of the works of charity and labour. And ſince our ſoul's eternal well being depends upon the charities and providence and veracity of God, and we have nothing to ſhew for it but his word and goodneſs, and that is infinitely enough; it is but reaſon we be not more nice and ſcrupulous about the uſage and accommodation of our body. If we accept [b] at God's hands ſadneſs and dryneſs of affection and ſpiritual deſertion patiently and with indifferency, it is unhandſome to expreſs ourſelves leſs ſatisfied in the accidents about our body.

19. BUT if the ſickneſs proceed to death, it is a new charge upon our ſpirits, and God calls for a final and entire reſignation into his hands. And to a perſon who was of humble affections, and in his life-time of a mortified ſpirit, accuſtomed to bear the yoke of the Lord; this is eaſy, becauſe he looks upon death not only as the certain condition of nature, but as a neceſſary [c] tranſition to a ſtate of bleſſedneſs, as the determination of his ſickneſs, the period of human infelicities, the laſt change of condition, the

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[a] 2 Chron. xvi. 12.

[b] Νόσους δ᾽ ἀνάγκη τὰς θεηλάτους φέρειν. Sophocl. Phæd.

[c] Νομίζειν μὲν γὰρ δεῖ τὸν ἐνθάδε βίον ὡς ἂν ἀκμὴν κυομένων εἶναι. τὸν δὲ θάνατον γένεσιν εἰς τὸν ὄντως βίον καὶ τὸν εὐδαίμονα τοῖς φιλοσοφήσασι. Strabo lib. 15. Peto, nate, ſuſpice cœlum; non enim tibi vita eripitur, ſed mutatur in melius, dixit mater Symphoriani apud *Ambroſ.* in Vita Symphor.

beginning of a new, ſtrange and excellent life, a ſecurity againſt ſin, a freedom from the importunities of a tempter, from the tyrannies of an imperial luſt, from the rebellion of concupiſcence, from the diſturbances and tempeſts of the iraſcible faculty, and from the fondneſs and childiſhneſs of the concupiſcible: and ([a] S. Ambroſe ſays well) *the troubles of this life and the dangers are ſo many, that in reſpect of them Death is a remedy*, and a fair proper object of deſires. And we find that many ſaints have prayed for death, that they might not ſee the perſecutions and great miſeries incumbent upon the church. And if the deſire be not out of impatience, but of charity, and with reſignation, there is no reaſon to reprove it. [b] Elias prayed that God would take his life, that he might not ſee the evils of Ahab and Jezebel, and their vexatious intendments againſt the prophets of the Lord. And [c] St. Auſtin, upon the incurſion of the Vandals into Africa, called his clergy together, and at their chapter told them, "he had prayed to God either to deliver his people from the preſent calamity, or grant them patience to bear "it, or that he would take him out of the world, that he might not ſee the miſeries "of his dioceſe"; adding that God had granted him the laſt: and he preſently fell ſick, and died in the ſiege of his own Hippo. [d] And if Death in many caſes be deſirable, and for many reaſons, it is always to be ſubmitted to, when God calls. And as it is always a miſery to fear death, ſo it is very often a ſin, or the effect of ſin. If our love to the world hath faſtned our affections here, it is a direct ſin: and this is by the ſon of Sirach noted to be the caſe of rich and great perſonages; [e] *How bitter, O death, is thy remembrance to a man that is at reſt in his poſſeſſions!* But if it be a fear to periſh in the ruins of eternity, they are not to blame for fearing, but that their own ill lives have procured the fear. And yet there are perſons in the ſtate of grace, who yet, becauſe they are in great imperfection, have ſuch lawful fears of Death, and of entring upon an uncertain ſentence, which muſt ſtand eternally irreverſible, be it good or bad, that they may with piety and care enough pray David's prayer, *O ſpare me a little, that I may recover my ſtrength, before I go hence and be no more ſeen.* But in this and in all other caſes Death muſt be accepted without murmur, though without fear it cannot. A man may pray to be delivered from it; and yet if God will not grant it, he muſt not go as one halled to execution. But if with all his imperfect fears he ſhall throw himſelf upon God, and accept his ſentence as righteous, whether it ſpeak life or death, it is an act of ſo great excellency, that it may equal the good actions of many ſucceeding and ſurviving days. And peradventure a longer life will be yet more imperfect, and God therefore puts a period to it, that thou mayeſt be taken into a condition more certain, though leſs eminent. However, let not the fears of nature, or the fear of reaſon, or the fears of humility, become accidentally criminal, by a murmur or a pertinacious conteſting againſt the event, which we cannot hinder, but ought to accept by an election ſecondary, rational and pious, and upon ſuppoſition, that God will not alter the ſentence paſſed upon thy temporal life: always remembring, that in chriſtian philoſophy death hath in it an excellency of which the Angels are not capable. For by the neceſſity of our nature we are made capable of dying for the holy Jeſus: and next to the privilege of that act, is our willingneſs to die at his command: which turns neceſſity into virtue, and nature into grace, and grace to glory.

20. WHEN the ſick perſon is thus diſpoſed, let him begin to trim his wedding-garment, and dreſs his lamp with the repetition of acts of repentance, perpetually praying to God for pardon of his ſins, repreſenting to himſelf the horror of them, the multitude, the obliquity, being helped by arguments apt to excite contrition, by repetition of penitential pſalms and holy prayers. And he may, by accepting and humbly receiving his ſickneſs at God's hand, tranſmit it into the condition of an act or effect of repentance, acknowledging himſelf by ſin to have deſerved and procured it, and praying that the puniſhment of his crimes may be here, and not reſerved for the ſtate of ſeparation, and for ever.

21. BUT above all ſingle acts of this exerciſe, we are concerned to ſee that nothing of other mens goods ſtick to us, but let us ſhake it off as we would a burning coal from our fleſh: for it will deſtroy us, it will carry a curſe with us, and leave a curſe behind us. [f] Thoſe who by thy means or importunity have become vicious, exhort to

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[a] Serm. in c. 7. Jobi. Hoc homo morte lucratur, ne malum immortale eſſet. *Naz.*

——— Κρεῖσσον γὰρ εἰσάπαξ θανεῖν,
Ἢ τὰς ἁπάσας ἡμέρας πάσχειν κακῶς. *Æſchyl.* Prom.

[b] 1 Kings xix. 4. [c] In vita S. Aug. c. 16.

Fortem poſſe animum mortis terrore carentem,
Qui ſpatium vitæ extremum inter munera ponat
Naturæ, qui ferre queat quoſcunque labores.
Neſciat iraſci, cupiat nihil ——— *Juven.*

[d] Ecclus. xli. 1. [e] Deteriores ſunt qui vitam moreſque bonorum corrumpunt, his qui ſubſtantias & prædia diripiunt. S. *Gregory.*

repentance and holy life; thoſe whom thou haſt cozened into crimes, reſtore to a right underſtanding: thoſe who are by violence and intereſt led captive by thee to any undecency, reſtore to their liberty; and encourage to the proſecution of holineſs. Diſcover and confeſs thy fraud and unlawful arts, ceaſe thy violence, and give as many advantages to virtue as thou haſt done to viciouſneſs. Make recompence for bodily wrongs, ſuch as are wounds, diſmembrings, and other diſabilities. Reſtore every man (as much as thou canſt) to that good condition from which thou haſt removed him: reſtore his fame, give back his goods, return the pawn, releaſe forfeitures, and take off all unjuſt invaſions or ſurpriſes of his eſtate, pay debts, ſatisfy for thy fraud and injuſtice as far as thou canſt, and as thou canſt, and as ſoon: or this alone is weight enough, no leſs than a mill-ſtone about thy neck. But if the dying man be of God and in the ſtate of grace, that is, if he have lived a holy life, repented ſeaſonably, and have led a juſt, ſober and religious converſation in any acceptable degree, it is to be ſuppoſed he hath no great account to make for unpretended injuries and unjuſt detentions. For if he had detained the goods of his neighbour fraudulently or violently without amends, when it is in his power and opportunity to reſtore, he is not the man we ſuppoſe him in this preſent queſtion. And although in all caſes he is bound to reſtore according to his ability, yet the act is leſs excellent when it is compelled; and ſo it ſeems to be, if he have continued the injuſtice till he is forced to quit the purchaſe. However, if it be not done till then, let it be provided for then. And that I preſs this duty to pious perſons at this time, is only to oblige them to a diligent ſcrutiny concerning the leſſer omiſſions of this duty in the matter of fame, or leſſer debts, or ſpiritual reſtitution; or that thoſe unevenneſſes of account which were but of late tranſaction may now be regulated; and that whatſoever is undone in this matter, from what principle ſoever it proceeds, whether of ſin, or only of forgetfulneſs, or of imperfection, may now be made as exact as we can, and are obliged; and that thoſe excuſes which made it reaſonable and lawful to defer reſtitution, as want of opportunity, clearneſs of ability, and accidental inconvenience, be now laid aſide, and the action be done or provided for in the midſt of all objections and inconvenient circumſtances, rather than to omit it, and hazard to perform it.

22. HITHER alſo I reckon reſolutions and forward purpoſes of emendation and greater ſeverity, in caſe God return to us hopes of life: which therefore muſt be re-enforced, that we may ſerve the ends of God, and underſtand all his purpoſes, and make uſe of every opportunity: every ſickneſs laid upon us being with a deſign of drawing us nearer to God; and even holy purpoſes are good actions of the ſpirit, and principles of religion. And though alone they cannot do the work of grace, or change the ſtate, when they are ineffectual, that is, when either we will not bring them into act, or that God will not let us: yet to a man already in the ſtate of grace they are the additions of ſomething good, and are like blowing of coals, which although it can put no life into a dead coal, yet it makes a live coal ſhine brighter, and burn clearer, and adds to it ſome accidental degrees of heat.

23. HAVING thus diſpoſed himſelf to the peace of God, let him make peace with all thoſe in whom he knows or ſuſpects any minutes of anger, or malice, or diſpleaſure towards him; ſubmitting himſelf to them with humility whom he unworthily hath diſpleaſed, aſking pardon of them who ſay they are diſpleaſed, and offering pardon to them that have diſpleaſed him: and then let him crave the peace of holy church[a]. For it is all this while to be ſuppoſed that he hath uſed the aſſiſtance and prayers, the counſel and the advices of a ſpiritual man, and that to this purpoſe he hath opened to him the ſtate of his whole life, and made him to underſtand what emendations of his faults he hath made, what acts of repentance he hath done, how lived after his fall and reparation, and that he hath ſubmitted all that he did or undid to the diſcerning of a holy man, whoſe office it is to guide his ſoul in this agony and laſt offices. All men cannot have the bleſſing of a wiſe and learned miniſter, and ſome die where they can have none at all: Yet it were a ſafer courſe to do as much of this as we can, and to a competent perſon, if we can; if we cannot, then to the beſt we have, according as we judge it to be of ſpiritual advantage to us. For in this conjuncture of accidents it concerns us to be ſure, if we may, and not to be deceived, where we can avoid it; becauſe we ſhall never return to life to do this work again. And if after this intercourſe with a ſpiritual guide we be reconciled by the ſolemn prayer of the

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[a] Πρὸς τὸν τελευτήσαντ᾽ ἕκαστος κἂν σφόδρα
Ἂν ἐχθρὸς ᾖ τις, γίνεται φίλος τότε.

church, the prayer of abſolution, it will be of great advantage to us: we depart with our Father's bleſſing, we die in the actual communion of the church, we hear the ſentence of God applied after the manner of men, and the promiſe of pardon made circumſtantiate, material, preſent, and operative upon our ſpirits, and have our portion of the promiſe which is recorded by S. James, that [a] *if the elders of the church pray over a ſick perſon* fervently and *effectually*, (add ſolemnly,) *his ſins ſhall be forgiven him*; (that is, ſuppoſing him to be in a capacity to receive it;) becauſe ſuch prayers of ſuch a man *are very prevalent*.

24. ALL this is in a ſpiritual ſenſe *waſhing the hands in innocency*; and then let him *go to the Altar*. Let him not for any excuſe leſs than impoſſibility omit to receive the holy ſacrament; which the fathers aſſembled in the great [b] Nicene council have taught all the chriſtian world to call *the moſt neceſſary proviſions for our laſt journey*; which is the memory of that death by which we hope for life; which is the ſeed of immortality and reſurrection of our bodies; which unites our ſpirit to Chriſt; which is a great defenſative againſt the hoſtilities of the Devil; which is the moſt ſolemn prayer of the church, united and made acceptable by the ſacrifice of Chriſt, which is then repreſented and exhibited to God; which is the great inſtrument of ſpiritual increaſe and the growth of grace; which is duty and reward, food and phyſick, health and pleaſure, deletery and cordial, prayer and thankſgiving, an union of myſteries, the marriage of the ſoul, and the perfection of all the rites of chriſtianity. Dying with the holy ſacrament in us is a going to God with Chriſt in our arms, and interpoſing him between us and his angry ſentence. But then we muſt be ſure that we have done all the duty, without which we cannot communicate worthily. For elſe Satan comes in the place of Chriſt, and it is a horrour not leſs than infinite to appear before God's tribunal poſſeſſed in our ſouls with the ſpirit of darkneſs. True it is, that, by many laws of the church, the biſhop and the miniſter are bound to give the holy Euchariſt to every perſon who in the article or apparent danger of death deſires it, provided that he hath ſubmitted himſelf to the impoſition and counſels of the biſhop or guide of his ſoul, that, in caſe he recovers, he may be brought to the peace of God and his church by ſuch ſteps and degrees of repentance by which other publick ſinners are reconciled. But to this gentleneſs of diſcipline and eaſineſs of adminiſtration thoſe excellent perſons who made the [c] canons thought themſelves compelled by the rigour of the Novatians: And becauſe they admitted not lapſed perſons to the peace of the church upon any terms, though never ſo great, ſo publick or ſo penal a repentance; therefore theſe not only remitted them to the exerciſe and ſtation of penitents; but alſo to the communion. But the Fathers of the [d] council of Eliberis denied this favour to perſons who after baptiſm were idolaters: Either intending this as a great argument to affright perſons from ſo great a crime; or elſe believing that it was unpardonable after baptiſm, a contradiction to that ſtate which we entred into by baptiſm and the covenant evangelical. However, I deſire all learned perſons to obſerve it, and the leſs learned alſo to make uſe of it, that thoſe more ancient [e] councils of the church which commanded the holy communion to be given to dying perſons, meant only ſuch, which according to the cuſtom of the church, were under the conditions of repentance, that is, ſuch to whom puniſhment and diſcipline of divers years were injoined; and if it happened they died in the interval, before the expiration of their time of reconciliation, then they admitted them to the communion. Which deſcribes to us the doctrine of thoſe ages when religion was purer, and diſcipline more ſevere, and holy life ſecured by rules of excellent government; that thoſe only were fit to come to that feaſt, who before their laſt ſickneſs had finiſhed the repentance of many years, [f] or at leaſt had undertaken it. I cannot ſay it was ſo always, and in all churches; for as the Diſciples grew ſlack, or mens perſuaſions had variety, ſo they were more ready to grant repentance as well as abſolution to dying perſons: but it was otherwiſe in the beſt times, and with ſeverer prelates. And certainly it were great charity to deny the communion to perſons who have lived viciouſly till their death; provided it be by competent authority, and done ſincerely, prudently, and without temporal intereſt: to other perſons, who have lived good lives, or repented of their bad, though leſs perfectly, it ought not to be denied, and they leſs ought to neglect it.

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[a] Jam. v. 14, 15.

[b] Περὶ δὲ τῶν ἐξοδευόντων ὁ παλαιὸς καὶ κανονικὸς νόμος φυλαχθήσεται καὶ νῦν· ὥστε εἴ τις ἐξοδεύοι, τοῦ τελευταίου καὶ ἀναγκαιοτάτου ἐφοδίου μὴ ἀποστερεῖσθαι. Conc. Nicen. can. 13.

[c] Concil. Nicen. can. eod. Conc. Ancyr. c. 6. Conc. Aurelian. 2. c. 12.

[d] Conc. Elib. c. 1.

[e] Μετὰ δοκιμασίας ὁ Ἐπίσκοπος ἐπιδότω. Concil. Nicen. c. 13. Τούτους ἐπὶ ὅρῳ δεχθῆναι. Conc. Anc. c. 9. De his qui in pœnitentia poſiti vita exceſſerunt, placuit nullum communione wacuum debere dimitti. *Conc. Aurel.* 2. n. 12.

[f] *Vide* Concil. Eliber. c. 46. & c. 69.

25. BUT as every man muſt put himſelf, ſo alſo he muſt put his houſe in order, make his will, if he have an eſtate to diſpoſe of: and in that he muſt be careful to do juſtice to every man, and charity to the poor, according as God hath enabled him. And though charity is then very late, if it begins not earlier; yet if this be but an act of an ancient habit, it is ſtill more perfect, as it ſucceeds in time, and ſuper-adds to the former ſtock. And among other acts of duty let it be remembred, that it is excellent charity to leave our will and deſires clear, plain and determinate, that contention and law-ſuits may be prevented by the explicate declaration of the legacies. At laſt and in all inſtances and periods of our following days let the former good acts be renewed; let God be praiſed for all his graces and bleſſings of our life, let him be intreated for pardon of our ſins, let acts of love and contrition, of hope, of joy, of humility, be the work of every day which God ſtill permits us: always remembring to aſk remiſſion for thoſe ſins we remember not. [a] And if the condition of our ſickneſs permits it, let our laſt breath expire with an act of love; that it may begin the charities of eternity, and like a taper burnt to its loweſt baſe, it may go out with a great emiſſion of light, leaving a ſweet ſmell behind us to perfume our coffin; and that theſe lights, newly made brighter or trimmed up in our ſickneſs, may ſhine about our herſe, that they may become arguments of a pious ſadneſs to our friends (as the charitable coats which Dorcas made were to the widows,) and exemplary to all thoſe who obſerved, or ſhall hear of, our holy life and religious death. But if it ſhall happen that the diſeaſe be productive of evil accidents, as a diſturbed fancy, a weakned underſtanding, wild diſcourſings, or any deprivation of the uſe of reaſon, it concerns the ſick perſon, in the happy intervals of a quiet untroubled ſpirit, to pray earneſtly to God that nothing may paſs from him in the rages of a fever or worſe diſtemper, which may leſs become his duty, or give ſcandal, or cauſe trouble to the perſons in attendance: And if he ſhall alſo renounce and diſclaim all ſuch evil words which his diſeaſe may ſpeak, not himſelf, he ſhall do the duty of a chriſtian and a prudent perſon. And after theſe preparatives he may with piety and confidence reſign his ſoul into the hands of God, to be depoſited in holy receptacles till the day of reſtitution of all things; and in the mean time with a quiet ſpirit deſcend into that ſtate which is the lot of Caeſars, and where all kings and conquerors have laid aſide their glories.

The PRAYER.

O *Eternal and holy Jeſus, who by death haſt overcome death, and by thy paſſion haſt taken out its ſting, and made it to become one of the gates of Heaven, and an entrance to felicity; have mercy upon me now and at the hour of my death: Let thy grace accompany me all the days of my life, that I may by a holy converſation, and an habitual performance of my duty, wait for the coming of our Lord, and be ready to enter with thee at whatſoever hour thou ſhalt come. Lord, let not my death be in any ſenſe unprovided, nor untimely, nor haſty, but after the common manner of men, having in it nothing extraordinary, but an extraordinary piety, and the manifeſtation of a great and miraculous mercy. Let my ſenſes and underſtanding be preſerved intire till the laſt of my days, and grant that I may die the death of the righteous, having firſt diſcharged all my obligations of juſtice, leaving none miſerable and unprovided in my departure; but be thou the portion of all my friends and relatives, and let thy bleſſing deſcend upon their heads, and abide there, till they ſhall meet me in the boſom of our Lord. Preſerve me ever in the communion and peace of the church; and bleſs my death-bed with the opportunity of a holy and ſpiritual guide, with the aſſiſtance and guard of Angels, with the perception of the holy ſacrament, with patience and dereliction of my own deſires, with a ſtrong faith and a firm and humble hope, with juſt meaſures of repentance, and great treaſures of charity to thee my God, and to all the world; that my ſoul in the arms of the holy Jeſus may be depoſited with ſafety and joy, there to expect the revelations of thy day, and then to partake the glories of thy kingdom, O eternal and holy Jeſus.* Amen.

Conſider

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[a] ——— Vt ſe vixiſſe beatum
Dicat, & exacto contentus tempore vitæ
Cedat uti conviva ſatur ———
Hor. Serm. 1, 1.

Conſiderations upon the Crucifixion of the holy JESUS.

1. WHEN the ſentence of death pronounced againſt the Lord was to be put in execution, the ſoldiers pulled off the robe of mockery, the ſcarlet mantle which in jeſt they put upon him, and put on his own garments. But as Origen obſerves, the evangeliſt mentioned not that they took off the crown of thorns: What might ſerve their intereſt they purſue, but nothing of remiſſion or mercy to the afflicted ſon of man. But ſo it became the king of ſufferings, not to lay aſide his imperial thorns, till they were changed into diadems of glory. But now Abel is led forth by his brother to be ſlain. A gay ſpectacle to ſatisfie impious eyes, who would not ſtay behind, but attended and waited upon the Hangman to ſee the cataſtrophe of this bloody tragedy. [a] But when piety looks on, ſhe beholds a glorious myſtery. Sin laughed to ſee the king of Heaven and Earth, and the great lover of ſouls, inſtead of the ſcepter of his kingdom, to bear a tree of curſing and ſhame. But piety wept tears of pity, and knew they would melt into joy, when ſhe ſhould behold that croſs, which loaded the ſhoulders of her Lord, afterward ſit upon the ſcepters, and be engraved and ſigned upon the foreheads of kings.

2. IT cannot be thought but the miniſters of Jewiſh malice uſed all the circumſtances of affliction which in any caſe were accuſtomed towards malefactors and perſons to be crucified: and therefore it was, that in ſome old figures we ſee our bleſſed Lord deſcribed with a table appendent to the fringe of his garment ſet full of nails and pointed iron; [b] for ſo ſometimes they afflicted perſons condemned to that kind of death. And St. Cyprian [c] affirms that Chriſt did ſtick to the wood that he carried, being galled with the iron at his heels, and nailed even before his crucifixion. But this and the other accidents of his journey and their malice ſo cruſhed his wounded, tender, and virginal body, that they were forced to lay the load upon a Cyrenian, fearing that he ſhould die with leſs ſhame and ſmart than they intended him. But ſo he was pleaſed to take man unto his aid, not only to repreſent his own need and the dolorouſneſs of his paſſion; but to conſign the duty unto man, that we muſt enter into a fellowſhip of Chriſt's ſufferings, taking up the croſs of martyrdom when God requires us, enduring affronts, being patient under affliction, loving them that hate us, and being benefactors to our enemies, abſtaining from ſenſual and intemperate delight, forbidding to ourſelves lawful feſtivities and recreations of our wearineſs, when we have an end of the ſpirit to ſerve upon the ruins of the body's ſtrength, mortifying our deſires, breaking our own will, not ſeeking ourſelves, being intirely reſigned to God. Theſe are the croſs, and the nails, and the ſpear, and the whip, and all the inſtruments of a chriſtian's paſſion. And we may conſider, that every man in ſome world ſhall in this ſenſe or other bear a croſs, few men eſcape it, and it is not well with them that do: but they only bear it well that follow Chriſt, and tread in his ſteps, and bear it for his ſake, and walk as he walked; and he that follows his own deſires, when he meets with a croſs there, (as it is certain enough he will) bears the croſs of his concupiſcence, and that hath no fellowſhip with the croſs of Chriſt. By the precept of bearing the croſs we are not tied to pull evil upon ourſelves, that we may imitate our Lord in nothing but in being afflicted; or to perſonate the punitive exerciſes of mortification and ſevere abſtinences which were eminent in ſome ſaints, and to which they had ſpecial aſſiſtances, as others had the gift of chaſtity, and for which they had ſpecial reaſon, and, as they apprehended, ſome great neceſſities: but it is required that we bear our own [d] croſs; ſo ſaid our deareſt Lord. For when the croſs of Chriſt is laid upon us, and we are called to martyrdom, then it is our own, becauſe God made it to be our portion: And when by the neceſſities of our ſpirit, and the rebellion of our body, we need exterior mortifications and acts of ſelf-denial, then alſo it is our own croſs, becauſe our needs have made it ſo: and ſo it is when God ſends us ſickneſs or any other calamity: whatever

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[a] S. Aug. Tract. 119. in Joan.

[b] O carnificinum cribrum, quod credo fore,
Ita te forabunt patibulatum per vias
Stimulis, ſi noſter huc revenerit ſenex. *Plaut.* in Moſtel.

[c] Tu ipſe patibuli tui bajulus hærebas ligno quod tolerabas, evectionis & paſſionis anxietates ſuſtinens & labores. S. *Cypr.* de Paſſ.

[d] Matth. xvi. 24.

XIII

And as they led him *away, they laid hold upon one Simon a Cyrenian, coming out of the Country, and on him they laid the Croſs that he might bear it after* Jeſus. *And there followed him a great Company of People, and of Women which also bewailed and lemented* him.

S^t. Luke, Chap. 23^d. Ver. 26.th & 27.th

BRITISH 5 AU 70 MUSEUM

ever is either an effect of our ghoſtly needs, or the condition of our temporal eſtate, it calls for our ſufferance, and patience, and equanimity. For *therefore Chriſt hath ſuffered for us,* (ſaith St. Peter) *leaving us an example, that we ſhould follow his ſteps,*[s] who bore his croſs as long as he could; and when he could no longer, he murmured not, but ſank under it: and then he was content to receive ſuch aid, not which he choſe himſelf, but ſuch as was aſſigned him.

3. JESUS was led out of the gates of Jeruſalem, that he might become the ſacrifice for perſons without the pale, even for all the world.[t] And the daughters of Jeruſalem followed him with pious tears till they came to Calvary, a place difficult in the aſcent, eminent and apt for the publication of ſhame, a hill of death and dead bones, polluted and impure; and there beheld him ſtript naked who clothes the field with flowers, and all the world with robes, and the whole globe with the canopy of heaven; and ſo dreſſed, that now every circumſtance was a triumph.[v] By his diſgrace he trampled upon our pride; by his poverty and nakedneſs he triumphed over our covetouſneſs and love of riches; and by his pains chaſtiſed the delicacies of our fleſh, and broke in pieces the fetters of concupiſcence. For as ſoon as Adam was clothed, he quitted Paradiſe; and Jeſus was made naked, that he might bring us in again. And we alſo muſt be deſpoiled of all our exterior adherences; that we may paſs through the regions of duty and divine love to a ſociety of bleſſed ſpirits, and a clarified, immortal and beatified eſtate.

4. THERE they nailed Jeſus with four nails, fixed his croſs in the ground, which with its fall into the place of its ſtation gave infinite torture by ſo violent a concuſſion of the body of our Lord, which reſted upon nothing but four great wounds; where he was deſigned to ſuffer a long and lingring torment.[w] For crucifixion, as it was an exquiſite pain, ſharp and paſſionate, ſo it was not of quick effect towards taking away the life. St. Andrew was two whole days upon the croſs; and ſome martyrs have upon the croſs been rather ſtarved, and devoured with birds, than killed with the proper torment of the tree. But Jeſus took all his paſſion with a voluntary ſuſception, God heightning it to great degrees of torment ſupernaturally; and he laid down his life voluntarily, when his Father's wrath was totally appeaſed towards mankind.

5. SOME have fanſied, that Chriſt was pleaſed to take ſomething from every condition of which man ever was or ſhall be poſſeſſed; taking immunity from ſin from Adam's ſtate of innocence, puniſhment and miſery from the ſtate of Adam fallen, the fulneſs of grace from the ſtate of renovation, and perfect contemplation of the divinity and beatifick joys, from the ſtate of comprehenſion and the bleſſedneſs of heaven: meaning, that the humanity of our bleſſed Saviour did in the ſharpeſt agony of his paſſion behold the face of God, and communicate in glory. But I conſider that, although the two natures of Chriſt were knit by a myſterious union into one perſon, yet the natures ſtill retain their incommunicable properties. Chriſt, as God, is not ſubject to ſufferings, as a man he is the ſubject of miſeries; as God he is eternal, as man, mortal and commenſurable by time; as God, the ſupreme law-giver, as man, moſt humble and obedient to the law: and therefore that the human nature was united to the divine, it does not infer that it muſt in all inſtances partake of the divine felicities, which in God are eſſential, to man communicated without neceſſity, and by an arbitrary diſpenſation. Add to this, that ſome virtues and excellencies were in the ſoul of Chriſt which could not conſiſt with the ſtate of glorified and beatified perſons; ſuch as are humility, poverty of ſpirit, hope, holy deſires: all which having their ſeat in the ſoul, ſuppoſe even in the ſupremeſt faculty a ſtate of pilgrimage, that is, a condition which is imperfect, and in order to ſomething beyond its preſent. For therefore *Chriſt ought to ſuffer,* (ſaith our bleſſed Lord himſelf) and *ſo enter into his glory.*[x] And St. Paul affirms, that *we ſee Jeſus made a little lower than the angels, for the ſuffering of death, crowned with glory and honour.*[y] And again, *Chriſt humbled himſelf, and became obedient unto death, even the death of the croſs: wherefore God alſo hath highly exalted him, and given him a name above every name.*[z] Thus his preſent life was a ſtate of merit and work, and as a reward of it, he was crowned with glory and immortality; his name was exalted, his kingdom glorified; he was made the Lord of all the creatures, the firſt-fruits of the reſurrection, the exemplar of glory, and the prince and head of the catholick church: And

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[s] 1 Pet. ii. 21.

[t] Heb. xiii. 13.

[v] Athanaſ. de Paſſ. & Cruce Domini.

[w] —— κεῖθι φονῆες Εἰς δόρυ τετράπλευρον —— Nonn. Albigenſes primi pinxerunt imaginem crucifixi uno clavo ſimul utrumque pedem configente, & virginem Mariam monoculam; utrumque in deriſionem: ſed poſtea prior figura retenta eſt, & irrepſit in vulgarem famam. Lucas Tud. lib. 2. contra Albig.

[x] Luke xxiv. 26. ſecundùm vulg. interp.

[y] Heb. ii. 9.

[z] Phil. ii. 8, 9.

becauſe this was his recompence, and the fruits of his humility and obedience, it is certain it was not a neceſſary conſequence and a natural efflux of the perſonal union of the godhead with the humanity. This I diſcourſe to this purpoſe, that we may not in our eſteem leſſen the ſuffering of our deareſt Lord, by thinking he had the ſupports of actual glory in the midſt of all his ſufferings. For there is no one minute or ray of glory but its fruition does outweigh and make us inſenſible of the greateſt calamities, and the ſpirit of pain which can be extracted from all the infelicities of this world. True it is, that the greateſt beauties in this world are receptive of an allay of ſorrow, and nothing can have pleaſure in all capacities. The moſt beauteous feathers of the birds of paradiſe, the oſtrich, or the peacock, if put into our throat, are not there ſo pleaſant as to the eye. But the beatifick joys of the leaſt glory of heaven take away all pain, *wipe away all tears from our eyes*: and it is not poſſible that at the ſame inſtant the ſoul of Jeſus ſhould be raviſhed with glory, and yet abated with pains grievous and afflictive. On the other ſide, ſome ſay that the ſoul of Jeſus upon the croſs ſuffered the pains of hell, and all the torments of the damned; and that without ſuch ſufferings it is not imaginable he ſhould pay the price which God's wrath ſhould demand of us. But the ſame that reproves the one does alſo reprehend the other: For the hope that was the ſupport of the ſoul of Jeſus, as it confeſſes an imperfection that is not conſiſtent with the ſtate of glory, ſo it excludes the deſpair that is the torment proper to accurſed ſouls. Our deareſt Lord ſuffered the whole condition of humanity, *ſin only excepted*; and freed us from hell with ſuffering thoſe ſad pains, and merited heaven for his own humanity, as the head, and all faithful people, as the members of his myſtical body. And therefore his life here was only a ſtate of pilgrimage, not at all trimmed with beatifick glories. Much leſs was he ever in the ſtate of hell, or upon the croſs felt the formal miſery and ſpirit of torment which is the portion of damned ſpirits: becauſe it was impoſſible Chriſt ſhould deſpair, and without deſpair it is impoſſible there ſhould be a hell. But this is highly probable, that in the intention of degrees and preſent anguiſh, the ſoul of our Lord might feel a greater load of wrath than is incumbent in every inſtant upon periſhing ſouls. For all the ſadneſs which may be imagined to be in hell, conſiſts in acts produced from principles that cannot ſurpaſs the force of human or angelical nature: but the pain which our bleſſed Lord endured for the expiation of our ſins, was an iſſue of an united and concentred anger, was received into the heart of God and man, and was commenſurate to the whole latitude of the grace, patience, and charity of the Word incarnate.

6. AND now behold the prieſt and the ſacrifice of all the world laid upon the altar of the croſs, bleeding, and tortured, and dying, to reconcile his Father to us: and he was arrayed with ornaments more glorious than the robes of Aaron. The crown of thorns was his mitre, the croſs his paſtoral ſtaff, the nails piercing his hands were inſtead of rings, the ancient ornament of prieſts, and his fleſh raſed and checquer'd with blue and blood, inſtead of the parti-coloured robe. But as this object calls for our devotion, our love and euchariſt to our deareſt Lord; ſo it muſt needs irreconcile us to ſin, which in the eye of all the world brought ſo great ſhame, and pain, and amazement upon the Son of God, when he only became engaged by a charitable ſubſtitution of himſelf in our place: and therefore we are aſſured, by the demonſtration of ſenſe and experience, it will bring death and all imaginable miſeries, as the juſt expreſſions of God's indignation and hatred. For to this we may apply the words of our Lord in the prediction of miſeries to Jeruſalem; *If this be done in the green tree, what ſhall be done in the dry?* For it is certain, Chriſt infinitely pleaſed his Father even by becoming the perſon made guilty in eſtimate of law: And yet ſo great charity of our Lord, and the ſo great love and pleaſure of his Father, exempted him not from ſuffering pains intolerable. And much leſs ſhall thoſe *eſcape* who provoke and diſpleaſe God, and *deſpiſe ſo great ſalvation*, which the holy Jeſus hath wrought with the expence of blood, and ſo precious a life.

7. BUT here we ſee a great repreſentation and teſtimony of the divine juſtice, who was ſo angry with ſin, who had ſo ſeverely threatned it, who does ſo eſſentially hate it, that he would not ſpare his only ſon, when he became a conjunct perſon, relative to the guilt, by undertaking the charges of our nature. For although God hath ſet down in holy ſcripture the order of his juſtice, and the manner of its manifeſtation, that one ſoul ſhall not periſh for the ſins of another[a]; yet this is meant for juſtice and for mercy too: That is, he will not curſe the ſon for the father's fault,[b]

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[a] Ezek. xviii. 2, 3, 4, &c.

[b] Deut. xxiv. 16.

Barlow fecit London

And Pilate said unto them, take ye him *and Crucify* him; *for I find no Fault in* him. *St. John, Chap. 19th Ver. 6th.*

BRITISH
5 AU 70
MUSEUM

or in any relation whatſoever ſubſtitute one perſon for another, to make him involuntarily guilty: but when this ſhall be deſired by a perſon that cannot finally periſh, and does a mercy to the exempt perſons, and is a voluntary act of the ſuſcipient, and ſhall in the event alſo redound to an infinite good, it is no deflexion from the divine juſtice to excuſe many by the affliction of one, who alſo for that very ſuffering ſhall have infinite compenſation. We ſee that for the ſin of Cham all his poſterity were accurſed: the ſubjects of David died with the plague, becauſe their prince numbred the people: idolatry is puniſhed in the children of the fourth generation: Saul's ſeven ſons were hanged for his breaking the league of Gibeon; and Ahab's ſin was puniſhed in his poſterity, he eſcaping, and *the evil was brought upon his houſe in his ſon's days.* In all theſe caſes, the evil deſcended upon perſons in near relation to the ſinner, and was a puniſhment to him, and a miſery to theſe, and were either chaſtiſements alſo of their own ſins; or if they were not, they ſerved other ends of providence, and led the afflicted innocent to a condition of recompence, accidentally procured by that infliction. But if for ſuch relation's ſake and œconomical and political conjunction, as between prince and people, the evil may be tranſmitted from one to another; much rather is it juſt, when by contract a competent and conjunct perſon undertakes to quit his relative. Thus, when the hand ſteals, the back is whipt; and an evil eye is puniſhed with a hungry belly. Treaſon cauſes the whole family to be miſerable; and a ſacrilegious grandfather hath ſent a locuſt to devour the increaſe of the nephews.

8. BUT in our caſe it is a voluntary contract, and therefore no injuſtice; all parties are voluntary. God is the ſupreme Lord, and his actions are the meaſure of juſtice: we, who had deſerved the puniſhment, had great reaſon to deſire a Redeemer; and yet Chriſt, who was to pay the ranſom, was more deſirous of it than we were, for we aſked it not before it was promiſed and undertaken. But thus we ſee that ſureties pay the obligation of the principal debtor, and the pledges of contracts have been by the beſt and wiſeſt nations ſlain, when the articles have been broken: The Theſſalians ſlew 250 pledges; the Romans 300 of the Volſci, and threw the Tarentines from the Tarpeian rock.[c] And that it may appear Chriſt was a perſon in all ſenſes competent to do this for us, himſelf teſtifies, that he had *power over his own life, to take it up, or lay it down.*[d] And therefore, as there can be nothing againſt the moſt exact juſtice and reaſon of laws and puniſhments, ſo it magnifies the divine mercy, who removes the puniſhment from us, who of neceſſity muſt have ſunk under it; and yet makes us to adore his ſeverity, who would not forgive us without puniſhing his Son for us; to conſign unto us his perfect hatred againſt ſin, to conſerve the ſacredneſs of his laws, and to imprint upon us great characters of fear and love. The famous Locrian, Zaleucus, made a law, that all adulterers ſhould loſe both their eyes. His ſon was firſt unhappily ſurpriſed in the crime; and his father, to keep a temper between the piety and ſoft ſpirit of a parent, and the juſtice and ſeverity of a judge, put out one of his own eyes, and one of his ſon's.[e] So God did with us: he made ſome abatement, that is, as to the perſon with whom he was angry, but inflicted his anger upon our Redeemer, whom he eſſentially loved, to ſecure the dignity of his ſanctions and the ſacredneſs of obedience; ſo marrying juſtice and mercy by the intervening of a commutation. Thus David eſcaped by the death of his ſon, God chooſing that penalty for the expiation. And Cimon offered himſelf to priſon, to purchaſe the liberty of his father Miltiades. It was a filial duty in Cimon, and yet the law was ſatisfied. And both theſe concurred in our great Redeemer. For God, who was the ſole arbitrator, ſo diſpoſed it; and the eternal Son of God ſubmitted to this way of expiating our crimes; and it became an argument of faith and belief of the great article of remiſſion of ſins, and other its appendant cauſes, and effects, and adjuncts: it being wrought by a viſible and notorious paſſion. It was made an encouragement of hope; for *he that ſpared not his own ſon* to reconcile us, *will with him give all things elſe* to us ſo reconciled: and a great endearment of our duty and love, as it was a demonſtration of his. And in all the changes and traverſes of our life, he is made to us a great example of all excellent actions and all patient ſufferings.

9. IN the midſt of two thieves, three long hours the holy Jeſus hung, clothed with pain, agony and diſhonour; all of them ſo eminent and vaſt, that he who could

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[c] Livius, vide L. Si quis rerum. D. de cuſtod. & exhib. reorum. L. ſi à reo D. de fidejuſſoribus.

[d] John x. 18.

[e] Apud Diodor. Sicul. & Ælian. ἵνα μὴ ὁ νεανίσκος τυφλωθῇ τελέως, ϗ ἵνα μὴ διαφθαρῇ τὸ ἅπαξ κεκυρωμένον.

not but hope, whoſe ſoul was enchaſed with divinity, and dwelt in the boſom of God, and in the cabinet of the myſterious Trinity, yet had a cloud of miſery ſo thick and black drawn before him, that he complained as if God had forſaken him. But this was *the pillar of a cloud* which conducted Iſrael into Canaan. And as God behind the cloud ſupported the holy Jeſus, and ſtood ready to receive him into the union of his glories; ſo his ſoul in that great deſertion had internal comforts, proceeding from conſideration of all thoſe excellent perſons which ſhould be adopted into the fellowſhip of his ſufferings, which ſhould imitate his graces, which ſhould communicate in his glories. And we follow this cloud to our country, having Chriſt for our guide. And though he trod the way, leaning upon the croſs, which like the ſtaff of Egypt pierced his hands; yet it is to us a comfort and ſupport, pleaſant to our ſpirits as the ſweeteſt canes, ſtrong as the pillars of the earth, and made apt for our uſe by having been born and made ſmooth by the hands of our elder brother.

10. IN the midſt of all his torments, Jeſus only made one prayer of ſorrow to repreſent his ſad condition to his Father; but no accent of murmur, no ſyllable of anger againſt his enemies: Inſtead of that he ſent up a holy, charitable and effective prayer for their forgiveneſs; and by that prayer obtained of God, that within fifty five days eight thouſand of his enemies were converted. So potent is the prayer of charity that it prevails above the malice of men, turning the arts of Satan into the deſigns of God; and when malice occaſions the prayer, the prayer becomes an antidote to malice. And by this inſtance our bleſſed Lord conſigned that duty to us, which in his ſermons he had preached, That we ſhould forgive our enemies, and pray for them: and by ſo doing our ſelves are freed from the ſtings of anger, and the ſtorms of a revengeful ſpirit; and we oftentimes procure ſervants to God, friends to our ſelves, and heirs to the kingdom of heaven.

11. OF the two thieves that were crucified together with our Lord, the one blaſphemed; the other had at that time the greateſt piety in the world, except that of the bleſſed virgin: and particularly had ſuch a faith, that all the ages of the church could never ſhew the like [f]. For when he ſaw Chriſt *in the ſame condemnation* with himſelf, crucified by the Romans, accuſed and ſcorned by the Jews, forſaken by his own apoſtles, a dying diſtreſſed man, doing at that time no miracles to atteſt his divinity or innocence: yet then he confeſſes him to be a Lord, and a King, and his Saviour. He confeſſed his own ſhame and unworthineſs; he ſubmitted to the death of the croſs; and, by his voluntary acceptation and tacit volition of it, made it equivalent to as great a puniſhment of his own ſuſception. He ſhewed an incomparable modeſty, begging but for a *remembrance* only; he knew himſelf ſo ſinful, he durſt aſk no more. He reproved the other thief for blaſphemy; he confeſſed the world to come, and owned Chriſt publickly; he prayed to him, he hoped in him, and pitied him, ſhewing an excellent patience in this ſad condition. And in this I conſider, that beſides the excellency of ſome of theſe acts, and the goodneſs of all, the like occaſion for ſo exemplary faith never can occur: and until all theſe things ſhall in theſe circumſtances meet in any one man, he muſt not hope for ſo ſafe an exit after an evil life upon the confidence of this example. But now Chriſt had the key of Paradiſe in his hand, and God bleſſed the good thief with this opportunity of letting him in, who at another time might have waited longer, and been tied to harder conditions. And indeed it is very probable that he was much advantaged by the intervening accident of dying at the ſame time with Chriſt; there being a natural compaſſion produced in us towards the partners of our miſeries. For Chriſt was not void of human paſſions, though he had in them no imperfection or irregularity; and therefore might be invited by the ſociety of miſery, the rather to admit him to participate his joys. And St. Paul proves him to be *a merciful high prieſt*, becauſe *he was touched with a feeling of our infirmities*; the firſt expreſſion of which was to this bleſſed thief: Chriſt and he together ſat at the ſupper of bitter herbs, and Chriſt paid his ſymbol, promiſing that he ſhould *that day be* together *with him in paradiſe*.

12. BY the croſs of Chriſt ſtood the holy virgin mother, upon whom old Simeon's prophecy was now verified; for now ſhe felt *a ſword paſſing through her very ſoul* [g]. She ſtood without clamour and womaniſh noiſes, ſad, ſilent, and with a modeſt grief, deep as the waters of the abyſs, but ſmooth as the face of a pool; full of

love

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[f] Latro non ſemper prædonem aut graſſatorem denotat, ſed militem, qui ſortaſſis ob zelum Judæorum aliquid contra leges Romanas ſecerat: alioqui vir fuit non omnino malus. —— Titubaverunt qui viderunt Chriſtum mortuos ſuſcitantem; credidit ille qui videbat ſecum in ligno pendentem. Recolamus fidem latronis, quam non invenit Chriſtus poſt reſurrectionem in diſcipulis ſuis. S. Auguſt. *Serm.* 144. de Tempore.

[g] S. Ambroſe l. 10. in Luc.

When **JESUS** *therefore saw his* Mother *and the* Disciple *standing by, whom he loved, he saith unto his Mother,* Woman *behold thy* Son; *Then saith he to the Disciple, behold thy* Mother &c.

He bowed his Head and gave up the Ghost. S^t. John c. 19. v. 26. 27. 30.

BRITISH MUSEUM 5 AU 70

love and patience, and ſorrow and hope. Now ſhe was put to it to make uſe of all thoſe excellent diſcourſes her holy ſon had uſed to build up her ſpirit, and fortify it againſt this day. Now ſhe felt the bleſſings and ſtrengths of faith; and ſhe paſſed from the griefs of the paſſion to the expectation of the reſurrection, and ſhe reſted in this death as in a ſad remedy; for ſhe knew it reconciled God with all the world. But her hope drew a veil before her ſorrow; and though her grief was great enough to ſwallow her up, yet her love was greater, and did ſwallow up her grief. But the ſun alſo had a veil upon his face, and taught us to draw a curtain before the paſſion, which would be the moſt artificial expreſſion of its greatneſs; whilſt by ſilence and wonder we confeſs it great beyond our expreſſion, or, which is all one, great as the burden and baſeneſs of our ſins. And with this veil drawn before the face of Jeſus, let us ſuppoſe him at the gates of Paradiſe, calling with his laſt words in a loud voice to have them opened, that *the King of glory might come in.*

The PRAYER.

I.

O Holy Jeſus, who for our ſakes didſt ſuffer incomparable anguiſh and pains, commenſurate to thy love and our miſeries, which were infinite, that thou mighteſt purchaſe for us bleſſings upon earth, and an inheritance in heaven; diſpoſe us by love, thankfulneſs, humility and obedience, to receive all the benefit of thy paſſion; granting unto us and thy whole church remiſſion of all our ſins, integrity of mind, health of body, competent maintenance, peace in our days, a temperate air, fruitfulneſs of the earth, unity and integrity of faith, extirpation of hereſies, reconcilement of ſchiſms, deſtruction of all wicked counſels intended againſt us: and bind the hands of rapine and ſacrilege, that they may not deſtroy the vintage, and root up the vine itſelf. Multiply thy bleſſings upon us, ſweeteſt Jeſus; increaſe in us true religion, ſincere and actual devotion in our prayers, patience in troubles, and whatſoever is neceſſary to our ſouls health, or conducing to thy glory. Amen.

II.

O Deareſt Saviour, I adore thy mercies, and thy incomparable love expreſſed in thy ſo voluntary ſuſception and affectionate ſuffering ſuch horrid and ſad tortures, which cannot be remembred without a ſad compaſſion: The waters of bitterneſs entred into thy ſoul, and the ſtorms of death and thy Father's anger broke thee all in pieces. And what ſhall I do, who by my ſins have ſo tormented my deareſt Lord? What contrition can be great enough, what tears ſufficiently expreſſive, what hatred and deteſtation of my crimes can be equal and commenſurate to thoſe ſad accidents which they have produced? Pity me, O Lord, pity me, deareſt God; turn thoſe thy merciful eyes towards me, O moſt merciful Redeemer: for my ſins are great, like unto thy paſſion, full of ſorrow and ſhame, and a burden too great for me to bear. Lord, who haſt done ſo much for me, now only ſpeak the word, and thy ſervant ſhall be whole. *Let thy wounds heal me, thy virtues amend me, thy death quicken me: that I in this life ſuffering the croſs of a ſad and ſalutary repentance, in the union and merits of thy croſs and paſſion, may die with thee, and reſt with thee, and riſe again with thee, and live with thee for ever in the poſſeſſion of thy glories, O deareſt Saviour Jeſus.* Amen.

SECT. XVI.

Of the Reſurrection and Aſcenſion of JESUS.

1. WHILE it was yet *early in the morning, upon the firſt day of the week, Mary Magdalen and Mary the mother of James and Salome, brought ſweet ſpices to the ſepulchre,* that they might again embalm the holy body; (for the rites of embalming among the Hebrews uſed to laſt forty [h] days) and their love was not ſatisfied with what Joſeph had done. They therefore haſtned to the grave; and after they had expended their money, and bought the ſpices, then begin to conſider, *who ſhall remove the ſtone:* but yet they ſtill go on, and their love anſwers the objection, not knowing how it ſhould be done, but yet reſolving to go through all the difficulties; but never remember to take care to paſs the guards of ſoldiers. But when they came to the ſepulchre, they found the guard affrighted and removed, and *the ſtone rolled away*; for there had a little before their arrival been a great earthquake, and [i] *an angel deſcending from heaven rolled away the ſtone, and ſat upon it*; and for fear of him the guards about the tomb became *aſtoniſhed with fear*, and were *like dead men:* and ſome of them ran to the high prieſts, and told them what had happened. But they now reſolving to make their iniquity ſafe and unqueſtionable by a new crime, hire the ſoldiers to tell an incredible and a weak fable, that *his diſciples came by night and ſtole him away:* Againſt which accident the wit of man could give no more ſecurity than themſelves had made. The women entred into the ſepulchre, and miſſing the body of Jeſus, Mary Magdalen ran to the eleven apoſtles, complaining that the body of our Lord was not to be found. Then Peter and John ran as faſt as they could to ſee: for the unexpectedneſs of the relation, the wonder of the ſtory, and the ſadneſs of the perſon, moved ſome affections in them, which were kindled by the firſt principles and ſparks of faith, but were not made actual and definite, becauſe the faith was not raiſed to a flame: They looked into the ſepulchre, and finding not the body there, they returned. By this time Mary Magdalen was come back, and the women who ſtaid weeping for their Lord's body, *ſaw two angels ſitting in white, the one at the head, and the other at the feet*; at which unexpected ſight they *trembled, and bowed themſelves:* But an angel bid them *not to fear*; telling them, that *Jeſus of Nazareth, who was crucified, was alſo riſen,* and *was not there*; and called to mind what Jeſus had told them in Galilee concerning his crucifixion, and reſurrection the third day.

2. AND *Mary Magdalen turned her ſelf back, and ſaw Jeſus:* but *ſuppoſing him to be the gardener, ſhe ſaid to him, Sir, If thou haſt born him hence, tell me where thou haſt laid him, and I will take him away. But Jeſus ſaid unto her, Mary.* Then ſhe knew his voice, and with ecſtaſy of joy and wonder was ready to have cruſhed his feet with her embraces. But he commanded her *not to touch him,* but *go to his brethren, and ſay, I aſcend unto my Father and to your Father, to my God and your God.* Mary departed with ſatisfaction beyond the joys of a victory or a full vintage, and told theſe things to the apoſtles: but the narration ſeemed to them as talk of abuſed and phantaſtick perſons. About the ſame time Jeſus alſo appeared unto Simon Peter. Towards the declining of the day, two of his diſciples going to Emmaus, ſad, and diſcourſing of the late occurrences, Jeſus puts himſelf into their company, and upbraids their incredulity, and *expounds the ſcriptures, that Chriſt ought to ſuffer, and riſe again the third day*; and *in the breaking of bread diſappeared*; and ſo was *known to them* by vaniſhing away, whom preſent they knew not. And inſtantly they haſted to Jeruſalem, and told the apoſtles what had happened.

3. AND while they were there, that is, *the ſame day at evening, when the apoſtles were aſſembled* all ſave *Thomas, ſecretly for fear of the Jews, the doors being ſhut,*

Jeſus

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[h] Gen. 50. Tacit. Annal. lib. 21.

[i] Aurora lucis rutilat,
Cœlum laudibus intonat,
Mundus exultans jubilat,
Gemens infernus ululat;
Cum Rex ille fortiſſimus,
Mortis confractis viribus,
Pede conculcans Tartara,
Solvit à pœna miſeros.
Ille qui clauſus lapide
Cuſtoditur ſub milite,
Triumphans pompâ nobili,
Victor ſurgit de funere.

Hymn. Paſchal.

A. Motte ſculp. 1719.

THE Angel *of the* LORD *deſcended from Heaven, and rolled back the Stone from the Door; And for fear of him the* Keepers *did ſhake, and became as dead Men; And the* Angel *ſaid,* HE *is not here for* HE *is riſen. St.* Matt. c. 28. v. 2, 4, 5, 6.

BRITISH MUSEUM
5 AU 70

[illegible]

Pinton fecit Londini.

Now upon the first Day of the Week, very early in ye Morning, they came unto the Sepulchre, bringing the Spices which they had prepared and certain others with them. St Luke, Chap. 24th Ver. 1st

BRITISH 5 AU 70 MUSEUM

M. V.dr Gucht Sculp.

JESUS ſaith unto her **WOMAN** why weepest thou? whom ſeekest thou? She ſupposeing him to be the Gardener, ſaith unto him, **SIR**, if thou have born him hence, tell me where thou hast laid him, and I will take him away. **JESUS** ſaith unto her, **MARY**, She turned herſelf, and ſaith unto him, **RABBONI**, which is to ſay, **MASTER**.

BRITISH MUSEUM 5 AU 70

Jeſus came and ſtood in the midſt of them. They were exceedingly troubled, ſuppoſing it had been a ſpirit. But Jeſus confuted them by the philoſophy of their ſenſes, by *feeling his fleſh and bones, which ſpirits have not.* For he gave them his benediction, *ſhewing them his hands and his feet.* At which ſight they rejoiced with exceeding joy, and began to be reſtored to their indefinite hopes of ſome future felicity by the return of their Lord to life: And there *he* firſt *breathed on them, giving them the holy Ghoſt*; and performing the promiſe twice made before his death, the promiſe of the keys, or of *binding and looſing*; ſaying, *Whoſeſoever ſins ye remit, they are remitted to them; and whoſeſoever ſins ye retain, they are retained.* And that was the ſecond part of clerical power with which Jeſus inſtructed his diſciples, in order to their great commiſſion of preaching and government eccleſiaſtical. Theſe things were told to Thomas, but he *believed not*, and reſolved againſt the belief of it, unleſs he might *put his finger into his hands, and his hand into his ſide.* Jeſus therefore, on the octave of his reſurrection, appeared again to the apoſtles met together, and makes demonſtration to Thomas, in conviction and reproof of his unbelief, promiſing a ſpecial benediction to all ſucceeding ages of the church; for they are ſuch who *ſaw not, and yet have believed.*

4. BUT Jeſus at his early appearing had ſent an order by the women, that the diſciples ſhould go into Galilee; and they did ſo after a few days. And Simon Peter being there, went a fiſhing, and ſix other of the apoſtles with him, to the ſea of Tiberias, where they *laboured all night, and caught nothing*. Towards *the morning, Jeſus appeared to them*, and bad them *caſt the net on the right ſide of the ſhip*; which they did, and *incloſed an hundred and fifty three great fiſhes:* By which prodigious draught John, the beloved diſciple, perceived *it was the Lord*. At which inſtant *Peter threw himſelf into the ſea*, and went to Jeſus; and when the reſt were come to ſhore, they dined with broiled fiſh. After dinner, Jeſus, taking care for thoſe ſcattered ſheep which were diſperſed over the face of the earth, that he might gather them into one ſheepfold under one ſhepherd, aſked Peter, *Simon, ſon of Jonas, loveſt thou me more than theſe? Peter anſwered, Yea, Lord; thou that knoweſt all things, knoweſt that I love thee. Then Jeſus ſaid unto him, Feed my lambs.* And Jeſus aſked him the ſame queſtion, and gave him the ſame precept, the ſecond time, and the third time: for it was a conſiderable and a weighty employment, upon which Jeſus was willing to ſpend all his endearments and ſtock of affections that Peter owed him, even upon the care of his little flock. And after the intruſting of this charge to him, he told him, that the reward he ſhould have in this world, ſhould be a ſharp and an honourable martyrdom; and withal checks Peter's curioſity in buſying himſelf about the temporal accidents of other men, and enquiring what ſhould become of John, the beloved diſciple; Jeſus anſwered his queſtion with ſome ſharpneſs of reprehenſion, and no ſatisfaction: *If I will that he tarry till I come, what is that to thee?* Then they fanſied that he ſhould not die. But they were miſtaken: for the intimation was expounded and verified by St. John's ſurviving the deſtruction of Jeruſalem: For after the attempts of perſecutors, and the miraculous eſcape of prepared torments, he died a natural death in a good old age.

5. AFTER this, Jeſus having appointed a ſolemn meeting for all the brethren that could be collected from the diſperſion, and named a certain mountain in Galilee, *appeared to five hundred brethren at once:* and this was his moſt publick and ſolemn manifeſtation. And while ſome doubted, Jeſus came according to the deſignation, and ſpake to the eleven, ſent them to *preach to all the world repentance and remiſſion of ſins in his name*; promiſing *to be with them to the end of the world.* He appeared alſo unto James, but at what time is uncertain; ſave that there is ſomething concerning it in the goſpel of St. Matthew which the Nazarens of Beræa uſed, and which it is likely themſelves added out of report; for there is nothing of it in our Greek copies. The words are theſe: "When the Lord had given the linen in which he was wrapped to the ſervant of the high prieſt, he went and appeared unto James. For James had vowed, after he had received the Lord's ſupper, that he would eat no bread till he ſaw the Lord riſen from the grave. Then the Lord called for bread, he bleſſed it, and brake it, and gave it to James the juſt, and ſaid, My brother, eat bread; for the Son of man is riſen from the ſleep of death." So that by this it ſhould ſeem to be done upon the day of the reſurrection. But the relation of it by St. Paul puts it between the appearance which he made to the five hundred, and that laſt to the apoſtles, when he was to aſcend into heaven. Laſt of all, when the apoſtles were *at dinner, he appeared to them, upbraiding their incredulity:*

incredulity: and *then he opened their underſtanding, that they might diſcern the ſenſe of ſcripture,* and again commanded them to preach the goſpel to all the world; giving them power *to do miracles, to caſt out devils, to cure diſeaſes:* and inſtituted the ſacrament of Baptiſm, which he commanded ſhould together with the ſermons of the goſpel be adminiſtred *to all nations, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the holy Ghoſt.* Then he led them into Judea, and they came to Bethany, and from thence to the mount Olivet: and he commanded them to *ſtay in Jeruſalem* till the holy Ghoſt, *the promiſe of the Father, ſhould deſcend upon them,* which ſhould be accompliſhed in few days; and then they ſhould know the times and the ſeaſons, and all things neceſſary for their miniſtration and ſervice, and propagation of the goſpel. And while he *diſcourſed many things concerning the kingdom,* behold, a cloud came and parted Jeſus from them, and carried him in their ſight up into heaven, where he ſits at the right hand of God bleſſed for ever. *Amen.*

6. WHILE his apoſtles *ſtood gazing up to heaven,* two angels appeared to them, and told them, that *Jeſus ſhould come in like manner as he was taken away; viz.* with glory and majeſty, and in the clouds, and with the miniſtry of angels. *Amen. Come, Lord Jeſus; come quickly.*

Ad SECT. XVI.

Conſiderations upon the Accidents happening in the interval after the Death of the holy Jeſus, until his Reſurrection.

1. THE holy Jeſus promiſed to the bleſſed thief, that he ſhould *that day be with him in paradiſe;* which therefore was certainly a place or ſtate of bleſſedneſs, becauſe it was a promiſe; and in the ſociety of Jeſus, whoſe penal and afflictive part of his work of redemption was finiſhed upon the croſs. Our bleſſed Lord did not promiſe he ſhould that day be with him in his Kingdom; for that day it was not opened, and the everlaſting doors of thoſe interior receſſes were to be ſhut till after the reſurrection, that himſelf was to aſcend thither, and make way for all his ſervants to enter, in the ſame method in which he went before us. Our bleſſed Lord *deſcended into hell,*[k] ſaith the creed of the apoſtles from the ſermon of St. Peter, as he from the words of David; that is, into the ſtate of ſeparation and common receptacle of ſpirits, according to the ſtyle of ſcripture. But the name of [*hell*] is no where in ſcripture an appellative of the kingdom of Chriſt, of the place of final and ſupreme glory. But concerning the verification of our Lord's promiſe to the beatified thief, and his own ſtate of ſeparation, we muſt take what light we can from ſcripture, and what we can from the doctrine of the primitive church. St. Paul had two great revelations; he was *rapt up into paradiſe,* and he was *rapt up into the third heaven:* and theſe he calls *viſions and revelations;* not one, but divers:[l] For paradiſe is diſtinguiſhed from the heaven of the bleſſed, being itſelf a receptacle of holy ſouls, made illuſtrious with viſitation of angels, and happy by being a repoſitory of ſuch ſpirits who at the day of judgment ſhall go forth into eternal glory. In the interim, Chriſt hath trod all the paths before us; and this alſo we muſt paſs through to arrive at the courts of heaven. Juſtin Martyr ſaid[m] it was the doctrine of heretical perſons, to ſay that the ſouls of the bleſſed inſtantly upon the ſeparation from their bodies enter into the higheſt heaven. And Irenæus[n] makes heaven and the intermediate receptacle of ſouls to be diſtinct places; both bleſſed, but hugely differing in degrees. Tertullian is dogmatical in the aſſertion,[o] that till the voice of the great archangel be heard, and as long as Chriſt ſits at the right hand of his Fa-

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[k] Symbolum Aquileienſe, & ex eo Romanum hodiernum.

[l] ——Ubi duas magnas revelationes ſibi obtigiſſe dixit (Paulus) biſque in ſublime ſe raptum; ſemel ad cœlum tertium, ſemel ad paradiſum. Methodius cont. Origen. apud Epiphan. Idem ait Moſes Barcephas, l. de Paradiſo, p. 4. cap. 7.

[m] Dial. adv. Tryphon.

[n] Lib. 5. cap. 3.

[o] Lib. de Anima; & de Præſcript. Idem ſentiunt ſcriptor. reſp. ad orthod. q. 76. S. Greg. Nazianz. Orat. 10. S. Chryſoſt. Hom. 15. in Matth. S. Ambr. in Micheam. Cyrilli Liturg. Epiphan. ep. apud S. Hier. Theodoretus, Theophylactus, & vett. paſſim.

ther making interceſſion for the church, ſo long bleſſed ſouls muſt expect the aſſembling of their brethren, the great congregation of the church, that they may all paſs from their outer courts into the inward tabernacle, the holy of holies, to the throne of God. And as it is certain that no ſoul could enter into glory before our Lord entred, by whom we hope to have acceſs; ſo it is moſt agreeable to the proportion of the myſteries of our redemption, that we believe the entrance into glory to have been made by our Lord at his glorious Aſcenſion; and that his ſoul went not thither before then, to come back again, to be contracted into the ſpan of humanity, and dwell forty days in his body upon earth. But that he ſhould return from paradiſe, that is, from the common receptacle of departed ſpirits who died in the love of God, to earth again, had in it no leſſening of his condition, ſince himſelf in mercy called back Lazarus from thence; and ſome others alſo returned to live a life of grace, which in all ſenſes is leſs than the leaſt of glories. Sufficient it is to us, that all holy ſouls departing go into the hands, that is, into the cuſtody of our Lord; that they [p] *reſt from their labours*, that *their works ſhall follow them*; and overtake them too, at the day of judgment: that they are happy preſently; that they are viſited by angels; that [q] God ſends, as he pleaſes, excellent irradiations and types of glory to entertain them in their manſions; that their condition is ſecured: But the *crown of righteouſneſs is laid up* [r] againſt the great day of judgment, and then to be produced, and given to St. Paul, and *to all that love the coming of our Lord*; that is, to all who either here in duty, or in their receptacles, with joy and certain hope long for the revelation of that day. At the day of judgment Chriſt will *ſend the angels, and they ſhall gather together the elect from the four winds*; [s] and all the refuſe of men, evil perſons, they ſhall *throw into everlaſting burning*. Then our bleſſed Lord ſhall call to the elect to enter into the kingdom, and reject the curſed into the portion of devils; *for whom the fire* is but now *prepared* in the interval. For *we muſt all appear before the judgment-ſeat of Chriſt*, (ſaith St. Paul) *that every man may receive in his body according as he hath done, whether it be good or evil.* [t] Out of the body the reception of the reward is not. And therefore St. Peter affirms, that *God hath delivered the evil angels into chains of darkneſs, to be reſerved unto judgment* [v]. And St. Jude ſaith, that *the angels which kept not their firſt faith, but left their firſt habitation, he hath reſerved in everlaſting chains under darkneſs unto the judgment of the great day.* [w] And therefore the devils expoſtulated with our bleſſed Saviour, *Art thou come to torment us before the time?* [x] And the ſame alſo he does to evil men, *reſerving the unjuſt unto the day of judgment to be puniſhed.* [y] For ſince the actions which are to be judged are the actions of the whole man, ſo alſo muſt be the judicature. And our bleſſed Saviour intimated this to his apoſtles; *In my Father's houſe are many manſions: but I go to prepare a place for you. And if I go away, I will come again, and take you unto me; that where I am, there ye may be alſo.* [z] At Chriſt's ſecond coming this is to be [a] performed. Many outer courts, many different places or different ſtates there may be; and yet there is a place whither holy ſouls ſhall arrive at laſt, which was not then ready for us; and was not to be entred into, until the entrance of our Lord had made the preparation: and that is certainly the higheſt heaven, called by St. Paul, *the third heaven*: becauſe the other receptacles were ready, and full of holy ſouls, patriarchs and prophets, and holy men of God; concerning whom St. Paul affirms [b] expreſly, that *the fathers received not the promiſes: God having provided ſome better thing for us, that they without us ſhould not be made perfect*: Therefore certain it is that their condition was a ſtate of imperfection, and yet they were placed in paradiſe, *in Abraham's boſom*; and thither Chriſt went, and the bleſſed thief attended him. And then it was that Chriſt made their condition better. For though ſtill it be a place of relation in order to ſomething beyond it, yet the term and object of their hope is changed. They ſat in the regions of darkneſs, expecting that great promiſe made to Adam and the patriarchs, the promiſe of the Meſſias: But when he that was promiſed came, he *preached to the ſpirits in priſon*, he communicated to

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[p] Rev. xiv. 13.

[q] Juſt. Mart. 75. inter quæſt. ad Gentiles ait, bonos ſtatim duci à morte ad paradiſum, ubi conſuetudo & aſpectus eſt angelorum & viſus Chriſti ſalvatoris.

[r] 2 Tim. iv. 8.

[s] Matt. xiii. 41. and xxiv. 31.

[t] 2 Cor. v. 10. Ἵνα κομίσηται ἕκαστος τὰ ἴδια τοῦ σώματος. ſic quidam Cod. τὰ διὰ τοῦ σώματος. ſic communiter, & rectius.

[v] 2 Pet. ii. 4.

[w] Jude 6.

[x] Matt. viii. 29.

[y] 2 Pet. ii. 9. Nec tamen quiſquam putet animas poſt mortem protinus judicari: nam omnes in una communique cuſtodia detinentur, donec tempus adveniat, atque maximus judex meritorum faciat examen. Lactant. l. vii. c. 21.

[z] John xiv. 2, 3.

[a] Satiabor cum apparueris. Pſal. xvii. 15.

[b] Heb. xi. 40. Irenæus, lib. v. adv. Hæreſ. ad fin. Origen. Hom. 7. in Levit. Chryſoſtom. Hom. 39. in 1 Cor. Theodoret. Theophyl. Oecumenius in Heb. 11. S. Aug. l. 1. Retract. c. 14. Victorin. Mart. in c. 6. Apoc. Ambroſ. de bono mortis, c. 10, & 11.

them the myſteries of the goſpel, *the ſecrets of the kingdom*, the things *hidden from* eternal *ages*; and taught them to look up to the glories purchaſed by his paſſion, and made the term of their expectation be his ſecond coming, and the objects of their hope the glories of the beatifick viſion. And although the ſtate of ſeparation is ſometimes in ſcripture called heaven, and ſometimes hell; (for theſe words in ſcripture are of large ſignifications) yet it is never called the *third* heaven, nor the hell of the damned. For although concerning it nothing is clearly revealed, or what is their portion till the day of judgment; yet it is intimated in a parable, that between good and evil ſpirits, even in the ſtate of ſeparation, there is diſtance of place. Certain it is, there is great diſtance of condition: And as the holy ſouls in their regions of light are full of love, joy, hope, and longing for the coming of the great day; ſo the accurſed do expect it with an inſupportable amazement, and are preſently tormented with apprehenſions of the future. Happy are they that through paradiſe paſs into the kingdom; who from their higheſt hope paſs to the greateſt charity, from the ſtate of a bleſſed ſeparation to the *mercies* and gentle ſentence of *the day of judgment*,[c] which St. Paul prayed to God to grant Oneſiphorus; and more explicitly for the Theſſalonians, *that their whole ſpirit, and ſoul, and body, be preſerved blameleſs unto the coming of our Lord Jeſus.*[d] And I pray God to grant the ſame to me, and all faithful people whatſoever.

2. As ſoon as the Lord had *given up his ſpirit* into the hands of God, *the veil of the temple was rent*; the angels, guardians of the place, deſerted it; the rites of Moſes were laid open, and the encloſures of the tabernacle were diſparked; *the earth trembled, the graves were opened*, and all the old world and the old religion were ſo ſhaken towards their firſt chaos, that if God had not ſupported the one, and reſerved the other for an honourable burial, the earth had left to ſupport her children, and the ſynagogue had been thrown out to an inglorious expoſition and contempt. But yet in theſe ſymbols theſe were changed from their firſt condition, and paſſed into a new dominion; all *old things paſſed away, and all things became new*; the *earth and the heavens were* reckoned as *a new creation*; they paſſed into another kingdom, under Chriſt their Lord: and as before the creatures were ſervants of human neceſſities, they now become ſervants of election, and in order to the ends of grace, as before of nature; Chriſt having now the power to diſpoſe of them in order to his kingdom, and by the adminiſtration of his own wiſdom. And at the inſtant of theſe accidents, God ſo determined the perſuaſions of men, that they referred theſe prodigies to the honour of Chriſt, and took them as teſtimonies of that truth, for the affirmation of which the high prieſt had condemned our deareſt Lord. And although the heart of the prieſt rent not, even then when rocks did tear in pieces; yet the people who ſaw the paſſion *ſmote their breaſts, and returned*, and confeſſed Chriſt.[e]

3. The graves of the dead were opened at the death, but[f] the dead bodies of the ſaints that ſlept aroſe not till the reſurrection of our Lord: for he was the firſt-fruits, and they followed him as inſtant witneſſes, to publiſh the reſurrection of their head; which it is poſſible they declared to thoſe to whom they *appeared in the holy city.* And amongſt theſe, the curioſity or pious credulity of ſome have ſuppoſed Adam and Eve, Abraham, Iſaac and Jacob; who therefore were careful to be buried in the land of promiſe, as having ſome intimation or hope that they might be partakers of the earlieſt glories of the Meſſias, in whoſe faith and diſtant expectation they lived and died. And this calling up of company from their graves, did publiſh to all the world, not only that the Lord himſelf was riſen, according to his ſo frequent and repeated predictions, but that he meant[g] to raiſe up all his ſervants; and that all who believe in him ſhould be partakers of the reſurrection.

4. When the ſoldiers obſerved that Jeſus was dead, out of ſpite and impotent ineffective malice, one of them pierced his holy ſide with a ſpear: and the rock being ſmitten, it guſhed out with *water and blood*;[h] ſtreaming forth two ſacraments to refreſh the church, and opening a gate that all his brethren might enter in, and dwell in the heart of God. And ſo great a love had our Lord, that he ſuffered his heart to be opened; to ſhew, that as Eve was formed from the ſide of Adam, ſo was the church to be from the ſide of her Lord, receiving from thence life and ſpiritual nu-

triment:

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[c] 2 Tim. i. 18.

[d] 1 Theſſ. v. 23. Vide Irenæum in hunc locum, l. 5. c. 6. adv. Hæreſ. ubi probat abſque unione corporis, animæ & ſpiritûs, hominem non eſſe.

[e] S. Ambroſ. l. 10. in Lucam.

[f] Euſeb. Emiſ. Hom. 6. de Paſch.

—— tumulóque inferna refringens
Regna, reſurgentes ſecum jubet ire ſepultos.
Prudent. Apoth.

[g] Ἐλεύσονται πάντες οἱ δίκαιοι ὃς κατέπιεν ὁ θάνατος.

[h] S. Cyr. Catech. & Chryſoſt. Hom. 88. in 27 Mat.

J. Clark in Castle Yard Holborn Sc.

Joseph of Arimathea came and went in boldly unto Pilate, and craved the Body of Jeſus, and he gave the Body to Joseph who bought fine Linnen, and took him down and wrapped him in the Linnen.

St. Mark, Chap. 15th Ver. 43d 45th 46th

triment: which he miniſtred in ſo great abundance, and ſuffered himſelf to be pierced, that all his blood did ſtream over us, until he made the fountain dry, and reſerved nothing of that by which he knew his church was *to live, and move, and have her being*. Thus the ſtream of blood iſſued out to become a fountain for the ſacrament of the chalice, and water guſhed out to fill the fonts of baptiſm and repentance. The blood, being the teſtimony of the divine love, calls upon us to die for his love, when he requires it; and the noiſe of the water calls upon us to purify our ſpirits, and preſent our conſcience to Chriſt *holy and pure, without ſpot or wrinkle*. The blood running upon us, makes us to be of the cognation and family of God; and the water quenches the flames of hell, and the fires of concupiſcence.

5. THE friends and diſciples of the holy Jeſus, having devoutly compoſed his body to burial, anointed it, waſhed it, and condited it with ſpices and perfumes, laid it in a ſepulchre hewn from a rock in a garden: which (ſaith Euthymius) was therefore done, to repreſent, that we were by this death returned to paradiſe, and the gardens of pleaſures and divine favours, from whence by the prevarication of Adam man was expelled. Here he finiſhed the work of his paſſion, as he had begun it, in a garden: and the place of the ſepulchre, being a rock, ſerves the ends of pious ſucceeding ages. For the place remains in all changes of government, of wars, of earthquakes and ruder accidents, to this day, as a memorial of the ſepulchre of our deareſt Lord, as a ſenſible and proper confirmation of the perſuaſions of ſome perſons, and as an entertainment of their pious fanſy, and religious affections.

6. BUT now it was that in the dark and undiſcerned manſions there was a ſcene of the greateſt joy and the greateſt horror repreſented, which yet was known ſince the firſt falling of the morning ſtars. Thoſe holy ſouls whom the prophet Zechary calls *priſoners of hope, lying in the lake where there is no water*;[i] that is, no conſtant ſtream of joy to refreſh their preſent condition, (yet ſupported with certain ſhowers and gracious viſitations from God, and illuminations of their hope) now that they ſaw their Redeemer come to change their condition, and to improve it into the neighbourhoods of glory and clearer revelation, muſt needs have the joy of intelligent and beatified underſtandings, of redeemed captives, of men forgiven after the ſentence of death, of men ſatisfied after a tedious expectation, enjoying and ſeeing their Lord, whom for ſo many ages they had expected. But the accurſed ſpirits, ſeeing the darkneſs of their priſon ſhine with a new light, and their empire invaded, and their retirements of horror diſcovered, wondred how a man durſt venture thither, or if he were a GOD, how he ſhould come to die. But the holy Jeſus was like that body of light, receiving into himſelf the reflexion of all the leſſer rays of joy which the patriarchs felt, and being united to his fountain of felicity, apprehended it yet more glorious. He now felt the effects of his bitter paſſion to return upon him in comforts, every hour of which was abundant recompence for three hours paſſion upon the croſs; and became to us a great precedent, to invite us to a toleration of the acts of repentance, mortification and martyrdom, and that in times of ſuffering we live upon the ſtock and expence of faith; as remembring, that theſe few moments of infelicity are infinitely paid with every minute of glory, and yet that the glory which is certainly conſequent, is ſo laſting and perpetual, that it were enough in a lower joy to make amends by its continuation of eternity. And let us but call to mind what thoughts we ſhall have when we die, or are dead; how we ſhall then without prejudice conſider,[k] that if we had done our duty, the trouble and the affliction would now be paſt, and nothing remain but pleaſures and felicities eternal; and how infinitely happy we ſhall then be, if we have done our duty, and how miſerable if not: all the pleaſures of ſin diſappearing, and nothing ſurviving, but a certain and everlaſting torment. Let us carry alway the ſame thoughts with us which muſt certainly then intervene, and we ſhall meet the holy Jeſus, and partake of his joys, which overflowed his holy ſoul when he firſt entred into the poſſeſſion of thoſe excellent fruits and effects of his paſſion.

7. WHEN the third day was come, the ſoul of Jeſus returned from paradiſe, and the viſitation of ſeparate ſpirits, and re-entred into his holy body, which he by his divine power did redintegrate, filling his veins with blood, healing all the wounds, excepting thoſe five of his hands, feet, and ſide, which he reſerved as trophies of his victory, and arguments of his paſſion. And as he had comforted the ſouls of the fathers with the preſence of his Spirit; ſo now he ſaw it to be time to bring comfort to his

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[i] Zech. ix. 11, 12.

[k] Ἄν τι πράξης μετὰ πόνου καλὸν, ὁ μὲν πόνος οἴχεται, τὸ δὲ καλὸν μένει· ἄν τι ποιήσης αἰσχρὸν μετὰ ἡδονῆς, τὸ μὲν ἡδὺ οἴχεται, τὸ δὲ αἰσχρὸν μένει. Muſonius apud A. Gellium, l. 16. c. 1.

holy mother, to re-eſtabliſh the tottering faith of his diſciples, to verify his promiſe, to make demonſtration of his divinity, to lay ſome ſuperſtructures of his church upon the foundation of his former ſermons, to inſtruct them in the myſteries of his kingdom, to prepare them for the reception of the holy Ghoſt. And as he had in his ſtate of ſeparation triumphed over hell, ſo in his reſurrection he ſet his foot upon death, and brought it under his dominion; ſo that although it was not yet deſtroyed, yet it is made his ſubject. It hath as yet the condition of the Gibeonites, who were not baniſhed out of the land, but they were made *drawers of water and hewers of wood:* ſo is death made inſtrumental to Chriſt's kingdom, but it abides ſtill, and ſhall till the day of judgment; but ſhall ſerve the ends of our Lord, and promote the intereſts of eternity, and do benefit to the church.

8. AND it is conſiderable, that our bleſſed Lord having told them that after three days he would riſe again, yet he ſhortned the time as much as was poſſible, that he might verify his own prediction, and yet make his abſence the leaſt troubleſome. He riſes *early in the morning the firſt day of the week.* For ſo our deareſt Lord abbreviates the days of our ſorrow, and lengthens the years of our conſolation. For he knows that a day of ſorrow ſeems a year, and a year of joy paſſes like a day: and therefore God leſſens the one, and lengthens the other, to make this perceived, and that ſupportable. Now the temple which the Jews deſtroyed, God raiſed up in ſix and thirty hours. But this *ſecond temple* was more glorious than the *firſt*; for now it was clothed with robes of glory, with clarity, agility and immortality. And though, like Moſes deſcending from the mount, he wore a veil, that the greatneſs of his ſplendor might not render him unapt for converſation with his ſervants; yet the holy ſcripture affirms that he was *now no more to ſee corruption*; meaning, that now he was ſeparate from the paſſibility and affections of human bodies, and could ſuffer St. Thomas to thruſt his hand into the wound of his ſide, and his finger into the holes of his hands, without any grief or ſmart.

9. BUT although the graciouſneſs and care of the Lord had prevented all diligence, and ſatisfied all deſires, returning to life before the moſt forward faith could expect him: yet there were three Maries went to the grave ſo early, that they prevented the riſing of the ſun; and though with great obedience they ſtaid till the end of the ſabbath, yet, as ſoon as that was done, they had other parts of duty and affection, which called with greateſt importunity to be ſpeedily ſatisfied. And if obedience had not bound the feet of love, they had gone the day before: but they became to us admirable patterns of obedience to the divine commandments. For though love were *ſtronger than death*, yet obedience was ſtronger than love, and made a rare diſpute in the ſpirits of thoſe holy women, in which the fleſh and the ſpirit were not the litigants, but the ſpirit and the ſpirit: and they reſiſted each other as the angel-guardian of the Jews reſiſted the tutelar angel of Perſia, each ſtriving who ſhould with moſt love and zeal perform their charge; and God determined. And ſo he did here too. For the law of the ſabbath was then a divine commandment: and although piety to the dead, and to ſuch a dead, was ready to force their choice to do violence to their will, bearing them upon wings of deſire to the grave of the LORD; yet at laſt they reconciled love with obedience. For they had been taught, that love is beſt expreſſed in *keeping of the* divine *commandments.* But now they were at liberty; and ſure enough they made uſe of its firſt minute, and going ſo early to ſeek Chriſt, they were ſure they ſhould find him.

10. THE angels deſcended guardians of the ſepulchre: for God ſent his guards too, and they affrighted the watch appointed by Pilate and the prieſts. But when the women came, they ſpake like comforters, full of ſweetneſs and conſolation, laying aſide their affrighting glories; as knowing it is the will of their Lord, that they ſhould miniſter good to them that love him. But a converſation with angels could not ſatisfy them who came to look for the Lord of the angels, and found him not. And when the Lord was pleaſed to appear to Mary Magdalen, ſhe was ſo ſwallowed up with love and ſorrow, that ſhe entred into her joy and perceived it not; ſhe ſaw the Lord, and knew him not. For ſo, from the cloſets of darkneſs they that immediately ſtare upon the ſun, perceive not the beauties of the light, and feel nothing but amazement. But the voice of the Lord opened her eyes, and ſhe knew him and worſhipped him, but was denied to touch him, and commanded to tell the apoſtles. For therefore God miniſters to us comforts and revelations; not that we may dwell in the ſenſible fruition of them our ſelves alone, but that we communicate the grace to others.

And behold two of them went that same Day to a Village called **EMMAUS**. And it came to pass, as **JESUS** sate at meat with them he took Bread and blessed it, and brake, and gave to them; And their Eyes were opened and they knew him. St Luke Ch:24. V. 13. 30. 31.

others. But when the other women were returned and ſaw the Lord, then they were all together admitted to the embracement, and to kiſs the feet of Jeſus. For God hath his opportunities and periods, which at another time he denies: and we muſt then rejoice in it, when he vouchſafes it; and ſubmit to his divine will, when he denies it.

11. These good women had the firſt-fruits of the apparition: for their forward love and the paſſion of their religion, made greater haſte to entertain a grace, and was a greater endearment of their perſons to our Lord, than a more ſober, reſerved, and leſs active ſpirit. This is more ſafe, but that is religious; this goes to God by the way of underſtanding, that by the will; this is ſupported by diſcourſe, that by paſſions; this is the ſobriety of the apoſtles, the other was the zeal of the holy women. And becauſe a ſtrong fanſy and an earneſt paſſion fixed upon holy objects, are the moſt active and forward inſtruments of devotion, as devotion is of love; therefore we find that God hath made great expreſſions of his acceptance of ſuch diſpoſitions. And women, and leſs knowing perſons, and tender diſpoſitions, and pliant natures, will make up a greater number in heaven, than the ſevere, and wary, and enquiring people; who ſometimes love becauſe they believe, and believe becauſe they can demonſtrate, but never believe becauſe they love. When a great underſtanding and a great affection meet together, it makes a ſaint great like an apoſtle; but they do not well who make abatement of their religious paſſions by the ſeverity of their underſtanding. It is no matter by which we are brought to Chriſt, ſo we love him and obey him: But if the production admit of degrees, that inſtrument is the moſt excellent which produces the greateſt love. And although diſcourſe and a ſober ſpirit be in itſelf the beſt, yet we do not always ſuffer that to be a parent of as great religion as the good women make their fancy, their ſoftneſs, and their paſſion.

12. Our bleſſed Lord appeared next to Simon: and though he and John ran forth together, and St. John outran Simon; although Simon Peter had denied and forſworn his Lord, and St. John never did, and followed him to his paſſion and his death; yet Peter had the favour of ſeeing Jeſus firſt. Which ſome ſpiritual perſons underſtand as a teſtimony, that penitent ſinners have accidental eminences and privileges ſometimes indulged to them beyond the temporal graces of the juſt and innocent, [l] as being ſuch who not only need defenſatives againſt the remanent and inherent evils even of repented ſins, and their aptneſſes to relapſe; but alſo becauſe thoſe who are true penitents, who underſtand the infiniteneſs of the divine mercy, and that for a ſinner to paſs from death to life, from the ſtate of ſin into pardon and the ſtate of grace, is a greater gift, and a more excellent and improbable mutation, than for a juſt man to be taken into glory, out of gratitude to God, and endearment for ſo great a change, added to a fear of returning to ſuch danger and miſery, will reinforce all their induſtry, and double their ſtudy, and obſerve more diligently, and watch more carefully, and *redeem the time*, and make amends for their omiſſions, and oppoſe a good to the former evils, beſides the duties of the preſent employment; and then, commonly, the life of a holy penitent is more holy, active, zealous, and impatient of vice, and more rapacious of virtue and holy actions, and ariſes to greater degrees of ſanctity, than the even and moderate affections of juſt perſons, who (as our bleſſed Saviour's expreſſion is) *need no repentance*, that is, no change of ſtate, nothing but a perſeverance, and an improvement of degrees. [m] *There is more joy in heaven before the angels of God over one ſinner that repenteth, than over ninety and nine juſt perſons that need it not*; for, *where ſin hath abounded, there doth grace ſuperabound*; and that makes joy in heaven.

13. The holy Jeſus having received the affections of his moſt paſſionate diſciples, the women and St. Peter, puts himſelf upon the way into the company of two good men going to Emmaus with troubled ſpirits and a reeling faith, ſhaking all its upper building, but leaving ſome of its foundation firm. To them the Lord diſcourſes of the neceſſity of the death and reſurrection of the Meſſias, and taught them not to take eſtimate of the counſels of God by the deſigns and proportions of man: for God by ways contrary to human judgment brings to paſs the purpoſes of his eternal providence. The glories of Chriſt were not made pompous by human circumſtances; his kingdom was ſpiritual: he was to enter into felicities through the gates of death: he refuſed to do miracles before Herod, and yet did them before the people: he

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[l] Majus eſt, peccatorem ex peccato in gratiam migrare, quàm ex hoc mundo in cœlum. S. Auguſt.

[m] Luke xv. 7.

confuted his accuſers by ſilence; and did not deſcend from the croſs when they offered to believe in him if he would, but left them to be perſuaded by greater arguments of his power, the miraculous circumſtances of his death, and the glories of his reſurrection: and by walking in the ſecret paths of divine election, hath commanded us to adore his footſteps, to admire and revere his wiſdom, to be ſatisfied with all the events of providence, and to rejoice in him, if by afflictions he makes us holy, if by perſecutions he ſupports and enlarges his church, if by death he brings us to life. So we arrive at the communion of his felicities, we muſt let him chooſe the way; it being ſufficient that he is our guide, and our ſupport, and our *exceeding great reward*. For therefore Chriſt preached to the two diſciples going to Emmaus the way of the croſs, and the neceſſity of that paſſage, that the wiſdom of God might be glorified, and the conjectures of man aſhamed. But whilſt his diſcourſe laſted, they knew him not; but in the breaking of bread he diſcovered himſelf. For he turned their meal into a ſacrament, and their darkneſs to light; and having to his ſermon added the ſacrament, opened all their diſcerning faculties, the eyes of their body and their underſtanding too; to repreſent to us, that when we are bleſſed with the opportunities of both thoſe inſtruments, we want no exterior aſſiſtance to guide us in the way to the knowing and enjoying of our Lord.

14. BUT the apparitions which Jeſus made were all upon the deſign of laying the foundation of all Chriſtian graces; for the begetting and eſtabliſhing faith and an active confidence in their perſons, and building them up on the great fundamentals of the religion. And therefore he appointed a general meeting upon a mountain in Galilee, that the number of witneſſes might not only diſſeminate the fame, but eſtabliſh the article of the reſurrection, for upon that are built all the hopes of a Chriſtian; and *if the dead riſe not, then are we of all men moſt miſerable*, in quitting the preſent poſſeſſions, and entertaining injuries and affronts without hopes of reparation. But we lay two gages in ſeveral repoſitories; the body in the boſom of the earth, the ſoul in the boſom of God: and as we here live by faith, and lay them down with hope; ſo the reſurrection is a reſtitution of them both, and a ſtate of re-union. And therefore although the glory of our ſpirits without the body were joy great enough to make compenſation for more than the troubles of all the world; yet becauſe one ſhall not be glorified without the other, they being of themſelves incomplete ſubſtances, and God having revealed nothing clearly concerning actual and complete felicities till the day of judgment, when it is promiſed our bodies ſhall riſe; therefore it is that the reſurrection is the great article upon which we rely, and which Chriſt took ſo much care to prove and aſcertain to ſo many perſons, becauſe if that ſhould be diſbelieved with which all our felicities are to be received, we have nothing to eſtabliſh our faith, or entertain our hope, or ſatisfy our deſires, or make retribution for that ſtate of ſecular inconveniences in which, by the neceſſities of our nature, and the humility and patience of our religion, we are engaged.

15. BUT I conſider that holy ſcripture only inſtructs us concerning the life of this world and the life of the reſurrection, the life of grace and the life of glory, both in the body; that is, a life of the whole man: and whatſoever is ſpoken of the ſoul, conſiders it as an eſſential part of man, relating to his whole conſtitution, not as it is of itſelf an intellectual and ſeparate ſubſtance; for all its actions which are ſeparate and removed fom the body, are relative and incomplete. Now becauſe the ſoul is an incomplete ſubſtance, and created in relation to the body, and is but a part of the whole man, if the body were as eternal and incorruptible as the ſoul, yet the ſeparation of the one from the other would be as now it is, that which we call natural death; and ſuppoſing that God ſhould preſerve the body for ever, or reſtore it at the day of judgment to its full ſubſtance and perfect organs, yet the man would be dead for ever, if the ſoul for ever ſhould continue ſeparate from the body. So that the other life, that is, the ſtate of reſurrection, is a re-uniting ſoul and body. And although in a philoſophical ſenſe the reſurrection is of the body, that is, a reſtitution of our fleſh, and blood and bones, and is called *reſurrection*, as the entrance into the ſtate of reſurrection may have the denomination of the whole: yet in the ſenſe of ſcripture the reſurrection is the reſtitution of our life, the renovation of the whole man, the ſtate of re-union; and until that be, the man is not, but he is dead, and only his eſſential parts are depoſited and laid up in truſt: and therefore whatſoever the ſoul does or perceives in its incomplete condition, is but to it as imbalming and honourable funerals to the body, and a ſafe monument to preſerve it in order to a living

again;

BRITISH MUSEUM 5 AU 70

M. Vdr Gucht Sculp.

And when HE had Spoken these Things, while they beheld, he was taken up, & a Cloud received him out of their Sight. Act: Ch: 1. v. 9.

again; and the felicities of the interval are wholly in order to the next life. And therefore if there were to be no reſurrection, as theſe intermediate joys ſhould not be at all, ſo as they are, they are but relative and incomplete: and therefore all our hopes, all our felicities depend upon the reſurrection; without it we ſhould never be perſons, men or women: and then the ſtate of ſeparation could be nothing but a phantaſm, trees ever in bloſſom, never bearing fruit, corn for ever in the blade, eggs always in the ſhell, a hope eternal never to paſs into fruition; that is, for ever to be deluded, for ever to be miſerable. And therefore it was an elegant expreſſion of St. Paul, [n] *Our life is hid with Chriſt in God*; that is, our life is paſſed into cuſtody, the duſt of our body is numbred, and the ſpirit is refreſhed, viſited, and preſerved in celeſtial manſions: but it is not properly called a life; for all this while the man is dead, and ſhall then live when Chriſt produces this hidden life at the great day of reſtitution. But our faith of all this article is well wrapped up in the words of St. John; [o] *Beloved, now we are the ſons of God, and it doth not yet appear what we ſhall be; but we know that when he ſhall appear, we ſhall be like him, for we ſhall ſee him as he is.* The middle ſtate is not it which ſcripture hath propounded to our faith, or to our hope; the reward is then when Chriſt ſhall appear: but in the mean time the ſoul can converſe with God and with angels, [p] juſt as the holy prophets did in their dreams, in which they received great degrees of favour and revelation. But this is not to be reckoned any more than an entrance or a waiting for the ſtate of our felicity. And ſince the glories of heaven is the great fruit of election, we may conſider that the body is not predeſtinate, nor the ſoul, alone, but the whole man; and until the parts embrace again in an eſſential complexion, it cannot be expected either of them ſhould receive the portion of the predeſtinate. But the article and the event of future things is rarely ſet in order by St. Paul; [q] *But ye are come into the mount Sion, and to the city of the living God, the heavenly Jeruſalem, and to an innumerable company of angels, to the general aſſembly and church of the firſt-born, which are written in heaven, and to God the judge of all,* (and then follows after this *general aſſembly*, after *the judge of all* appears) *to the ſpirits of juſt men made perfect*; that is, re-united to their bodies, and entring into glory. The beginning of the contrary opinion brought ſome new practices and appendent perſuaſions into the church, or at leaſt promoted them much. For thoſe Doctors who, receding from the primitive belief of this article, taught that the glories of heaven are fully communicated to the ſouls before the day of judgment, did alſo upon that ſtock teach the invocation of ſaints, whom they believed to be received into glory; and inſenſibly alſo brought in the opinion of Purgatory, that the leſs perfect ſouls might be glorified in the time that they aſſigned them. But the ſafer opinion and more agreeable to piety, is that which I have now deſcribed from ſcripture and the pureſt ages of the church.

16. WHEN Jeſus appeared to the apoſtles, he gave them his *peace* for a benediction; and when he departed, he left them *peace* for a legacy; and gave them, according to two former promiſes, the power of making peace, and reconciling ſouls to God by a miniſterial act; ſo conveying his Father's mercy, which himſelf procured by his paſſion, and actuates by his interceſſion and the giving of his grace, that he might comply with our infirmities, and miniſter to our needs by inſtruments even and proportionate to our ſelves; making our brethren the conduits of his grace, that the excellent effect of the Spirit might not deſcend upon us, as the law upon mount Sinai, in expreſſes of greatneſs and terror, but in earthen veſſels, and images of infirmity; ſo God manifeſting his power in the ſmallneſs of the inſtrument, and deſcending to our needs, not only in giving the grace of pardon, but alſo in the manner of its miniſtration. And I meditate upon the greatneſs of this mercy, by comparing this grace of God, and the bleſſing of the judgment and ſentence we receive at the hand of the church, with the judgment which God makes at the hour of death upon them who have deſpiſed this mercy, and neglected all the other parts of their duty. The one is a judgment of mercy, the other of vengeance: In the one the devil is the Accuſer, and heaven and earth bear witneſs; in the other the penitent ſinner accuſes himſelf: In that the ſinner gets a pardon, in the other he finds no remedy: In that all his good deeds are remembred and returned, and his ſins are blotted out;

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[n] Coloſſ. iii. 3.

[o] 1 John iii. 2.

[p] Ὅταν ἐν τῷ ὑπνοῦν καθ' ἑαυτὴν γενήσηται ἡ ψυχὴ, τότε τὴν ἴδιον ἀπολαβοῦσα φύσιν, προμαντεύεταί τε καὶ προαγορεύει τὰ μέλλοντα· τοιαύτη δέ ἐστι καὶ ἐν τῷ κατὰ τὸν θάνατον χαρίζεσθαι τῶν σωμάτων. Ariſt. apud Sext. Empiric.

[q] Heb. xii. 22, 23.

in the other all his evil deeds are repreſented with horror and a ſting, and remain for ever: In the firſt the ſinner changes his ſtate for a ſtate of grace, and only ſmarts in ſome temporal auſterities and acts of exterior mortification; in the ſecond his temporal eſtate is changed to an eternity of pain: In the firſt the ſinner ſuffers the ſhame of one man or one ſociety, which is ſweetned by conſolation, and homilies of mercy and health; in the latter, all his ſins are laid open before all the world, and himſelf confounded in eternal amazement and confuſions: In the judgment of the church, the ſinner is honoured by all for returning to the boſom of his mother, and the embraces of his heavenly Father; in the judgment of vengeance he is laughed at by God, and mocked by accurſed ſpirits, and periſhes without pity: In this he is prayed for by none, helped by none, comforted by none, and he makes himſelf a companion of devils to everlaſting ages; but in the judgment of repentance and tribunal of the church, the penitent ſinner is prayed for by a whole army of militant ſaints, and cauſes joy to all the church triumphant. And to eſtabliſh this tribunal in the church, and to tranſmit pardon to penitent ſinners, and a ſalutary judgment upon the perſon and the crime, and to appoint phyſicians and guardians of the ſoul, was one of the deſigns and mercies of the reſurrection of Jeſus. And let not any Chriſtian man, either by falſe opinion or an unbelieving ſpirit, or an incurious apprehenſion, undervalue or neglect this miniſtry, which Chriſt hath ſo ſacredly and ſolemnly eſtabliſhed. Happy is he that daſhes his ſins againſt the rock upon which the church is built, that the church gathering up the planks and fragments of the ſhipwreck, and the ſhivers of the broken heart, may re-unite them, pouring oil into the wounds made by the blows of ſin, and *reſtoring with meekneſs*, gentleneſs, care, counſel and authority, perſons *overtaken in a fault*. For that act of miniſtry is not ineffectual which God hath promiſed ſhall be ratified in heaven; and that authority is not contemptible, which the holy Jeſus conveyed by breathing upon his church the holy Ghoſt. But Chriſt intended that thoſe whom he had made guides of our ſouls, and judges of our conſciences, in order to counſel and miniſterial pardon, ſhould alſo be uſed by us in all caſes of our ſouls; and that we go to heaven the way he hath appointed, that is, by offices and miniſtries eccleſiaſtical.

17. WHEN our bleſſed Lord had ſo confirmed the faith of the church, and appointed an eccleſiaſtical miniſtry, he had but one work more to do upon earth, and that was the inſtitution of the holy ſacrament of Baptiſm; which he ordained as a ſolemn initiation and myſterious profeſſion of the faith upon which the church is built: making it a ſolemn publication of our profeſſion, the rite of ſtipulation or entring covenant with our Lord, and the ſolemnity of the paction evangelical, in which we undertake to be diſciples to the holy Jeſus, that is, to believe his doctrine, to fear his threatnings, to rely upon his promiſes, and to obey his commandments all the days of our life.[r] And he for his part actually performs much, and promiſes more: he takes off all the guilt of our preceding days, purging our ſouls and making them clean as in the day of innocence; promiſing withal, that if we perform our undertaking, and remain in the ſtate in which he now puts us, he will [s] continually aſſiſt us with his Spirit, prevent and attend us with his grace, he will deliver us from the power of the devil, he will keep our ſouls in merciful, joyful and ſafe cuſtody, till the great day of the Lord; he will then raiſe our bodies from the grave, he will make them to be ſpiritual and immortal, he will re-unite them to our ſouls, and beatify both bodies and ſouls in his own kingdom, admitting them into eternal and unſpeakable glories. All which that he might verify and prepare reſpectively, in the preſence of his diſciples he aſcended into the boſom of God, and the eternal comprehenſions of celeſtial glory.

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[r] Mark xvi. 16. Acts ii. 38. and xxii. 16. Rom. vi. 3, 4. Eph. iv. 5, &c. 1 Cor. xii. 13. Col. ii. 13. Gal. iii. 27. 1 Pet. iii. 21.

[s] Matt. xxviii. 20.

The PRAYER.

O Holy and eternal Jeſus, who haſt overcome death, and triumphed over all the powers of hell, darkneſs, ſin and the grave, manifeſting the truth of thy promiſes, the power of thy divinity, the majeſty of thy perſon, the rewards of thy glory, and the mercies and excellent deſigns of thy evangelical kingdom, by thy glorious and powerful reſurrection preſerve my ſoul from eternal death, and make me to riſe from the death of ſin, and to live the life of grace; loving thy perfections, adoring thy mercy, purſuing the intereſt of thy kingdom, being united to the church under thee our head, conforming to thy holy laws, eſtabliſhed in faith, entertained and confirmed with a modeſt, humble and certain hope, and ſanctified by charity; that I, engraving thee in my heart, and ſubmitting to thee in my ſpirit, and imitating thee in thy glorious example, may be partaker of thy reſurrection, which is my hope and my deſire, the ſupport of my faith, the object of my joy, and the ſtrength of my confidence. In thee, holy Jeſus, do I truſt: I confeſs thy faith, I believe all that thou haſt taught; I deſire to perform all thy injunctions, and my own undertaking. My ſoul is in thy hand, do thou ſupport and guide it, and pity my infirmities: and when thou ſhalt reveal thy great day, ſhew to me the mercies and effects of thy advocation, and interceſſion, and redemption. Thou ſhalt anſwer for me, O Lord my God; *for* in thee have I truſted, let me never be confounded. *Thou art juſt, thou art merciful, thou art gracious and compaſſionate, thou haſt done miracles and prodigies of favour to me and all the world. Let not thoſe great actions and ſufferings be ineffective, but make me capable and receptive of thy mercies, and then I am certain to receive them. I am thine,* O *ſave me: Thou art mine,* O *holy Jeſus,* O *dwell with me for ever; and let me dwell with thee, adoring and praiſing the eternal glories of God the Father, Son, and holy Ghoſt.* Amen.

THE END.

῞ΑΓΙΟΣ ʼΑΘΑ΄ΝΑΤΟΣ.

The PRAYER.

O Holy and eternal Jesus, who hast overcome death, and triumphed over all the powers of hell, darkness, sin and the grave, manifesting the truth of thy promises, the power of thy divinity, the majesty of thy person, the rewards of thy glory, and the mercies and excellent designs of thy evangelical kingdom, by thy glorious and powerful resurrection; preserve my soul from eternal death, and make me to rise from the death of sin, and to live the life of grace; loving thy perfections, adoring thy mercy, pursuing the interest of thy kingdom, being united to the church under thee our head, conforming to thy holy laws, established in faith, entertained and confirmed with a modest, humble and certain hope, and sanctified by charity; that I, engraving thee in my heart, and submitting to thee in my spirit, and imitating thee in thy glorious example, may be partaker of thy resurrection, which is my hope and my desire, the support of my faith, the object of my joy, and the strength of my confidence. In thee, holy Jesus, do I trust; I confess thy faith, I believe all that thou hast taught; I desire to perform all thy injunctions, and my own undertaking. My soul is in thy hand, do thou support and guard it, and pity my infirmities: and when thou shalt recall thy great day, shew to me the mercies and effects of thy advocation, and intercession, and redemption. Thou shalt answer for me, O Lord my God; for in thee have I trusted, let me never be confounded. Thou art just, thou art merciful, thou art gracious and compassionate, thou hast done miracles and prodigies of favour to me and all the world. Let not those glorifications and sufferings be ineffectual; but make me capable and receptive of thy mercies, and then I am certain to receive them. I am thine, O save me: Thou art mine, O holy Jesus, O dwell with me for ever; and let me dwell with thee, adoring and praising the eternal glories of God the Father, Son, and holy Ghost. Amen.

THE END.

ΑΓΙΟΣ ΑΘΑΝΑΤΟΣ.

BRITISH MUSEUM 5 AU

ANTIQUI-

ANTIQUITATES APOSTOLICÆ:

OR, THE

Lives, Acts, and Martyrdoms

OF THE

HOLY APOSTLES

OF OUR

SAVIOUR.

To which are added,

THE LIVES OF THE TWO EVANGELISTS

SS. MARK and LUKE.

AS ALSO

A brief Enumeration and Account of the Apoſtles and their Succeſsors for the firſt Three Hundred Years, in the Five great Apoſtolical Churches.

By *WILLIAM CAVE*, D.D.

Chaplain in Ordinary to His Majeſty.

EUSEB. Hiſt. Eccl. Lib. I. cap. 10. p. 28.

Ὁ Σωτὴρ καὶ κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς ὁ Χριστὸς, οὐ μετὰ πλεῖστον τῆς καταρχῆς τοῦ κηρύγματος, τοὺς δώδεκα ἀποστόλους ἀνακαλεῖται· οὓς καὶ μόνους τῶν λοιπῶν αὐτοῦ μαθητῶν κατά τι γέρας ἐξαίρετον ἈΠΟΣΤΟΛΟΥΣ ὠνόμασεν.

CHRYSOST. Præfat. in Epiſt. ad Philem. p. 1733.

Οὐ μόνον τὰς οὕτω μικρὰς ἐπιστολὰς, καὶ ὑπὲρ οὕτω πραγμάτων ἀναγκαίων ἐπεσταλμένας ἔδει ἐγγεγράφθαι· ἀλλ' εἴθε γὰρ ἐνῆν εὐπορῆσαι τοῦ τὴν ἱστορίαν ἡμῖν παραδιδόντος τῶν Ἀποστόλων, οὐ λέγω ὑπὲρ ὧν ἔγραψαν καὶ διελέχθησαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἄλλην αὐτῶν ἀναστροφὴν, καὶ τί ἔφαγον, καὶ πότε ἔφαγον, πότε ἐκάθισαν, καὶ ποῦ ἐβάδισαν, καὶ τί καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν διεπράξαντο, ποίοις σὺν ἀνδράσι γεγόνασι, καὶ εἰς ποίαν οἰκίαν εἰσῆλθον, καὶ ποῦ κατήχθησαν, καὶ μετὰ ἀκριβείας ἅπαντα διηγήσασθαι· οὕτω πάντα τὰ παρ' αὐτῶν γενόμενα πολλῆς ὠφελείας γέμει.

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BRITISH MUSEUM

TO THE
READER.

IT will not, I ſuppoſe, ſeem improbable to the Reader, when I tell him with how much reluctancy and unwillingneſs I ſet upon this undertaking. Beſides the diſadvantage of having this piece annexed to the elaborate Book of that excellent Prelate, ſo great a maſter both of learning and language, I was intimately conſcious to my own unfitneſs for ſuch a Work at any time, much more when clogged with many habitual infirmities and diſtempers. I conſidered the difficulty of the thing itſelf, perhaps not capable of being well managed by a much better pen than mine; few of the ancient monuments of the church being extant, and little of this nature in thoſe few that are. Indeed I could not but think it reaſonable, that all poſſible honour ſhould be done to thoſe that firſt *preached the goſpel of peace, and brought glad tidings of good things*; that it was fit men ſhould be taught how much they were obliged to thoſe excellent perſons, who were willing at ſo dear a rate to plant Chriſtianity in the world; who they were, and what was that piety and that patience, that charity and that zeal, which made them to be reverenced while they lived, and their memories ever ſince to be honourably celebrated through the world; infinitely beyond the glories of Alexander, and the triumphs of a Pompey or a Cæſar. But then how this ſhould be done out of thoſe few imperfect Memoirs, that have eſcaped the general ſhipwreck of church Antiquities; and much more by ſo rude and unſkilful a hand as mine, appeared, I confeſs, a very difficult task, and next door to impoſſible. Theſe, with ſome other conſiderations, made me a long time obſtinately reſolve againſt it, till, being overcome by importunity, I yielded to do it as I was able, and as the nature of the thing would bear.

THAT which I primarily deſigned to my ſelf, was to draw down the Hiſtory of the New Teſtament, eſpecially from our Lord's death; to enquire into the firſt originals and plantations of the Chriſtian church by the miniſtry of the Apoſtles, the ſucceſs of their doctrine, the power and conviction of their miracles, their infinite labours and hardſhips, and the dreadful ſufferings which they underwent: to conſider in what inſtances of piety and virtue they miniſtred to our imitation, and ſerved the purpoſes of religion and an holy life. Indeed the accounts that are left us of theſe things are very ſhort and inconſiderable; ſufficient poſſibly to excite the appetite, not to allay the hunger of an importu-

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nate enquirer into theſe matters. A conſideration that might give us juſt occaſion to lament the irreparable loſs of thoſe primitive records, which the injury of time hath deprived us of; the ſubſtance being gone, and little left us but the ſhell and carcaſs. Had we the writings of Papias biſhop of Hierapolis, [t] and ſcholar (ſays Irenæus) to St. John; wherein, as himſelf tells us, he ſet down what he had learnt from thoſe who had familiarly converſed with the Apoſtles, the ſayings and diſcourſes of Andrew and Peter, of Philip and Thomas, &c. Had we the ancient Commentaries of Hegeſippus, Clemens Alexandrinus his *Inſtitutions*, Africanus his *Chronography*, and ſome others, the reader might expect more entire and particular relations. But alas! theſe are long ſince periſhed, and little beſides the names of them tranſmitted to us. Nor ſhould we have had moſt of that little which is left us, had not the commendable care and induſtry of Euſebius [v] preſerved it to us. And if he complained in his time (when thoſe writings were extant) that towards the compoſing of his Hiſtory he had only ſome few particular accounts here and there left by the ancients of their times; what cauſe have we to complain, when even thoſe little portions have been raviſhed from us? So that he that would build a work of this nature, muſt look upon himſelf as condemned to a kind of Egyptian task, to make brick without ſtraw, at leaſt to pick it up where he can find it; though after all it amounts to a very ſlender parcel. Which as it greatly hinders the beauty and completeneſs of the ſtructure, ſo does it exceedingly multiply the labour and difficulty. For by this means I have been forced to gather up thoſe little fragments of antiquity, that lie diſperſed in the writings of the antients, thrown ſome into this corner, and others into that; which I have at length put together, like the pieces of a broken ſtatue, that it might have at leaſt ſome kind of reſemblance of the perſon whom it deſigns to repreſent.

HAD I thought good to have traded in idle and frivolous authors, Abdias Babylonius, *The paſſions of Peter and Paul*, Joachim Perionius, Peter de Natalibus, and ſuch like, I might have preſented the reader with a larger, not a better account. But beſides the averſeneſs of my nature to falſhoods and trifles, eſpecially wherein the honour of the Chriſtian religion is concerned, I knew the world to be wiſer at this time of day, than to be impoſed upon by pious frauds, and cheated with eccleſiaſtical Romances and legendary reports. For this reaſon, I have more fully and particularly inſiſted upon the Lives of the two firſt Apoſtles, ſo great a part of them being ſecured by an unqueſtionable authority; and have preſented the larger portions of the ſacred hiſtory, many times to very minute circumſtances of action. And I preſume the wiſe and judicious reader will not blame me, for chooſing rather to enlarge upon a ſtory which I knew to be infallibly true, than to treat him with thoſe, which there was cauſe enough to conclude to be certainly falſe.

THE reader will eaſily diſcern that the Authors I make uſe of, are not all of the ſame rank and ſize. Some of them are *divinely inſpired*, whoſe authority is ſacred, and their reports rendred not only credible, but unqueſtionable, by that infallible and unerring Spirit that preſided over them. Others ſuch, of whoſe faith and teſtimony, eſpecially in matters of fact, there is no juſt cauſe to doubt; I mean the genuine writings of the ancient fathers; or thoſe, which though unduly aſſigned to this or that particular father, are yet generally allowed to be ancient, and their credit not to be deſpiſed, becauſe their proper parent is not certainly known. Next theſe come the writers of the middle and later ages of the church, who though below the former in point of credit, have yet ſome particular advantages that recommend them to us. Such I account Symeon Metaphraſtes, Nicephorus Calliſtus, the *Menæa* and *Menologies* of the Greek church, &c. wherein though we meet with many vain and improbable ſtories, yet may we rationally expect ſome real and ſubſtantial accounts of things; eſpecially ſeeing they had the advantage of many ancient and eccleſiaſtical writings, extant in their times, which to us are utterly loſt. Though even theſe too I have never called in, but in the want of more ancient and authentick writers. As for others, if any paſſages occur either in themſelves of doubtful and ſuſpected credit, or borrowed from ſpurious and uncertain authors, they are always introduced or diſmiſſed with ſome kind of cenſure or remark; that the moſt eaſy and credulous reader may know what to truſt to, and not fear being ſecretly ſurprized into a belief of doubtful and fabulous reports. And now after all, I am ſufficiently ſenſible how lank and thin this account is, nor can the reader be leſs ſatisfied with it than I am my ſelf: and I have only this piece of juſtice and charity to beg of him, that he would ſuſpend his cenſure, till he has taken a little pains to enquire into the ſtate of the times and things I write of; and then, however he may challenge my prudence in undertaking it, he will not, I hope, ſee reaſon to charge me with want of care and faithfulneſs in the purſuance of it.

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[t] Apud Euſeb. Hiſt. Eccl. lib. 3. c. 39. p. 111.

[v] Hiſt. Eccl. lib. 1. c. 2. p. 4.

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INTRODUCTION.

Chriſt's faithfulneſs in appointing officers in his church. The dignity of the Apoſtles above the reſt. The importance of the word 'Απόστολος. *The nature of the Apoſtolick office conſidered. Reſpect had in founding it to the cuſtom among the Jews. Their Apoſtoli, who. The number of the Apoſtles limited. Why twelve, the ſeveral conjectures of the ancients. Their immediate election. Their work, wherein it conſiſted. The univerſality of their commiſſion. Apoſtolical churches, what. How ſoon the Apoſtles propagated Chriſtianity through the world. An argument for the divinity of the Chriſtian religion inferred thence. The power conveyed to the Apoſtles, equally given to all. Peter's ſuperiority over the reſt diſproved both from ſcripture and antiquity. The Apoſtles, how qualified for their miſſion. Immediately taught the doctrine they delivered. Infallibly ſecured from error in delivering it. Their conſtant and familiar converſe with their maſter. Furniſhed with the power of working miracles. The great evidence of it to prove a divine doctrine. Miraculous powers conferred upon the Apoſtles particularly conſidered. Prophecy, what, and when it ceaſed. The gift of diſcerning ſpirits. The gift of tongues. The gift of interpretation. The unreaſonable practice of the church of Rome, in keeping the ſcripture and divine worſhip in an unknown tongue. The gift of healing, greatly advantageous to Chriſtianity; how long it laſted. Power of immediately inflicting corporal puniſhments; and the great benefit of it in thoſe times. The Apoſtles enabled to confer miraculous powers upon others. The duration of the Apoſtolical office. What in it extraordinary, what ordinary. Biſhops, in what ſenſe ſtiled Apoſtles.*

1. JESUS CHRIST, the great *Apoſtle and high prieſt of our profeſſion*, being appointed by God to be the ſupreme ruler and governor of his church, was, like Moſes, *faithful in all his houſe:* but with this honourable advantage, that Moſes was faithful *as a ſervant*, Chriſt *as a ſon* over his own houſe; which he erected, eſtabliſhed, and governed with all poſſible care and diligence. Nor could he give a greater inſtance either of his fidelity towards God, or his love and kindneſs to the ſouls of men, than that after he had purchaſed a family to himſelf, and could now no longer upon earth manage its intereſts in his own perſon, he would not return back to heaven, till he had conſtituted ſeveral orders and officers in his church, who might ſuperintend and conduct its affairs; and according to the various circumſtances of its ſtate, adminiſter to the needs and exigencies of his family. Accordingly therefore [w] *he gave ſome apoſtles, and ſome prophets, and ſome evangeliſts, and ſome paſtors and teachers, for the perfecting of the ſaints, for the work of the miniſtry, for the edifying of the body of Chriſt; till we all come into the unity of the faith, and of the knowledge of the Son of God, unto a perfect man, unto the meaſure of the ſtature of the fulneſs of Chriſt.* The firſt and prime claſs of officers is that of Apoſtles: *God hath ſet ſome in the church, firſt apoſtles, ſecondarily prophets,* &c. *Firſt Apoſtles*, as far in office as honour before the reſt, their election more immediate,

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[w] Eph. iv. 11, 12, 13.

Clark & Pine Scu.

And there appear'd unto them Cloven Tongues, *like as of* Fire, *and it ſat upon each of them. And they were all filled with the* Holy Ghoſt *and began to ſpeak with other* Tongues, *as the Spirit gave them utterance.* Acts Cap. 2. v. 3. 4.

BRITISH
5 AU 70
MUSEUM

diate, their commiſſion more large and comprehenſive, the powers and privileges wherewith they were furniſhed, greater and more honourable: Prophecy, the gift of miracles, and expelling dæmons, the order of paſtors and teachers, were all ſpiritual powers, and enſigns of great authority; ἀλλὰ τούτων ἁπάντων μείζων ἐςὶν ἀρχὴ ἡ ἀποστολικὴ, ſays [x] Chryſoſtom, "But the Apoſtolick eminency is far greater than all theſe;" which therefore he calls a *ſpiritual conſulſhip*: an Apoſtle having as great preeminence above all other officers in the church, as the Conſul had above all other magiſtrates in Rome. Theſe Apoſtles were a few ſelect perſons whom our Lord choſe out of the reſt, to devolve part of the government upon their ſhoulders, and to depute for the firſt planting and ſettling Chriſtianity in the world: [y] *He choſe twelve, whom he named Apoſtles*; of whoſe Lives and Acts being to give an hiſtorical account in the following work, it may not poſſibly be unuſeful to premiſe ſome general remarks concerning them, not reſpecting this or that particular perſon, but of a general relation to the whole: wherein we ſhall eſpecially take notice of the importance of the word, the nature of the employment, the fitneſs and qualification of the perſons, and the duration and continuance of the office.

2. THE word Ἀπόστολος, or *ſent*, is among ancient writers applied either to things, actions, or perſons. To things; thus thoſe dimiſſory letters that were granted to ſuch who appealed from an inferior to a ſuperior judicature, were in the language of the [z] Roman laws uſually called *apoſtoli*: Thus a packet-boat was ſtiled ἀπόστολον πλοῖον, becauſe ſent up and down for advice, and diſpatch of buſineſs: Thus, though in ſomewhat a different ſenſe, the leſſon taken out of the Epiſtles is in the ancient Greek [a] liturgies called ἀπόστολος; becauſe uſually taken out of the Apoſtles writings. Sometimes it is applied to actions, and ſo imports no more than miſſion, or the very act of ſending: Thus the ſetting out a fleet, or a naval expedition, was wont to be called ἀπόστολος; ſo [b] Suidas tells us, that as the perſons deſigned for the care and management of the fleet were called ἀποστολεῖς, ſo the very ſending forth of the ſhips themſelves αἱ τῶν νεῶν ἐκπομπαὶ, were ſtiled ἀπόστολοι. Laſtly, what principally falls under our preſent conſideration, it is applied to perſons; and ſo imports no more than a meſſenger, a perſon ſent upon ſome ſpecial errand, for the diſcharge of ſome peculiar affair in his name that ſent him. Thus Epaphroditus is called the Apoſtle or meſſenger of the Philippians, [c] when ſent by them to St. Paul at Rome: thus Titus and his companions are ſtiled ἀπόστολοι, "the meſſengers of the churches." So our Lord; *He that is ſent*, ἀπόστολος, an Apoſtle or meſſenger, *is not greater than he that ſent him*. This then being the common notion of the word, our Lord fixes it to a particular uſe, applying it to thoſe ſelect perſons, whom he had made choice of to act by that peculiar authority and commiſſion, which he had derived upon them. *Twelve, whom he alſo named Apoſtles*; that is, commiſſioners, thoſe who were to be embaſſadors for Chriſt, to be ſent up and down the world in his name, to plant the faith; to govern and ſuperintend the church at preſent; and by their wiſe and prudent ſettlement of affairs, to provide for the future exigencies of the church.

3. THE next thing then to be conſidered is the nature of their office: and under this inquiry we ſhall make theſe following remarks. Firſt, it is not to be doubted but that our Lord in founding this office had ſome reſpect to the ſtate of things in the Jewiſh church; I mean not only in general, that there ſhould be ſuperior and ſubordinate officers, as there were ſuperior and inferior orders under the Moſaick diſpenſation; but that herein he had an eye to ſome uſage and cuſtom common among them. Now among the Jews, as all meſſengers were called שלוחים, or Apoſtles; [d] ſo were they wont to diſpatch ſome with peculiar letters of authority and commiſſion, whereby they acted as proxies and deputies of thoſe that ſent them: thence their proverb, שלוחו של אדם כמותו "Every man's Apoſtle is as himſelf;" that is, whatever he does is looked upon to be as firm and valid as if the perſon himſelf had done it. Thus when Saul was ſent by the Sanhedrim to Damaſcus to apprehend the Jewiſh converts, he was furniſhed with letters from the high prieſt, enabling him to act as his commiſſary in that matter. Indeed [e] Epiphanius tells us of a ſort of perſons called Apoſtles, who were aſſeſſors and counſellors to the Jewiſh patriarch; conſtantly attending upon him, to adviſe him in matters pertaining to the

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[x] Serm. de util. lection. ſac. ſcrip. Tom. viii. edit. Savil. p. 114.

[y] Luke vi. 13.

[z] L. unic. ff. lib. 49. tit. 6. Vid. L. 106. tit. 16. lib. 50. & Paul. J. C. Sentent. lib. 9. tit. 39.

[a] Vid. Chryſoſt. Liturg. in Ritual. Græc. p. 68.

[b] Suidas in voc. ἀποςολαί. ex Demoſth. vid. Harpocr. Lex. in Dec. Rhet.

[c] Phil. ii. 25. 2 Cor. viii. 23. John xiii. 16.

[d] Ἀποςόλους δὲ εἰσέτι καὶ νῦν ἔθος ἐςὶ Ἰουδαίοις ὀνομάζειν, τοὺς ἐγκύκλια γράμματα παρὰ τῶν ἀρχόντων αὐτῶν ἀνακομιζομένους. Euſeb. in Caten. M. S. apud Heinſ. exercit. in Luc. vi.

[e] Hæreſ. 30. p. 60.

law; and ſent by him (as he [f] intimates) ſometimes to inſpect and reform the manners of the prieſts and Jewiſh clergy, and the irregularities of country ſynagogues, with commiſſion to gather the tenths and firſt-fruits due in all the provinces under his juriſdiction. Such Apoſtles we find mentioned both by [g] Julian the emperor in an epiſtle to the Jews, and in a law of the emperor [h] Honorius, employed by the patriarch to gather once a year the *Aurum coronarium*, or crown gold, a tribute annually paid by them to the Roman emperors. But theſe Apoſtles could not under that notion be extant in our Saviour's time; though ſure we are there was then ſomething like it. Philo [i] the Jew more than once mentioning the ἱεροπομποὶ καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν χρυσὸν ϗ ἄργυρον πλεῖστον κομίζοντες εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν, τὸν ἀθροισθέντα ἐκ τῶν ἀπαρχῶν, "The ſacred meſſengers annually ſent to collect the holy treaſure paid by way of firſt-fruits, and to carry it to the temple at Jeruſalem." However, our Lord in conformity to the general cuſtom of thoſe times, of appointing Apoſtles or meſſengers, as their proxies and deputies to act in their names, called and denominated thoſe Apoſtles, whom he peculiarly choſe to repreſent his perſon, to communicate his mind and will to the world, and to act as embaſſadors or commiſſioners in his room and ſtead.

4. Secondly, WE obſerve that the perſons thus deputed by our Saviour were not left uncertain, but reduced to a fixed definite number, confined to the juſt number of twelve; [k] *He ordained twelve that they ſhould be with him.* A number that ſeems to carry ſomething of myſtery and peculiar deſign in it, as appears in that the Apoſtles were ſo careful upon the fall of Judas immediately to ſupply it. The fathers are very wide and different in their conjectures about the reaſon of it. St. [l] Auguſtine thinks our Lord herein had reſpect to the four quarters of the world, which were to be called by the preaching of the goſpel, which being multiplied by three (to denote the Trinity, in whoſe name they were to be called) make twelve. [m] Tertullian will have them typified by the twelve fountains in Elim; the Apoſtles being ſent out to water and refreſh the dry thirſty world with the knowledge of the truth: by the twelve precious ſtones in Aaron's breaſtplate, to illuminate the church, the garment which Chriſt our great high prieſt has put on: by the twelve ſtones which Joſhua choſe out of Jordan to lay up within the ark of the teſtament, reſpecting the firmneſs and ſolidity of the Apoſtles faith, their being choſen by the true Jeſus or Joſhua at their baptiſm in Jordan, and their being admitted into the inner ſanctuary of his covenant. By others we are told, that it was ſhadowed out by the twelve ſpies taken out of every tribe, and ſent to diſcover the land of promiſe: or by the twelve gates of the city in Ezekiel's viſion; or by the twelve bells appendent to Aaron's garment, [n] *their ſound going out into all the world, and their words unto the ends of the earth.* But it were endleſs, and to very little purpoſe, to reckon up all the conjectures of this nature, there being ſcarce any one number of twelve mentioned in the ſcripture, which is not by ſome of the ancients adapted and applied to this of the twelve Apoſtles, wherein an ordinary fancy might eaſily enough pick out a myſtery. That which ſeems to put in the moſt rational plea is, that our Lord, being now about to form a new ſpiritual commonwealth, a kind of myſtical Iſrael, pitched upon this number, in conformity either to the twelve patriarchs, as founders of the twelve tribes of Iſrael, or to the twelve φυλάρχαι, or chief heads, as ſtanding rulers of thoſe tribes among the Jews; as we ſhall afterwards poſſibly more particularly [o] remark. Thirdly, theſe Apoſtles were immediately called and ſent by Chriſt himſelf, elected out of the body of his diſciples and followers, and received their commiſſion from his own mouth. Indeed Matthias was not one of the firſt election, being taken in upon Judas his apoſtaſy, after our Lord's aſcenſion into heaven. But beſides that he had been one of the ſeventy diſciples, called and ſent out by our Saviour, that extraordinary declaration of the divine will and pleaſure that appeared in determining his election, was in a manner equivalent to the firſt election. As for St. Paul, he was not one of the twelve, taken in as a ſupernumerary Apoſtle; but yet an Apoſtle as well as they, and that [p] *not of men, neither by man, but by Jeſus Chriſt*; as he pleads his own cauſe againſt the inſinuations of thoſe impoſtors who traduced him, as an Apoſtle only at the ſecond hand; whereas he was immediately called by Chriſt as well as they, and in a more extraordinary manner: they were called

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[f] Hæreſ. 30. p. 63. [g] Epiſt. 25. p. 153.

[h] L. 14. C. Th. de Judæis lib. 16. tit. 8.

[i] Lib. de legat. ad Caium, pag. 1023. vid. p. 1035. E.

[k] Mark iii. 15.

[l] Serm. 3. in Pſalm. 103. Col. 1192. Tom. 8. vid. in Pſalm. 59. Col. 603.

[m] Adv. Marcion. lib. 4. c. 13. p. 425.

[n] Juſt. Mart. dial. cum Tryphon. p. 260.

[o] See St. Peter's Life, ſect. 3. num. 2.

[p] Gal. i. 1.

ed by him while he was yet in his ſtate of meanneſs and humiliation; he, when Chriſt was now advanced upon the throne, and appeared to him encircled with thoſe glorious emanations of brightneſs and majeſty, which he was not able to endure. I obſerve no more concerning this, than that an immediate call has ever been accounted ſo neceſſary to give credit and reputation to their doctrine, that the moſt notorious impoſtors have pretended to it. Thus [q] Manes, the founder of the Manichæan ſect, was wont in his Epiſtles to ſtile himſelf *the Apoſtle of Jeſus Chriſt*; as pretending himſelf to be the perſon whom our Lord had promiſed to ſend into the world, and that accordingly the holy Ghoſt was actually ſent in him; and therefore he conſtituted twelve diſciples always to attend his perſon, in imitation of the number of the Apoſtolick college. And how often the Turkiſh impoſtor does upon this account call himſelf the *Apoſtle of God*, every one that has but once ſeen the Alcoran, is able to tell.

5. Fourthly, THE main work and employment of theſe Apoſtles was to preach the goſpel, to eſtabliſh Chriſtianity, and to govern the church that was to be founded, as Chriſt's immediate deputies and vicegerents: They were to inſtruct men in the doctrines of the goſpel, to diſciple the world, and to baptize and initiate men into the faith of Chriſt; and to conſtitute and ordain guides and miniſters of religion, perſons peculiarly ſet apart for holy miniſtrations, to cenſure and puniſh obſtinate and contumacious offenders, to compoſe and overrule diſorders and diviſions, to command or countermand as occaſion was, being veſted with an extraordinary authority and power of diſpoſing things for the edification of the church. This office the Apoſtles never exerciſed in its full extent and latitude during Chriſt's reſidence upon earth; for though upon their election he ſent them forth to preach and to baptize, yet this was only a narrow and temporary employment, and they quickly returned to their private ſtations, the main power being ſtill executed and adminiſtred by Chriſt himſelf, the complete exerciſe whereof was not actually devolved upon them, till he was ready to leave the world: for then it was that he told them, [r] *As my Father hath ſent me, even ſo ſend I you; receive ye the holy Ghoſt; whoſeſoever ſins ye remit, they are remitted; and whoſeſoever ſins ye retain, they are retained.* Whereby he conferred in ſome proportion the ſame authority upon them, which he himſelf had derived from his Father. Fifthly, this commiſſion given to the Apoſtles was unlimited and univerſal, not only in reſpect of power, as enabling them to diſcharge all acts of religion relating either to miniſtry or government; [s] but in reſpect of place, not confining them to this or that particular province, but leaving them the whole world as their dioceſe to preach in, they being *deſtinati nationibus magiſtri*, in Tertullian's [t] phraſe, deſigned to be the maſters and inſtructers of all nations: ſo runs their commiſſion, [v] *Go ye into all the world, and preach the goſpel to every creature*; that is, to all men, the πάσῃ κτίσει of the Evangeliſt anſwering to the לכלהבריאה amongſt the Jews, *to all creatures*; whereby they uſed to denote all men in general, but eſpecially the Gentiles in oppoſition to the Jews. Indeed while our Saviour lived, the Apoſtolical miniſtry extended no farther than Judea; but he being gone to heaven, the *partition wall was broken down*, and their way was open into all places and countries. And herein how admirably did the Chriſtian oeconomy tranſcend the Jewiſh diſpenſation! The preaching of the prophets, like the [w] light that comes in at the window, was confined only to the houſe of Iſrael, while the doctrine of the goſpel preached by the Apoſtles was like the light of the ſun in the firmament, that diffuſed its beams, and propagated its heat and influence into all quarters of the world; *their ſound going out into all the earth, and their words unto the ends of the world.* It is true, for the more prudent and orderly management of things, they are generally ſaid by the ancients to have divided the world into ſo many quarters and portions, to which they were ſeverally to betake themſelves; Peter to Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, *&c.* St. John to Aſia, St. Andrew to Scythia, *&c.* But they did not ſtrictly tie themſelves to thoſe particular provinces that were aſſigned them, but as occaſion was, made excurſions into other parts; though for the main they had a more peculiar inſpection over thoſe parts that were allotted to them; uſually re-

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[q] Aug. de Hæreſ. c. 46. col. 23.

[r] John xx. 21, 22, 23.

[s] Ἄρχοντές εἰσιν ὑπὸ Θεοῦ χειροτονηθέντες οἱ Ἀπόστολοι· ἄρχοντες, οὐκ ἔθνη καὶ πόλεις διαφόρους λαμβάνοντες, ἀλλὰ πάντες κοινῇ τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐμπιστευθέντες. Chryſoſt. Serm. περὶ τοῦ, ὅτι χρήσιμος ἡ τῶν γραφῶν ἀνάγνωσις. P. 115. Tom. 8. edit. Savil.

[t] De præſcript. Hæret. c. 20. p. 208.

[v] Mark xvi. 15.

[w] Ὥσπερ δέ ἐστι φῶς διὰ θυρίδος εἰσερχόμενον, ὁ δὲ ἥλιος ὅλῃ τῇ οἰκουμένῃ τὰς ἀκτῖνας ἐπαφίησιν· οὕτως ἦσαν οἱ προφῆται τοῦ ἰδίου οἴκου μόνου φωστῆρες τοῦ Ἰσραήλ· οἱ δὲ Ἀπόστολοι ἥλιοι ἦσαν ἐκλάμποντες τὰς ἀκτῖνας εἰς ὅλα τὰ μέρη τοῦ κόσμου. Macar. Homil. 14. p. 171.

ſiding at ſome principal city of the province, as St. John at Epheſus, St. Philip at Hierapolis, *&c.* whence they might have a more convenient proſpect of affairs round about them; and hence it was that theſe places more peculiarly got the title of Apoſtolical churches, becauſe firſt planted, or eminently watered and cultivated by ſome Apoſtles, *Matrices & originales fidei*, as [x] Tertullian calls them; "Mother churches, and the originals of the faith:" becauſe here the Chriſtian doctrine was firſt ſown, and hence planted and propagated to the countries round about; [y] *Eccleſias apud unamquamque civitatem condiderunt, à quibus traducem fidei & ſemina doctrinæ, cæteræ exinde eccleſiæ mutuatæ ſunt*, as his own words are.

6. In purſuance of this general commiſſion we find the Apoſtles not long after our Lord's aſcenſion traverſing almoſt all parts of the then known world; St. Andrew in Scythia, and thoſe northern countries; St. Thomas and Bartholomew in India; St. Simon and St. Mark in Africk, Egypt, and the parts of Libya and Mauritania; St. Paul, and probably Peter and ſome others, in the fartheſt regions of the weſt: And all this done in the ſpace of leſs than forty years, *viz.* before the deſtruction of the Jewiſh ſtate by Titus and the Roman army. For ſo our Lord had expreſly foretold, that [z] *the goſpel of the kingdom ſhould be preached in all the world for a witneſs unto all nations, before the end came*; that is, the end of the Jewiſh ſtate, which the Apoſtles a little before had called [a] *the end of the world*, συντέλεια τοῦ αἰῶνος, the ſhutting up or conſummation of the age, the putting a final period to that preſent ſtate and diſpenſation that the Jews were under. And indeed ſtrange it is to conſider, that in ſo few years theſe evangelical meſſengers ſhould overrun all countries; with what an incredible ſwiftneſs did the Chriſtian faith, like lightning, pierce from eaſt to weſt, and diffuſe itſelf over all quarters of the world; and that not only unaſſiſted by any ſecular advantages, but in defiance of the moſt fierce and potent oppoſition, which every where ſet itſelf againſt it? It is true, the impoſtors of Muhammed in a very little time gained a great part of the eaſt: but beſides that this was not comparable to the univerſal ſpreading of Chriſtianity, his doctrine was calculated on purpoſe to gratify mens luſts, and eſpecially to comply with the looſe and wanton manners of the eaſt; and, which is above all, had the ſword to hew out its way before it: And we know how ready, even without force, in all changes and revolutions of the world, the conquered have been to follow the religion of the conquerors. Whereas the Apoſtles had no viſible advantages, nay, had all the enraged powers of the world to contend againſt them. And yet in deſpite of all went on in triumph, and quickly made their way into thoſe places, where for ſo many ages no other conqueſt ever came: "Thoſe parts of Britain (as [b] Tertullian obſerves) which "were unconquerable and unapproachable by the power of the Roman armies, ſub-"mitting their necks to the yoke of Chriſt." A mighty evidence (as he there argues) of Chriſt's divinity, and that he was the true Meſſiah. And indeed no reaſonable account can be given of the ſtrange and ſucceſsful progreſs of the Chriſtian religion in thoſe firſt ages of it, but that it was the birth of heaven, and had a divine and inviſible power going along with it to ſucceed and proſper it. St. [c] Chryſoſtom diſcourſes this argument at large, ſome of whoſe elegant reaſonings I ſhall here tranſcribe. He tells the Gentile (with whom he was diſputing) that he would not prove Chriſt's Deity by a demonſtration from heaven, by his creation of the world, his great and ſtupendous miracles, his raiſing the dead, curing the blind, expelling devils, nor from the mighty promiſes of a future ſtate, and the reſurrection of the dead (which an infidel might eaſily not only queſtion but deny) but from what was ſufficiently evident and obvious to the meaneſt idiot, his planting and propagating Chriſtianity in the world. For it is not *(ſays he)* in the power of a mere man, in ſo ſhort a time to encircle the world, to compaſs ſea and land, and in matters of ſo great importance to reſcue mankind from the ſlavery of abſurd and unreaſonable cuſtoms, and the powerful tyranny of evil habits: and theſe not Romans only, but Perſians, and the moſt barbarous nations of the world. A reformation which he wrought not by force and the power of the ſword, nor by pouring into the world numerous legions and armies: but by a few inconſiderable men (no more at firſt than eleven) a company of obſcure and mean, ſimple and illiterate, poor and helpleſs, naked and unarmed perſons, who had ſcarce a ſhoe to tread on, or a coat to cover them. And yet by theſe he perſuaded ſo great a part of mankind to be able freely to reaſon, not only of things of the preſent, but of a future ſtate; to renounce the

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[x] De præſcript. Hæret. c. 21. p. 209.

[y] Ibid. c. 20. p. 208.

[z] Matt. xxiv. 14.

[a] Verſe 3.

[b] Adv. Jud. c. 7. p. 189.

[c] Lib. quod Chr. ſit Deus, c. 1. tom. 5. 726.

laws of their country, and throw off thoſe ancient and inveterate cuſtoms which had taken root for ſo many ages, and planted others in their room; and reduced men from thoſe eaſy ways, whereinto they were hurried, into the more rugged and difficult paths of virtue. All which he did, while he had to contend with oppoſite powers, and when he himſelf had undergone the moſt ignominious death, *even the death of the croſs.* Afterwards he addreſſes himſelf to the Jew, and diſcourſes with him much after the ſame rate. Conſider (*ſays*[d] *he*) and bethink thy ſelf, what it is in ſo ſhort a time to fill the whole world with ſo many famous churches, to convert ſo many nations to the faith, to prevail with men to forſake the religion of their country, to root up their rites and cuſtoms, to ſhake off the empire of luſt and pleaſure, and the laws of vice, like duſt; to aboliſh and abominate their temples and their altars, their idols and their ſacrifices, their profane and impious feſtivals, as dirt and dung; and inſtead hereof to ſet up Chriſtian altars in all places, among the Romans, Perſians, Scythians, Moors and Indians; and not there only, but in the countries beyond this world of ours. For even the Britiſh iſlands that lie beyond the ocean, and thoſe that are in it, have felt the power of the Chriſtian faith; churches and altars being erected there to the ſervice of Chriſt. A matter truly great and admirable, and which would clearly have demonſtrated a divine and ſupereminent power, although there had been no oppoſition in the caſe, but that all things had run on calmly and ſmoothly: to think that in ſo few years the Chriſtian faith ſhould be able to reclaim the whole world from its vicious cuſtoms, and to win them over to other manners, more laborious and difficult, repugnant both to their native inclinations, and to the laws and principles of their education, and ſuch as obliged them to a more ſtrict and accurate courſe of life; and theſe perſons not one or two, not twenty or an hundred, but in a manner all mankind: and this brought about by no other inſtruments than a few rude and unlearned, private and unknown tradeſmen, who had neither eſtate nor reputation, learning nor eloquence, kindred nor country to recommend them to the world; a few fiſhermen and tentmakers, and whom, diſtinguiſhed by their language as well as their religion, the reſt of the world ſcorned as barbarous. And yet theſe were the men by whom our Lord built up his church, and extended it from one end of the world unto the other. Other conſiderations there are with which the father does urge and illuſtrate this argument, which I forbear to inſiſt on in this place.

7. Sixthly, THE power and authority conveyed by this commiſſion to the Apoſtles, was equally conferred upon all of them. They were all choſen at the ſame time, all equally impowred to preach and baptize, all equally intruſted with the power of binding and looſing, all inveſted with the ſame miſſion, and equally furniſhed with the ſame gifts and powers of the holy Ghoſt. Indeed the advocates of the church of Rome do with a mighty zeal and fierceneſs contend for St. Peter's being head and prince of the Apoſtles, advanced by Chriſt to a ſupremacy and prerogative not only above, but over the reſt of the Apoſtles; and not without reaſon, the fortunes of that church being concerned in the ſupremacy of St. Peter. No wonder therefore they ranſack all corners, preſs and force in whatever may but ſeem to give countenance to it. Witneſs thoſe thin and miſerable ſhifts, which Bellarmine calls arguments, to prove and make it good; ſo utterly devoid of all rational conviction, ſo unable to juſtify themſelves to ſober and conſidering men, that a man would think they had been contrived for no other purpoſe than to cheat fools, and make wiſe men laugh. And the truth is, nothing with me more ſhakes the reputation of the wiſdom of that learned man, than his making uſe of ſuch weak and trifling arguments in ſo important and concerning an article, ſo vital and eſſential to the conſtitution of that church. As when he argues Peter's[e] ſuperiority from the mere changing of his name, (for what is this to ſupremacy? beſides that it was not done to him alone, the ſame being done to James and John) from his being firſt reckoned up in the catalogue of Apoſtles, his walking with Chriſt upon the water, his paying tribute for his maſter and himſelf, his being commanded to let down the net, and Chriſt's teaching in Peter's ſhip, (and this ſhip muſt denote the church, and Peter's being owner of it, entitle him to be ſupreme ruler and governor of the church; ſo Bellarmine in terms as plain as he could well expreſs it) from Chriſt's firſt waſhing Peter's feet (though the ſtory recorded by the evangeliſt ſays no ſuch thing) and his foretelling only his death: all which, and many more prerogatives of St. Peter, to the number of no leſs than twenty eight, are ſummoned in to give evidence in this cauſe; and

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[d] Lib. quod Chr. ſit Deus, c. 11. tom. 5. p. 746.

[e] De Rom. Pontif. lib. 1. c. 17, 18, & ſeqq.

many of theſe too drawn out of apocryphal and ſuppoſititious authors, and not only uncertain, but abſurd and fabulous; and yet upon ſuch arguments as theſe do they found his paramount authority. A plain evidence of a deſperate and ſinking cauſe, when ſuch twigs muſt be laid hold on to ſupport and keep it above water. Had they ſuffered Peter to be content with a primacy of order (which his age and gravity ſeemed to challenge for him) no wiſe and peaceable man would have denied it, as being a thing ordinarily practiſed among equals, and neceſſary to the well governing a ſociety: but when nothing but a primacy of power will ſerve the turn, as if the reſt of the Apoſtles had been inferior to him, this may by no means be granted, as being expreſly contrary to the poſitive determination of our Saviour, when the Apoſtles were contending about this very thing, *which of them ſhould be accounted the greateſt*; [f] he thus quickly decides the caſe: *The kings of the Gentiles exerciſe lordſhip over them, and they that are great, exerciſe authority upon them. But ye ſhall not be ſo: but whoſoever will be great among you, let him be your miniſter; and whoſoever will be chief among you, let him be your ſervant* [g]. Than which nothing could have been more peremptorily ſpoken, to rebuke this naughty ſpirit of preeminence. Nor do we ever find St. Peter himſelf laying claim to any ſuch power, or the Apoſtles giving him the leaſt ſhadow of it. In the whole courſe of his affairs, there are no intimations of this matter; in his Epiſtle he ſtiles himſelf but their *fellow presbyter*, and expreſly forbids the governors of the church to *lord it over God's heritage*. When diſpatched by the reſt of the Apoſtles upon a meſſage to Samaria, he never diſputes their authority to do it; when accuſed by them for going in unto the Gentiles, does he ſtand upon his prerogative? no, but ſubmiſſively apologizes for himſelf: nay, when ſmartly reproved by St. Paul at Antioch (when, if ever, his credit lay at ſtake) do we find him excepting againſt it as an affront to his ſupremacy, and a ſawcy controlling his ſuperior? Surely the quite contrary: he quietly ſubmitted to the reproof, as one that was ſenſible how juſtly he had deſerved it. Nor can it be ſuppoſed but that St. Paul would have carried it towards him with a greater reverence, had any ſuch peculiar ſovereignty been then known to the world. How confidently does St. Paul aſſert himſelf to be no whit *inferior to the chiefeſt Apoſtles*, not to Peter himſelf? *the goſpel of the uncircumciſion being committed to him, as that of the circumciſion was to Peter.* Is Peter oft named firſt among the Apoſtles? elſewhere others, ſometimes James, ſometimes Paul and Apollos, are placed before him. Did Chriſt honour him with ſome ſingular commendations? an honourable elogium conveys no ſupereminent power and ſovereignty. Was he dear to Chriſt? We know another, that was the *beloved diſciple*. So little warrant is there to exalt one above the reſt, where Chriſt made all alike. [h] If from ſcripture we deſcend to the ancient writers of the church, we ſhall find that though the fathers beſtow very great and honourable titles upon Peter; yet they give the ſame, or what are equivalent, to others of the Apoſtles. [i] Heſychius ſtiles St. James the great, "the brother of our Lord, the commander of the new Jeruſalem, the prince of prieſts, the exarch (or chief) of the Apoſtles; ἐν κεφαλαῖς κορυφὴ, the top (or crown) amongſt the heads, the great light amongſt the lamps, the moſt illuſtrious and reſplendent amongſt the ſtars: It was Peter that preached, but it was James that made the determination, *&c.*" Of St. Andrew he gives this encomium, [k] that "he was the ſacerdotal trumpet, the firſt-born of the Apoſtolical choir, πρωτοπαγὴς τῆς ἐκκλησίας ςύλος, the prime and firm pillar of the church, Peter before Peter, the foundation of the foundation, the firſt fruits of the beginning." Peter and John are ſaid to be "ἰσότιμοι ἀλλήλοις, equally honourable," by St. Cyril [l] with his whole ſynod of Alexandria. "St. John (ſays [m] Chryſoſtom) was Chriſt's beloved, the pillar of all the churches in the world, who had the keys of heaven, drank of the Lord's cup, was waſhed with his baptiſm, and with confidence lay in his boſom." And of St. Paul [n] he tells us, that "he was the moſt excellent of all men, the teacher of the world, the bridegroom of Chriſt, the planter of the church, the wiſe maſter-builder, greater than the Apoſtles;" and much more to the ſame purpoſe. Elſewhere he ſays, [o] that "the care of the whole world was committed to him; that nothing could be more noble or illuſtrious: yea, that (his miracles conſidered)

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[f] Matt. xx. 25, 26, 27. [g] Luke xxii. 24, 25, 26.

[h] Hoc erant utique & cæteri Apoſtoli, quod fuit Petrus, pari conſortio præditi & honoris & poteſtatis. Cyprian. de Unitat. Eccleſ. p. 180.

[i] Orat. in S. Jac. apud Phot. cod. cclxxv. col. 1525.

[k] Encom. S. Thom. Ibid. cod. cclxix. col. 1488.

[l] In Conc. Epheſ. Concil. tom. 2. p. 209.

[m] Prolog. in Joan. p. 2.

[n] De Pet. fil. Zeb. p. 378. tom. 1.

[o] In illud, Sal. Aquil. & Priſc. p. 218. tom. 5.

“ he was more excellent than kings themſelves.” And a little after [p] he calls him “ the tongue of the earth, the light of the churches, τὸ θεμέλιον τῆς πίστεως, τὸ στύλον καὶ ἑδραί- “ ωμα τῆς ἀληθείας, the foundation of the faith, the pillar and ground of truth.” And in a diſcourſe on purpoſe, wherein he compares Peter and Paul together, he makes them of equal eſteem and virtue; [q] “ τί Πέτρου μεῖζον; τί δὲ Παύλου ἴσον; What greater than “ Peter? What equal to Paul? a bleſſed pair! ἡ πιστευθεῖσα ὅλου τοῦ κόσμου τὰς ψυχὰς, who “ had the ſouls of the whole world committed to their charge.” But inſtances of this nature were endleſs and infinite. If the fathers at any time ſtile Peter prince of the Apoſtles, they mean no more by it than the beſt and pureſt Latin writers mean by *princeps*, the firſt or chief perſon of the number, more conſiderable than the reſt, either for his age or zeal. Thus [r] Euſebius tells us, “ Peter was τῶν λοιπῶν ἀποστόλων “ προήγορος, the prolocutor of all the reſt, ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα, for the greatneſs and generoſity “ of his mind:” that is, in [s] Chryſoſtom's language, he was “ the mouth and chief “ of the Apoſtles, ὁ πανταχοῦ θερμὸς, becauſe eager and forward at every turn, and ready “ to anſwer thoſe queſtions which were put to others.” In ſhort, as he had no prerogative above the reſt, beſides his being the chairman and preſident of the aſſembly; ſo was it granted to him upon no other conſiderations, than thoſe of his age, zeal and gravity, for which he was more eminent than the reſt.

8. We proceed next to enquire into the fitneſs and qualification of the perſons commiſſionated for this employment; and we ſhall find them admirably qualified to diſcharge it, if we conſider this following account. Firſt, They immediately received the doctrine of the goſpel from the mouth of Chriſt himſelf; he intended them for *Legati à latere*, his peculiar embaſſadors to the world, and therefore furniſhed them with inſtructions from his own mouth; and in order hereunto he trained them up for ſome years under his own diſcipline and inſtitution; he made them to underſtand the *myſteries of the kingdom of heaven, when to others it was not given*; treated them with the affection of a Father, and the freedom and familiarity of a friend. *Henceforth* [t] *I call you not ſervants, for the ſervant knoweth not what his Lord doth; but I have called you friends: for all things that I have heard of my Father, I have made known unto you.* They heard all his ſermons, were privy both to his publick and private diſcourſes; what he preached abroad, he expounded to them at home: He gradually inſtructed them in the knowledge of divine things, and imparted to them the notions and myſteries of the goſpel, not all at once, but as they were able to bear them. By which means they were ſufficiently capable of giving a ſatisfactory account of that doctrine to others, which had been ſo immediately, ſo frequently communicated to themſelves. Secondly, They were infallibly ſecured from error in delivering the doctrines and principles of Chriſtianity: for though they were not abſolutely privileged from failures and miſcarriages in their lives, (theſe being of more perſonal and private conſideration) yet were they infallible in their doctrine, this being a matter whereupon the ſalvation and eternal intereſts of men did depend. And for this end they had the [v] *ſpirit of truth* promiſed to them, who ſhould *guide them into all truth.* Under the conduct of this unerring guide they all ſteered the ſame courſe, and taught and ſpake the ſame things, though at different times, and in diſtant places: and for what was conſigned to writing, *all ſcripture was given by inſpiration of God, and the holy men ſpake not, but as they were moved by the holy Ghoſt.* Hence that exact and admirable harmony that is in all their writings and relations, as being all equally dictated by the ſame Spirit of truth. Thirdly, They had been eye-witneſſes of all the material paſſages of our Saviour's life, continually converſant with him from the commencing of his publick miniſtry, till his aſcenſion into heaven: they had ſurveyed all his actions, ſeen all his miracles, obſerved the whole method of his converſation, and ſome of them attended him in his moſt private ſolitudes and retirements. And this could not but be a very rational ſatisfaction to the minds of men, when the publiſhers of the goſpel ſolemnly declared to the world, that they reported nothing concerning our Saviour, but what they had ſeen with their own eyes, and of the truth whereof they were as competent judges, as the acuteſt philoſopher in the world. Nor could there be any juſt reaſon to ſuſpect that they impoſed upon men in what they delivered; for beſides their naked plainneſs and ſimplicity in all other paſſages of their lives, they chearfully ſubmitted to the moſt exquiſite hardſhips, tortures and ſufferings, merely to atteſt the truth of what they publiſhed to the world. Next to the evidence of our own ſenſes, no teſtimony

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[p] In illud, Sal. Aquil. & Priſc. tom. 5. p. 221.
[q] Serm. in Petr. & Paul. p. 261. tom. 6.
[r] Hiſt. Eccl. l. 2. c. 14. p. 52.
[s] In Matt. c. 16. p. 483.
[t] John xv. 15.
[v] Ibid. xvi. 13.

is more valid and forcible, than his who relates what himſelf has ſeen. Upon this account our Lord told his Apoſtles, [w] *that they ſhould be witneſſes to him both in Judea and Samaria, and to the uttermoſt parts of the earth.* And ſo neceſſary a qualification of an Apoſtle was this thought to be, that it was almoſt the only condition propounded in the choice of a new Apoſtle, after the fall of Judas: [x] *Wherefore* (ſays Peter) *of theſe men which have companied with us all the time that the Lord Jeſus went in and out among us, beginning from the baptiſm of John, unto the ſame day that he was taken up from us, muſt one be ordained to be a witneſs with us of his reſurrection.* Accordingly we find the Apoſtles conſtantly making uſe of this argument as the moſt rational evidence to convince thoſe whom they had to deal with. [y] *We are witneſſes of all things which Jeſus did both in the land of the Jews, and in Jeruſalem, whom they ſlew and hanged on a tree: him God raiſed up the third day, and ſhewed him openly, not to all the people, but unto witneſſes choſen before of God, even to us, who did eat and drink with him after he roſe from the dead; and he commanded us to preach unto the people, and to teſtify that it is he that is ordained of God to be judge of the quick and dead.* Thus St. John [z] after the ſame way of arguing appeals to ſenſible demonſtration, *That which was from the beginning, which we have heard, which we have ſeen with our eyes, which we have looked upon, and our hands have handled of the word of life: (For the life was manifeſted, and we have ſeen it, and bear witneſs, and ſhew unto you that eternal life which was with the Father, and was manifeſted unto us) That which we have ſeen and heard declare we unto you, that ye alſo might have fellowſhip with us.* This, to name no more, St. Peter thought a ſufficient vindication of the Apoſtolical doctrine from the ſuſpicion of forgery and impoſture; [a] *We have not followed cunningly deviſed fables, when we made known unto you the power and coming of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, but were eye-witneſſes of his majeſty.* God had frequently given teſtimony to the divinity of our bleſſed Saviour, by viſible manifeſtations and appearances from heaven, and particularly by an audible voice, *This is my beloved Son in whom I am well pleaſed.* Now *this voice which came from heaven* (ſays he) *we heard, when we were with him in the holy mount.*

9. Fourthly, THE Apoſtles were inveſted with a power of working miracles, as the readieſt means to procure their religion a firm belief and entertainment in the minds of men. For miracles are the great confirmation of the truth of any doctrine, and the moſt rational evidence of a divine commiſſion. For ſeeing God only can create, and controll the laws of nature, produce ſomething out of nothing, and call things that are not as if they were, give eyes to them that were born blind, raiſe the dead, *&c.* things plainly beyond all poſſible powers of nature; no man that believes the wiſdom and goodneſs of an infinite being, can ſuppoſe that this God of truth ſhould affix his ſeal to a lye, or communicate this power to any that would abuſe it, to confirm and countenance deluſions and impoſtures. Nicodemus his reaſoning was very plain and convictive, when he concludes that Chriſt [b] *muſt needs be a teacher come from God, for that no man could do thoſe miracles that he did, except God were with him.* The force of which argument lies here, that nothing but a divine power can work miracles, and that Almighty God cannot be ſuppoſed miraculouſly to aſſiſt any but thoſe, whom he himſelf ſends upon his own errand. The ſtupid and barbarous Lycaonians, when they beheld the man who had been a cripple from his mother's womb cured by St. Paul in an inſtant, only with the ſpeaking of a word, ſaw that there was ſomething in it more than human, and therefore concluded that [c] *the gods were come down to them in the likeneſs of men.* Upon this account, St. Paul [d] reckons miracles among the τὰ σημεῖα τοῦ Ἀποςόλου, the ſigns and evidences of an Apoſtle; whom therefore [e] Chryſoſtom brings in elegantly pleading for himſelf, that though he could not ſhew as the ſigns of his prieſthood and miniſtry, long robes and gaudy veſtments, with bells ſounding at their borders, as the Aaronical prieſts did of old; though he had no golden crowns or holy mitres, yet could he produce what was infinitely more venerable and regardable than all theſe, unqueſtionable ſigns and miracles: He came not with altars and oblations, with a number of ſtrange and

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[w] Acts i. 8.

[x] Verſes 21, 22.

[y] Acts x. 39, 40, &c.

[z] 1 John i. 1, 2, 3.

[a] 2 Pet. i. 16, 17.

[b] John iii. 4.

[c] Acts xiv. 10, 11.

[d] 2 Cor. xii. 12.

[e] Τῆς ἱερουργίας μὲν ταύτης τὰ σύμβολα, καὶ τῆς χειροτονίας, ἔχω πολλὰ δεῖξαι τὰ τεκμήρια, οὐ ποδήρη καὶ κώδωνας, καθάπερ οἱ παλαιοὶ, οὐδὲ μίτραν καὶ κίδαριν, ἀλλὰ πολλῷ φρικωδέστερα τούτων σημεῖα καὶ θαύματα — εἶδες πῶς ταῦτα τῶν παλαιῶν θαυμαστότερα καὶ φρικωδέστερα; ἡ θυσία, ἡ προσφορὰ, τὰ σύμβολα; ὅταν γὰρ εἴπῃ [ἐν λόγῳ καὶ ἔργῳ, ἐν δυνάμει σημείων καὶ τεράτων] τοῦτο λέγει, τὴν διδασκαλίαν, τὴν τῆς βασιλείας φιλοσοφίαν, τὴν τῶν ἔργων καὶ τῆς πολιτείας ἐπίδειξιν, τοὺς νεκροὺς τοὺς ἐγειρομένους, τοὺς δαίμονας τοὺς ἐλαυνομένους, τοὺς θεραπευομένους τοὺς τυφλοὺς, τοὺς πηδῶντας χωλοὺς, τὰ ἄλλα τεράστια, ἅπερ ἅπαντα εἰργάζετο τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἐν ἡμῖν. Chryſoſt. Homil. 29 in Rom. pag. 302, 303.

ſymbolical rites; but what was greater, raiſed the dead, caſt out devils, cured the blind, healed the lame, *making the Gentiles obedient by word and deed, through many ſigns and wonders wrought by the power of the Spirit of God.* Theſe were the things that clearly ſhewed that their miſſion and miniſtry was not from men, nor taken up of their own heads, but that they acted herein by a divine warrant and authority. That therefore it might plainly appear to the world, that they did not falſify in what they ſaid, or deliver any more than God had given them in commiſſion, he enabled them to do ſtrange and miraculous operations, [f] *bearing them witneſs both with ſigns and wonders, and with divers miracles and gifts of the holy Ghoſt.* This was a power put into the firſt draught of their commiſſion, when confined only to the cities of Iſrael; [g] *As ye go, preach, ſaying, The kingdom of heaven is at hand: Heal the ſick, cleanſe the lepers, raiſe the dead, caſt out devils; freely ye have received, freely give:* But more fully confirmed unto them when our Lord went to heaven, then he told them, that [h] *theſe ſigns ſhould follow them that believe, that in his name they ſhould caſt out devils, and ſpeak with new tongues; that they ſhould take up ſerpents, and if they drank any deadly thing, it ſhould not hurt them; that they ſhould lay hands on the ſick, and they ſhould recover.* And the event was accordingly, *for they went forth and preached every where, the Lord working with them, and confirming the word with ſigns following.* When Paul and Barnabas came up to the council at Jeruſalem, this was one of the firſt things they gave an account of, [i] *all the multitude keeping ſilence while they declared what miracles and wonders God had wrought among the Gentiles by them.* Thus the very [k] *ſhadow of Peter as he paſſed by cured the ſick:* thus *God wrought ſpecial miracles by the hands of Paul; ſo that from his body were brought unto the ſick, handkerchiefs, or aprons, and the diſeaſes departed from them, and the evil ſpirits went out of them.* So that beſides the innate characters of divinity which the Chriſtian religion brought along with it, containing nothing but what was highly reaſonable, and very becoming God to reveal; it had the higheſt external evidence that any religion was capable of, the atteſtation of great and unqueſtionable miracles, done not once or twice, not privately and in corners, not before a few ſimple and credulous perſons, but frequently and at every turn, publickly and in places of the moſt ſolemn concourſe, before the wiſeſt and moſt judicious enquirers; and this power of miracles continued not only during the Apoſtles time, but for ſome ages after.

10. But becauſe beſides miracles in general, the ſcripture takes particular notice of many gifts and powers of the holy Ghoſt conferred upon the Apoſtles and firſt preachers of the goſpel, it may not be amiſs to conſider ſome of the chiefeſt and moſt material of them, as we find them enumerated by the [l] Apoſtle; only premiſing this obſervation, that though theſe gifts were diſtinctly diſtributed to perſons of an inferior order, ſo that one had this, and another that, yet were they (probably) all conferred upon the Apoſtles, and doubtleſs in larger proportions than upon the reſt. Firſt, we take notice of the *gift of prophecy,* a clear evidence of divine inſpiration, and an extraordinary miſſion, [m] *the teſtimony of Jeſus is the ſpirit of prophecy.* It had been for many ages the ſignal and honourable privilege of the Jewiſh church; and that the Chriſtian oeconomy might challenge as ſacred regards from men, and that it might appear that God had not withdrawn his Spirit from his church in this new ſtate of things, it was revived under the diſpenſation of the goſpel, according to that famous prophecy of Joel exactly accompliſhed (as Peter told the Jews) upon the day of pentecoſt, when the miraculous gifts of the holy Ghoſt were ſo plentifully ſhed upon the Apoſtles and primitive Chriſtians; [n] *This is that which was ſpoken by the prophet Joel, It ſhall come to paſs in the laſt days,* (ſaith God) *I will pour out of my Spirit upon all fleſh, and your ſons and your daughters ſhall propheſy, and your young men ſhall ſee viſions, and your old men ſhall dream dreams; and on my ſervants, and on my handmaidens I will pour out in thoſe days of my ſpirit, and they ſhall propheſy.* It lay in general in revealing and making known to others the mind of God, but diſcovered itſelf in particular inſtances; partly in foretelling things to come, and what ſhould certainly happen in after-times: a thing ſet beyond the reach of any finite underſtanding; for though ſuch effects as depend upon natural agents, or moral and political cauſes, may be foreſeen by ſtudious and conſidering perſons, yet the knowledge of futurities, things purely contingent, that merely depend upon mens choice, and their mutable and uncertain wills, can only fall under his view, who at once

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[f] Heb. ii. 4. [g] Matt. x. 7, 8. [k] Acts xix. 11, 12. [l] 1 Cor. xii. 9, 10.
[h] Mark xvi. 17—20. [i] Acts xv. 12. [m] Rev. xix. 20. [n] Joel ii. 18, 19. Acts ii. 16, 17, 18.

once beholds things paſt, preſent, and to come. Now this was conferred upon the Apoſtles and ſome of the firſt Chriſtians, as appears from many inſtances in the hiſtory of the Apoſtolick *Acts*; and we find the Apoſtles writings frequently interſperſed with prophetical predictions concerning the great apoſtaſy from the faith, the univerſal corruption and degeneracy of manners, the riſe of particular hereſies, the coming of Antichriſt, and ſeveral other things, which the Spirit ſaid expreſly ſhould come to paſs *in the latter times:* beſides that St. John's whole book of *Revelation* is almoſt entirely made up of prophecies concerning the future ſtate and condition of the church. Sometimes by this ſpirit of prophecy God declared things that were of preſent concernment to the exigences of the church; as when he ſignified to them that they ſhould ſet apart Paul and Barnabas for the converſion of the Gentiles, and many times immediately deſigned particular perſons to be paſtors and governors of the church. Thus we read of *the gift* that was given to Timothy *by prophecy, with the laying on of the hands of the presbytery*; that is, his ordination, to which he was particularly pointed out by ſome prophetick deſignation. But the main uſe of this prophetick gift in thoſe times, was to explain ſome of the more difficult and particular parts of the Chriſtian doctrine, eſpecially to expound and apply the ancient prophecies concerning the Meſſiah and his kingdom in their publick aſſemblies: whence the [o] *gift of prophecy* is explained *by underſtanding all myſteries, and all knowledge*; that is, the moſt dark and difficult places of ſcripture, the types and figures, the ceremonies and prophecies of the Old Teſtament. And thus we are commonly to underſtand thoſe words *prophets* and *propheſying*, that ſo familiarly occur in the New Teſtament. [p] *Having gifts differing according to the grace that is given to us, whether prophecy, let us propheſy according to the proportion of faith*; that is, expound ſcripture according to the generally received principles of faith and life. So the Apoſtle elſewhere preſcribing rules for the decent and orderly managing of divine worſhip in their publick aſſemblies, [q] *Let the prophets* (ſays he) *ſpeak two or three* (that is, at the ſame aſſembly) *and let the other judge:* and if while any is thus expounding, another has a divine afflatus, whereby he is more particularly enabled to explain ſome difficult and emergent paſſage, *let the firſt hold his peace: for ye may all*, that have this gift, *propheſy one by one*, that ſo thus orderly proceeding, *all may learn, and all may be comforted.* Nor can the firſt pretend that this interruption is an unſeaſonable check to his revelation, ſeeing he may command himſelf; for though among the Gentiles the prophetick and ecſtatick impulſe did ſo violently preſs upon the inſpired perſon that he could not govern himſelf, yet in the church of God *the ſpirits of the prophets are ſubject to the prophets*, may be ſo ruled and reſtrained by them, as to make way for others. This order of Chriſtian prophets, conſidered as a diſtinct miniſtry by itſelf, is conſtantly placed next to the Apoſtolical office, and is frequently by St. Paul preferred before any other ſpiritual gifts then beſtowed upon the church. When this ſpirit of prophecy ceaſed in the Chriſtian church, we cannot certainly find. It continued ſome competent time beyond the Apoſtolick age. Juſtin Martyr [r] expreſly tells Trypho the Jew, Παρὰ ἡμῖν καὶ μέχρι νῦν προφητικὰ χαρίσματά ἐστιν, "the gifts of prophecy are even yet extant among us:" An argument, as he there tells him, that thoſe things which had of old been the great privileges of their church, were now tranſlated into the Chriſtian church. And Euſebius [s] ſpeaking of a revelation made to one Alcibiades, who lived about the time of Irenæus, adds, that the divine grace had not withdrawn its preſence from the church, but that they ſtill had the holy Ghoſt as their counſellor to direct them.

II. Secondly, **They** had *the gift of diſcerning ſpirits*, whereby they were enabled to diſcover the truth or falſhood of mens pretences, whether their gifts were real or counterfeit, and their perſons truly inſpired or not. For many men, acted only by diabolical impulſes, might entitle themſelves to divine inſpirations, and others might be impoſed upon by their illuſions, and miſtake their dreams and fancies for the Spirit's dictates and revelations; or might ſo ſubtilly and artificially counterfeit revelations, that they might with moſt paſs for currant, eſpecially in thoſe times, when theſe ſupernatural gifts were ſo common and ordinary; and our Lord himſelf had frequently told them that falſe prophets would ariſe, and that many would confidently plead for themſelves before him, that they had *propheſied in his name.* That therefore the church might not be impoſed on, God was pleaſed to endue the Apoſtles, and it may be ſome others, with an immediate faculty of diſcerning the chaff from the wheat, true from falſe prophets; nay, to know when the true prophets delivered the revelations of the Spirit, and when they expreſſed only their own conceptions. This was a mighty privilege, but yet ſeems to me to have extended farther, to judge of the ſincerity or hypocriſy of mens hearts in the profeſſion of religion; that ſo bad men being diſcovered, ſuitable cenſures and puniſhments might be paſſed upon them, and others cautioned to avoid them. Thus Peter at firſt ſight diſcovered Ananias and Sapphira, and the rotten hypocriſy of their intentions, before there was any external evidence in the caſe; and told Simon Magus, though baptized before upon his embracing Chriſtianity, [t] *that his heart was not right in the ſight of God, for I perceive* (ſays he) *that thou art in the gall of bitterneſs, and in the bond of iniquity.* Thirdly, The Apoſtles had the *gift of tongues*, furniſhed with variety of utterance, able to ſpeak on a ſudden ſeveral languages which they had never learnt, as occaſion was adminiſtred, and the exigencies of perſons and nations with whom they converſed, did require. For the Apoſtles being principally deſigned to convert the world, and to plant Chriſtianity in all countries and nations; it was abſolutely neceſſary that they ſhould be able readily to expreſs their minds in the languages of thoſe countries to which they addreſſed themſelves: ſeeing otherwiſe it would have been a work of time and difficulty, and not conſiſtent with the term of the Apoſtles lives, had they been firſt to learn the different languages of thoſe nations, before they could have preached the goſpel to them. Hence this gift was diffuſed upon the Apoſtles in larger meaſure and proportion than upon other men: [v] *I ſpeak with tongues more than ye all*, ſays St. Paul; that is, than all the gifted perſons in the church of Corinth. Our Lord had told the Apoſtles before his departure from them, *that they ſhould be endued with power from on high*; which upon the day of pentecoſt was particularly made good in this inſtance, when in a moment they were enabled to ſpeak almoſt all the languages of the then known world, and this as a ſpecimen and firſt-fruits of the reſt of thoſe miraculous powers that were conferred upon them.

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[o] 1 Cor. xiii. 2.

[p] Rom. xii. 8.

[q] 1 Cor. xiv. 29——32.

[r] Dial. cum Tryph. p. 308.

[s] Hiſt. Eccl. lib. 5. c. 3. p. 168.

12. A FOURTH gift was that of *interpretation*, or unfolding to others what had been delivered in an unknown tongue. For the Chriſtian aſſemblies in thoſe days were frequently made up of men of different nations, and who could not underſtand what the Apoſtles or others had ſpoken to the congregation; this God ſupplied by this gift of interpretation, enabling ſome to interpret what others did not underſtand, and to ſpeak it to them in their own native language. St. Paul [w] largely diſcourſes the neceſſity of this gift in order to the inſtructing and edifying of the church, ſeeing without it their meetings could be no better than the aſſembly of Babel after the confuſion of languages, where one man muſt needs be a Barbarian to another, and all the praying and preaching of the miniſter of the aſſembly be to many altogether fruitleſs and unprofitable, and no better than a *ſpeaking into the air.* What is the ſpeaking, though with the *tongue of angels*, to them that do not underſtand it? How can the *idiot and unlearned ſay Amen*, who underſtands not the language of him that giveth thanks? The duty may be done with admirable quaintneſs and accuracy, but what is he the better, from whom it is locked up in an unknown tongue? A conſideration that made the Apoſtle ſolemnly profeſs, that [x] *he had rather ſpeak five words in the church with his underſtanding, that by his voice he might teach others alſo, than ten thouſand words in an unknown tongue.* [y] *Therefore if any man ſpeak in an unknown tongue, let it be but by two, or at moſt by three, and let one interpret* what the reſt have ſpoken: *But if there be no interpreter*, none preſent able to do this, *let him keep ſilence in the church, and ſpeak to himſelf and to God.* A man that impartially reads this diſcourſe of the Apoſtle, may wonder how the church of Rome in defiance of it can ſo openly practiſe, ſo confidently defend their Bible and divine ſervices in an unknown tongue, ſo flatly repugnant to the dictates of common reaſon, the uſage of the firſt Chriſtian church, and theſe plain Apoſtolical commands. But this is not the only inſtance wherein that church has departed both from ſcripture, reaſon, and the practice of the firſt and pureſt ages of Chriſtianity. Indeed there is ſome cauſe why they are ſo zealous to keep both ſcripture and their divine worſhip in a ſtrange language, leſt by reading the one, the people ſhould become wiſe enough to diſcover the groſs errors and corruptions of the other. Fifthly, The Apoſtles had the *gift of healing*, of curing diſeaſes without the arts of phyſick; the moſt inveterate diſtempers being equally removable by an almighty power, and vaniſhing at their ſpeaking of a word. This begot an extraordinary veneration for

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[t] Acts viii. 21, 23. [v] 1 Cor. xiv. 18. [w] 1 Cor. xiv. [x] Verſe 9. [y] Ver. 27, 28.

them and their religion among the common ſort of men, who, as they are ſtrongliеſt moved with ſenſible effects, ſo are moſt taken with thoſe miracles that are beneficial to the life of man. Hence the infinite cures done in every place, God mercifully providing that the body ſhould partake with the ſoul in the advantages of the goſpel, the cure of the one uſhering in many times the converſion of the other. This gift was very common in thoſe early days, beſtowed not upon the Apoſtles only, but the ordinary governors of the church, who were wont [z] *to lay their hands upon the ſick*, and ſometimes *to anoint them with oil*, (a ſymbolick rite in uſe among the Jews, to denote the grace of God) and *to pray over*, and for *them in the name of the Lord Jeſus*, whereby, upon a hearty confeſſion and forſaking of their ſins, both health and pardon were at once beſtowed upon them. How long this gift, with its appendant ceremony of unction, laſted in the church, is not eaſy to determine; that it was in uſe in Tertullian's [a] time, we learn from the inſtance he gives us of Proculus a Chriſtian, who cured the emperor Severus, by anointing him with oil; for which the emperor had him in great honour, and kept him with him at court all his life: it afterwards vaniſhing by degrees, as all other miraculous powers, as Chriſtianity gained firm footing in the world. As for extream unction, ſo generally maintained and practiſed in the church of Rome, and by them made a ſacrament, I doubt it will receive very little countenance from this primitive uſage: Indeed could they as eaſily reſtore ſick men to health, as they can anoint them with oil, I think no body would contradict them; but till they can pretend to the one, I think it unreaſonable they ſhould uſe the other. The beſt is, though founding it upon this Apoſtolical practiſe, they have turned it to a quite contrary purpoſe, inſtead of recovering men to life and health, to diſpoſe and fit them for dying, when all hopes of life are taken from them.

13. Sixthly, THE Apoſtles were inveſted with a power of immediately inflicting corporal puniſhments upon great and notorious ſinners; and this probably is that which he means [b] by his ἐνεργήματα δυνάμεων, *operations of powers*, or *working miracles*, which ſurely cannot be meant of miracles in general, being reckoned up amongſt the particular gifts of the holy Ghoſt, nor is there any other to which it can with equal probability refer. A power to inflict diſeaſes upon the body, as when St. Paul ſtruck Elymas the ſorcerer with blindneſs, and ſometimes extending to the loſs of life itſelf, as in the ſad inſtance of Ananias and Sapphira. This was the *virga apoſtolica*, the rod (mentioned by St. Paul) which the Apoſtles held and ſhook over ſcandalous and inſolent offenders, and ſometimes laid upon them: [c] *What will ye? ſhall I come to you with a rod? or in love, and the ſpirit of meekneſs?* Where obſerve, ſays [d] Chryſoſtom, how the Apoſtle tempers his diſcourſe; the love and meekneſs, and his deſire to know, argued care and kindneſs; but the rod ſpake dread and terror: a rod of ſeverity and puniſhment, and which ſometimes mortally chaſtiſed the offender. Elſewhere he frequently gives intimations of this power, when he was to deal with ſtubborn and incorrigible perſons; [e] *Having in a readineſs to revenge all diſobedience, when your obedience is fulfilled; for though I ſhould boaſt ſomething more of our authority (which the Lord hath given us for edification, and not for your deſtruction) I ſhould not be aſhamed; that I may not ſeem as if I would terrify you by letters.* And he again puts them in mind of it at the cloſe of his epiſtle; [f] *I told you before, and foretel you as if I were preſent the ſecond time, and being abſent, now I write to them which heretofore have ſinned, and to all others, that if I come again I will not ſpare.* But he hoped theſe ſmart warnings would ſuperſede all farther ſeverity againſt them; [g] *Therefore I write theſe things being abſent, leſt being preſent I ſhould uſe ſharpneſs, according to the power which the Lord hath given me to edification, and not to deſtruction.* Of this nature was the [h] *delivering over perſons unto Satan for the deſtruction of the fleſh*, the chaſtiſing the body by ſome preſent pain or ſickneſs, *that the ſpirit might be ſaved* by being brought to a ſeaſonable repentance. Thus he dealt with Hymenæus and Alexander, who had [i] *made ſhipwrack of faith and a good conſcience, he delivered them unto Satan, that they might learn not to blaſpheme.* Nothing being more uſual in thoſe times, than for perſons excommunicate,

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[z] Jam. v. 14, 15, 16.

[a] Ad Scapul. c. 4. p. 71.

[b] 1 Cor. xii. 10.

[c] Chap. iv. 21.

[d] Πολὺ καὶ τὸ φοβερὸν ἔχει καὶ τὸ προσηνὲς ὁ λόγος οὗτος· τὸ μὲν γὰρ εἰπεῖν, ὅτι γνώσομαι, ἔτι ὑπεσταλμένου ἦν. τὸ δὲ εἰπεῖν, τί θέλετε; ἐν ῥάβδῳ ἔλθω πρὸς ὑμᾶς· ἐπὶ τὸν διδασκαλικὸν λοιπὸν ἀναβαίνοντος θρόνον, κἀκεῖθεν αὐτοῖς διαλεγομένου, καὶ τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἀναλαβόντος πᾶσαν. Τί ἐστιν, ἐν ῥάβδῳ, ἐν κολάσει, ἐν τιμωρίᾳ, τουτέστιν, ἀνελῶ, πηρώσω· ὅπερ ἐπὶ τῆς Σαπφείρας ὁ Πέτρος ἐποίησεν. ὅπερ αὐτὸς ἐπὶ Ἐλύμα τοῦ μάγου. Chryſoſt. Hom. 14. ad Corinth. p. 444. vid. Hieron. in loc. tom. 9. p. 305.

[e] 2 Cor. x. 6, 8, 9.

[f] Chap. xiii. 2.

[g] Verſe 10.

[h] 1 Cor. v. 5. vid. Chryſoſt. & Hieron. in loc.

[i] 1 Tim. i. 20.

nicate, and cut off from the body of the church, to be preſently arreſted by Satan, as the common ſerjeant and executioner, and by him either actually poſſeſſed, or tormented in their bodies by ſome diſeaſes which he brought upon them: And indeed this ſevere diſcipline was no more than neceſſary in thoſe times, when Chriſtianity was wholly deſtitute of any civil or coercive power, to beget and keep up a due reverence and regard to the ſentences and determinations of the church, and to ſecure the laws of religion, and the holy cenſures from being ſlighted by every bold and contumacious offender. And this effect we find it had after the dreadful inſtance of Ananias and Sapphira, [k] *Great fear came upon all the church, and upon as many as heard theſe things.* To what has been ſaid concerning theſe Apoſtolical gifts, let me farther obſerve, that they had not only theſe gifts reſiding in themſelves, but a power to beſtow them upon others; ſo that by impoſition of hands, or upon hearing and embracing the Apoſtles doctrine, and being baptized into the Chriſtian faith, they could confer theſe miraculous powers upon perſons thus qualified to receive them, whereby they were in a moment enabled to ſpeak divers languages, to propheſy, to interpret, and do other miracles to the admiration and aſtoniſhment of all that heard and ſaw them. A privilege peculiar to the Apoſtles; for we do not find that any inferior order of gifted perſons were intruſted with it. And therefore as Chryſoſtom [l] well obſerves, though Philip the deacon wrought great miracles at Samaria, to the converſion of many, yea, to the conviction of Simon Magus himſelf, *yet the holy Ghoſt fell upon none of them, only they were baptized in the name of our Lord Jeſus*; till Peter and John came down to them, who having *prayed for them that they might receive the holy Ghoſt, they laid their hands upon them, and they received the holy Ghoſt.* Which when the magician beheld, he offered the Apoſtles money to enable him, that on whomſoever he laid his hands, he might derive theſe miraculous powers upon them.

14. HAVING ſeen how fitly furniſhed the Apoſtles were for the execution of their office, let us in the laſt place enquire into its duration and continuance. And here it muſt be conſidered, that in the Apoſtolical office there was ſomething extraordinary, and ſomething ordinary. What was extraordinary, was their immediate commiſſion derived from the mouth of Chriſt himſelf, their unlimited charge to preach the goſpel up and down the world, without being tied to any particular places; the ſupernatural and miraculous powers conferred upon them as Apoſtles; their infallible guidance in delivering the doctrines of the goſpel; and theſe all expired and determined with their perſons. The ſtanding and perpetual part of it, was to teach and inſtruct the people in the duties and principles of religion, to adminiſter the ſacraments, to conſtitute guides and officers, and to exerciſe the diſcipline and government of the church: and in theſe they are ſucceeded by the ordinary rulers and eccleſiaſtick guides, who were to ſuperintend and diſcharge the affairs and offices of the church, to the end of the world. Whence it is that biſhops and governors came to be ſtiled Apoſtles, as being their ſucceſſors in ordinary; for ſo they frequently are in the writings of the church. Thus Timothy, who was biſhop of Epheſus, is called an [m] *Apoſtle*; Clemens of Rome, [n] *Clemens the Apoſtle*; St. Mark, biſhop of Alexandria, by Euſebius [o] ſtiled both an *Apoſtle and Evangeliſt*; Ignatius, a biſhop and [p] *Apoſtle.* A title that continued in after-ages, eſpecially given to thoſe that were the firſt planters or reſtorers of Chriſtianity in any country. In the Coptick calendar, publiſhed by Mr. Selden, [q] the ſeventh day of the month Baſchnes, anſwering to our ſecond of May, is dedicated to the memory of St. Athanaſius the *Apoſtle.* Acacius and Paulus, in their letter [r] to Epiphanius, ſtile him νέον Ἀπόστολον ϗ κήρυκα, "a new *Apoſtle* and preacher:" and Sidonius Apollinaris [s] writing to Lupus biſhop of Troyes in France, ſpeaks of "the honour due to his eminent *Apoſtleſhip.*" An obſervation which it were eaſy enough to confirm by abundant inſtances, were it either doubtful in itſelf, or neceſſary to my purpoſe; but being neither, I forbear.

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[k] Acts v. 11.

[l] Διὰ τί οὐκ ἦσαν οὗτοι λαβόντες πνεῦμα ἅγιον βαπτισθέντες; ἤτοι τῷ μὴ ἔχειν [Φίλιππον] χάρισμα τοιοῦτον· τῶν γὰρ ἑπτὰ ἦν· διὸ ϗ βαπτίζων πνεῦμα τοῖς βαπτιζομένοις οὐκ ἐδίδου· οὐδὲ γὰρ εἶχεν ἐξουσίαν· τοῦτο γὰρ τὸ δῶρον μόνων τῶν δώδεκα ἦν· δύναμιν μὲν ἔλαβον [οἱ Διάκονοι] ποιεῖν σημεῖα· οὐχὶ δὲ ϗ πνεῦμα διδόναι ἑτέροις. ἄρα τοῦτο ἦν τῶν Ἀποστόλων ἐξαίρετον· ὅθεν ϗ τοὺς κορυφαίους, οὐκ ἄλλους τινὰς, ἐστὶν ἰδεῖν τοῦτο ποιοῦντας. Chryſoſt. Homil. 18. in Act. Ap. p. 580.

[m] Philoſtorg. Hiſt. Eccl. l. 3. c. 2. p. 24.

[n] Clem. Alexand. Strom. lib. 4. p. 516.

[o] Hiſt. Eccl. lib. 2. c. 24. p. 66.

[p] Chryſoſt. Encom. S. Ignat. p. 499. tom. 1.

[q] De Synedr. lib. 3. c. 15. p. 398.

[r] Præfix. Oper. de Hæreſ. p. 1.

[s] Lib. 6. Ep. 4. p. 147. vid. Ep. 7. p. 150.

Joan. Euchait. Metropolitæ ὑπόμνημα εἰς τοὺς Ἀποστόλους, p. 70.

Σταυροῖ Πέτρον κύμβαχον ἐν Ῥώμῃ Νέρων.
Ῥώμη ξίφει θνήσκοντα τὸν Παῦλον βλέπει.
Εἰρηνικῷ τέθνηκε Λουκᾶς ἐν τέλει.
Ζωῆς ὕπνον πρύτανιν ὑπνοῖ Ματθαῖος.
Μάρκον θανατοῖ δῆμος Ἀλεξανδρέων.
Καὶ μὴ θανὼν ζῇ, καὶ θανὼν Ἰωάννης.
Σταυροῦσί τε τρεῖς ἄνδρες ὁμοῦ Ἀνδρέαν.
Νεκροῦσι λόγχαις τὸν Θωμᾶν ἐν Ἰνδίᾳ.
Βαρθολομαῖος σταυρικῷ θνήσκει πάθει.
Καὶ τὸν Σίμωνα σταυρὸς ἐξάγει βίου.
Μάχαιρα τέμνει τοὺς Ἰακώβου δρόμους.
Ἶσον Πέτρῳ δίδωσι Φίλιππος μόρον.

THE

BRITISH MUSEUM
5 AU 70

St. PETER the APOSTLE.

THE
LIFE
OF
St. PETER.

SECT. I.

Of St. Peter, from his birth till his firſt coming to Chriſt.

Bethſaida St. Peter's birth-place: Its dignity of old, and fate at this day. The time of his birth enquired into. Some errors noted concerning it. His names; Cephas, the impoſing of it notes no ſuperiority over the reſt of the Apoſtles. The cuſtom of popes aſſuming a new name at their election to the papacy, whence. His kindred and relations; whether he or Andrew the elder brother. His trade and way of life, what, before his coming to Chriſt. The ſea of Galilee, and the conveniency of it. The meanneſs and obſcurity of his trade. The remarkable appearances of the divine providence in propagating Chriſtianity in the world by mean and unlikely inſtruments.

THE land of Paleſtine was, at and before the coming of our bleſſed Saviour, diſtinguiſhed into three ſeveral provinces, Judæa, Samaria, and Galilee. This laſt was divided into the upper and the lower. In the upper, called alſo *Galilee of the Gentiles*, within the diviſion anciently belonging to the tribe of Naphthali, ſtood Bethſaida, formerly an obſcure and inconſiderable village, till lately re-edified and enlarged by [t] Philip the tetrarch, by him advanced to the place and title of a city, repleniſhed with inhabitants, and fortified with power and ſtrength; and in honour of Julia, the daughter of Auguſtus Cæſar, by him ſtiled Julias. Situate it was upon the banks of the ſea of Galilee, and had a wilderneſs on the other ſide, thence called the deſart of Bethſaida, whither our Saviour uſed often to retire, the privacies and ſolitudes of the place advantagiouſly miniſtring to divine contemplation. But Bethſaida was not ſo remarkable for this adjoining wilderneſs, as itſelf was memorable for a worſe ſort of barrenneſs, ingratitude and unprofitableneſs under the influences of Chriſt's ſermons and miracles, thence ſeverely upbraided by him, and threatned with one of his deepeſt woes, [u] *Wo unto thee Chorazin, wo unto thee Bethſaida*, &c. A wo that it ſeems ſtuck cloſe to it, for whatever it was at this time, [w] one who ſurveyed it in the laſt age tells us, that it was ſhrunk again into a very mean and ſmall village, conſiſting only of a few cottages of Moors and wild Arabs; and later travellers have ſince aſſured us, that even theſe are dwindled away into one poor cottage at this day. So fatally does ſin undermine the greateſt, the goodlieſt places; ſo certainly does God's word take place, and not one iota either of his promiſes or threatnings, fall to the ground. Next to the honour that was done it by our Saviour's preſence, who living moſt in theſe parts frequently reſorted hither, it had nothing greater to recommend it to the notice of poſterity, than that (beſides ſome other of the Apoſtles) it was the birth-place of St. Peter; a perſon how inconſiderable ſoever in his private fortunes, yet of great note and eminency, as one of the prime embaſſadors of the Son of God, to whom both ſacred and eccleſiaſtical ſtories give, though not a ſuperiority, a precedency in the college of Apoſtles.

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[t] Joſeph. Antiq. Jud. lib. 8. cap. 3. p. 618. Matt. xi.21.

[u] Matt. xi. 21.

[w] J. Cotovic. Itiner. Hieroſol. lib. 3. c. 8. p. 358.

2. THE particular time of his birth cannot be recovered, no probable footſteps or intimations being left of it: in the general we may conclude him at leaſt ten years elder than his maſter; his married condition, and ſettled courſe of life at his firſt coming to Chriſt, and that authority and reſpect which the gravity of his perſon procured him amongſt the reſt of the Apoſtles, can ſpeak him no leſs: but for any thing more particular and poſitive in this matter, I ſee no reaſon to affirm. Indeed, might we truſt the account, which one (who pretends to calculate his nativity with oſtentation enough) has given of it, we are told that he was born three years before the bleſſed virgin, and juſt ſeventeen before the incarnation of our Saviour. But let us view his account [x].

Nat. eſt an.	*ab orbe cond.*	4034	*Ann.*	*Octav. Auguſt.*	8	*Ann.*	*Herodis reg.*	20
	à diluvio	2378		*à 1° ejus conſul.*	24		*ante b. virg.*	3
	U. C.	734		*à pugna Actiac.*	12		*anteChr.nat*	17

When I met with ſuch a pompous train of epocha's, the leaſt I expected was truth and certainty. This computation he grounds upon the date of St. Peter's death, placed (as [y] elſewhere he tells us) by Bellarmine in the eighty ſixth year of his age; ſo that recounting from the year of Chriſt ſixty nine, when Peter is commonly ſaid to have ſuffered, he runs up his age to his birth, and ſpreads it out into ſo many ſeveral dates. But alas, all is built upon a ſandy bottom. For beſides his miſtake about the year of the world, few of his dates hold due correſpondence. But the worſt of it is, that after all this, Bellarmine [z] (upon whoſe ſingle teſtimony all this fine fabrick is erected) ſays no ſuch thing, but only ſuppoſes, merely for argument's ſake, that St. Peter might very well be eighty ſix (it is erroneouſly printed ſeventy ſix) years old at the time of his martyrdom. So far will confidence, or ignorance, or both, carry men aſide; if it could be a miſtake, and not rather a bold impoſing upon the world. But of this enough, and perhaps more than it deſerves.

3. BEING circumciſed according to the rites of the Moſaick law, the name given him at his circumciſion was Simon, or Symeon, a name common amongſt the Jews, eſpecially in their later times. This was afterwards by our Saviour not aboliſhed, but additioned with the title of Cephas, which in Syriack (the vulgar language of the Jews at that time) ſignifying a *ſtone*, or *rock*, was thence derived into the Greek, Πέτρος, and by us, Peter: ſo far was Heſychius [a] out, when rendring Πέτρος by ὁ Ἐπιλύων, an expounder or interpreter; probably deriving it from פתר which ſignifies, to explain and interpret. By this new impoſition our Lord ſeemed to denote the firmneſs and conſtancy of his faith, and his vigorous activity in building up the church, as a ſpiritual houſe upon the *true rock, the living and corner ſtone, choſen of God, and precious*, as St. Peter [b] himſelf expreſſes it. Nor can our Saviour be underſtood to have hereby conferred upon him any peculiar ſupremacy or ſovereignty above, much leſs over the reſt of the Apoſtles; for in reſpect of the great truſt committed to them, and their being ſent to plant Chriſtianity in the world, they are all equally ſtiled [c] *foundations*. Nor is it accountable either to ſcripture or reaſon to ſuppoſe, that by this name our Lord ſhould deſign the perſon of Peter to be that very rock upon which his church was to be built. In a fond imitation [d] of this new name given to St. Peter, thoſe who pretend to be his ſucceſſors in the ſee of Rome, uſually lay by their own, and aſſume a new name upon their advancement to the apoſtolick chair; it being one of the firſt queſtions [e] which the cardinals put to the

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[x] Stengel. de S. Petro, cap. 1.

[y] Ibid. c. 49.

[z] Bellarm. de Rom. Pontif. lib. 2. c. 9. col. 624.

[a] Πέτρος, ἐπιλύων, ἐπιγινώσκων· οὗτος καὶ Σίμων, καὶ Κηφᾶς καὶ Συμεὼν ἐλέγετο. Heſych. in voc. Πέτρος.

[b] 1 Pet. ii. 4, 5, 6.

[c] Rev. xxi. 14.

[d] Pap. Maſſon. de Epiſc. Urb. in Serg. 4. fol. 172. p. 2. ex Annal. Vict.

[e] Sac. Cerem. Eccleſ. Rom. ſect. 1. fol. 18.

new elected pope, "by what name he will pleaſe to be called." This cuſtom firſt began about the year 844, when Peter di Bocca-porco (or Swines-mouth) being choſen pope, changed his name into Sergius the ſecond; probably not ſo much to avoid the uncomelineſs of his own name, as if unbefitting the dignity of his place (for this being but his paternal name, would after have been no part of his pontifical ſtile and title) as out of a mighty reverence to St. Peter, accounting himſelf not worthy to bear his name, though it was his own baptiſmal name. Certain it is, that none of the biſhops of that ſee ever aſſumed St. Peter's name, and ſome who have had it as their chriſtian name before, have laid it aſide upon their election to the papacy. But to return to our Apoſtle.

4. HIS father was Jonah, probably a fiſherman of Bethſaida, for the ſacred ſtory takes no farther notice of him, than by the bare mention of his name; and I believe there had been no great danger of miſtake, though [d] Metaphraſtes had not told us, that it was not Jonas the prophet, who came out of the belly of the whale. Brother he was to St. Andrew the Apoſtle, and ſome queſtion there is amongſt the ancients which was the elder brother. Epiphanius [e] (probably from ſome tradition current in his time) clearly adjudges it to St. Andrew, herein univerſally followed by thoſe of the church of Rome, that the precedency given to St. Peter may not ſeem to be put upon the account of his ſeniority. But to him we may oppoſe the authority of St. Chryſoſtom, [f] a perſon equal both in time and credit, who expreſly ſays, that though Andrew came later into life than Peter, yet he firſt brought him to the knowledge of the goſpel; which Baronius, againſt all pretence of reaſon, would underſtand of his entring into eternal life. Beſides, [g] St. Hierom, [h] Caſſian, [i] Bede, and others, are for St. Peter being elder brother; expreſly aſcribing it to his age, that he rather than any other, was preſident of the college of Apoſtles. However it was, it ſounds not a little to the honour of their father, (as of Zebedee alſo in the like caſe) that of but twelve Apoſtles two of his ſons were taken into the number. In his youth he was brought up to fiſhing, which we may gueſs to have been the ſtaple trade of Bethſaida, (which hence probably borrowed its name, ſignifying *an houſe*, or *habitation of fiſhing*; though others render it by *hunting*, the word צַיִד equally being either) much advantaged herein by the neighbourhood of the lake of Geneſareth (on whoſe banks it ſtood) called alſo the ſea of Galilee, and the ſea of Tiberias, according to the mode of the Hebrew language, wherein all greater confluences of waters are called ſeas. Of this lake the Jews have a [k] ſaying, that "of all the ſeven ſeas which God created, he made choice of none but the ſea of Geneſareth:" which, however intended by them, is true only in this reſpect, that our bleſſed Saviour made choice of it, to honour it with the frequency of his preſence, and the power of his miraculous operations. In length it was an [l] hundred furlongs, and about forty over; the water of it pure and clear, ſweet and moſt fit to drink; ſtored it was with ſeveral ſorts of fiſh, and thoſe different both in kind and taſte from thoſe in other places. Here it was that Peter cloſely followed the exerciſe of his calling; from whence it ſeems he afterwards removed to Capernaum, (probably upon his marriage, at leaſt frequently reſided there) for there we meet with his houſe, and there we find him paying tribute; an houſe, over which, [m] Nicephorus tells us, that Helen the mother of Conſtantine erected a beautiful church to the honour of St. Peter. This place was equally advantageous for the managery of his trade, ſtanding upon the influx of Jordan into the ſea of Galilee, and where he might as well reap the fruits of an honeſt and induſtrious diligence. A mean, I confeſs it was, and a more ſervile courſe of life, as which beſides the great pains and labour it required, expoſed him to all the injuries of wind and weather, to the ſtorms of the ſea, the darkneſs and tempeſtuouſneſs of the night, and all to make a very ſmall return. An employment whoſe reſtleſs troubles, conſtant hardſhips, frequent dangers, and amazing horrors, are (for the ſatisfaction of the learned reader) thus elegantly deſcribed by one, whoſe poems may be juſtly ſtiled golden verſes, receiving from the emperor Antoninus a piece of gold for every verſe [n].

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[d] Com. de Petr. & Paul. apud Sur. ad diem 29 Jun.

[e] Hæreſ. 51. p. 192.

[f] Serm. de S. Andr. quem recitat Metaphraſt. ap. Sur. ſeu potius Lippoman. tom. 6. vid. Baron. not. ad Martyrol. Novemb. 30. p. 737.

[g] Hieron. lib. 1. adv. Jovin. p. 35. tom. 2.

[h] Caſſian. de Incarn. Dom. lib. 3. c. 12. p. 996.

[i] Bed. Comment. in cap. 1. Joan. tom. 5.

[k] Midr. Tillin. fol. 41. ap. Lightf. Cent. Chorograph. in Matt. c. 70. p. 131.

[l] Joſeph. de Bell. Jud. l. 3. κεφ. λέ. p. 860. Matt. viii. 14. xvii. 24.

[m] Hiſt. Eccl. lib. 8. c. 30. p. 596.

[n] Oppian. Ἁλιευτ. Βιβλ. α΄. non longe ab init.

Τλησιπόνοις δ' ἁλιεῦσιν ἀτέκμαρτοι μὲν ἄεθλοι,
Ἐλπὶς δ' οὐ σταθερὴ σαίνει φρένας ἠΰτ' ὄνειρος.
Οὐ γὰρ ἀκινήτου γαίης ὕπερ ἀθλεύουσιν·
Ἀλλ' αἰεὶ κρυερῷ τε καὶ ἄσχετα μαργαίνοντι
Ὕδατι συμφορέονται, ὃ καὶ γαίηθεν ἰδέσθαι
Δεῖμα φέρει, καὶ μοῦνον ὑπ' ὄμμασι πειρήσασθαι.
Δούρασι δ' ἐν βαιοῖσιν ἀελλάων θεράποντες,
Πλαζόμενοι, καὶ θυμὸν ἐν οἴδμασιν αἰὲν ἔχοντες,
Αἰεὶ μὲν νεφέλην ἰοειδέα παπταίνουσιν·
Αἰεὶ δὲ τρομέουσι μελαινόμενον πόρον ἅλμης·
Οὐδέ τι φοιταλέων ἀνέμων σκέπας, οὐδέ τιν' ὄμβρων
Ἀλκήν· οὐ πυρὸς ἄλκαρ ὀπωρινοῖο φέρονται.

But meanneſs is no bar in God's way; the poor, if vertuous, are as dear to heaven as the wealthy and the honourable, equally alike to him, with whom *there is no reſpect of perſons.* Nay, our Lord ſeemed to caſt a peculiar honour upon this profeſſion, when afterwards calling him and ſome others of the ſame trade from catching of fiſh, to be (as he told them) *fiſhers of men.*

5. AND here we may juſtly reflect upon the wiſe and admirable methods of the divine providence, which in planting and propagating the Chriſtian religion in the world, made choice of ſuch mean and unlikely inſtruments; that he ſhould hide theſe things from the wiſe and prudent, and reveal them unto babes, men that had not been educated in the academy, and the ſchools of learning, but brought up to a trade, to catch fiſh, and mend nets; moſt of the Apoſtles being taken from the meaneſt trades, and all of them (St. Paul excepted) unfurniſhed of all arts of learning, and the advantages of liberal and ingenuous education: and yet theſe were the men that were deſigned to run down the world, and to overturn the learning of the prudent. Certainly had human wiſdom been to manage the buſineſs, it would have taken quite other meaſures, and choſen out the profoundeſt rabbins, the acuteſt philoſophers, the ſmootheſt orators, ſuch as would have been moſt likely by ſtrength of reaſon and arts of rhetorick to have triumphed over the minds of men, to grapple with the ſtubbornneſs of the Jews, and baffle the finer notions and ſpeculations of the Greeks. We find that thoſe ſects of philoſophy that gained moſt credit in the heathen world, did it this way, by their eminency in ſome arts and ſciences, whereby they recommended themſelves to the acceptance of the wiſer and more ingenious part of mankind. Julian [o] the apoſtate thinks it a reaſonable exception againſt the Jewiſh prophets, that they were incompetent meſſengers and interpreters of the divine will, becauſe they had not their minds cleared and purged, by paſſing through the circle of polite arts and learning. Why, now this is the wonder of it, that the firſt preachers of the goſpel ſhould be ſuch rude unlearned men, and yet ſo ſuddenly, ſo powerfully prevail over the learned world, and conquer ſo many who had the greateſt parts and abilities, and the ſtrongeſt prejudices againſt it, by the ſimplicity of the goſpel. When Celſus objected that the Apoſtles were but a company of mean and illiterate perſons, ſorry mariners and fiſhermen, [p] Origen quickly returns upon him with this anſwer; "That hence it was plainly evident, that they taught Chriſ-
" tianity by a divine power, when ſuch perſons were able with ſuch an uncontrol-
" led ſucceſs to ſubdue men to the obedience of his word; for that they had no elo-
" quent tongues, no ſubtil and diſcurſive head, none of the refined and rhetorical arts
" of Greece, to conquer the minds of men. For my part (ſays he [q] in another place)
" I verily believe that the holy Jeſus purpoſely made uſe of ſuch preachers of his
" doctrine, that there might be no ſuſpicion that they came inſtructed with arts of
" ſophiſtry, but that it might be clearly manifeſt to all the world, that there was no
" crafty deſign in it, and that they had a divine power going along with them, which
" was more efficacious than the greateſt volubility of expreſſion, or ornaments of
" ſpeech, or the artifices which were uſed in the Grecian compoſitions. Had it not
" been for this divine power that upheld it (as he [r] elſewhere argues) the Chriſtian
" religion muſt needs have ſunk under thoſe weighty preſſures that lay upon it, hav-
" ing not only to contend with the potent oppoſition of the ſenate, emperors, peo-

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[o] Οὐδὲν δὲ, οἶμαι, κωλύει τὸν μὲν Θεὸν εἶναι μέγαν, οὐ μὴ σπουδαίων Προφητῶν, οὐδὲ ἐξηγητῶν τυχεῖν· αἴτιον δὲ ὅτι τὴν ἑαυτῶν ψυχὴν οὐ παρέχον ἀποκαθᾶραι τοῖς ἐγκυκλίοις μαθήμασιν. Fragm. Epiſt. pag. 541. tom. 1.

[p] Contr. Celſ. lib. 1. p. 47, 48.

[q] Lib. 3. p. 135.

[r] Lib. 1. p. 6.

" ple, and the whole power of the Roman empire, but to conflict with thoſe home-
" bred wants and neceſſities, wherewith its own profeſſors were oppreſſed and bur-
" dened.

6. IT could not but greatly vindicate the Apoſtles from all ſuſpicion of forgery and impoſture, in the thoughts of ſober and unbiaſſed perſons, to ſee their doctrine readily entertained by men of the moſt diſcerning and inquiſitive minds. Had they dealt only with the rude and the ſimple, the idiot and the unlearned, there might have been ſome pretence to ſuſpect that they lay in wait to deceive, and deſigned to impoſe upon the world by crafty and inſinuative arts and methods. But, alas, they had other perſons to deal with, men of the acuteſt wits and moſt profound abilities, the wiſeſt philoſophers and moſt ſubtle diſputants, able to weigh an argument with the greateſt accuracy, and to decline the force of the ſtrongeſt reaſonings; and who had their parts edged with the keeneſt prejudices of education, and a mighty veneration for the religion of their country, a religion that for ſo many ages had governed the world, and taken firm poſſeſſion of the minds of men. And yet notwithſtanding all theſe diſadvantages, theſe plain men conquered the wiſe and the learned, and brought them over to that doctrine that was deſpiſed and ſcorned, oppoſed and perſecuted, and that had nothing but its own native excellency to recommend it. A clear evidence that there was ſomething in it beyond the craft and power of men. " Is not this (ſays an elegant [s] Apologiſt, making his addreſs to the heathens) enough " to make you believe and entertain it, to conſider that in ſo ſhort a time it has diſ" fuſed itſelf over the whole world, civilized the moſt barbarous nations, ſoftned " the rougheſt and moſt intractable tempers; that the greateſt wits and ſcholars, " orators, grammarians, rhetoricians, lawyers, phyſicians and philoſophers, have " quitted their formerly dear and beloved ſentiments, and heartily embraced the " precepts and doctrines of the goſpel?" Upon this account [t] Theodoret does with no leſs truth than elegancy inſult and triumph over the heathens: He tells them, that whoever would be at the pains to compare the beſt law-makers, either amongſt the Greeks or Romans, with our fiſhermen and publicans, would ſoon perceive what a divine virtue and efficacy there was in them above all others, whereby they did not only conquer their neighbours, not only the Greeks and Romans, but brought over the moſt barbarous nations to a compliance with the law of the goſpel; and that not by force of arms, not by numerous bands of ſoldiers, [v] not by methods of torture and cruelty, but by meek perſuaſives, and a convincing the world of the excellency and uſefulneſs of thoſe laws which they propounded to them. A thing which the wiſeſt and beſt men of the heathen world could never do, to make their *dogmata* and inſtitutions univerſally obtain; [w] nay, that Plato himſelf could never by all his plauſible and inſinuative arts make his laws to be entertained by his own dear Athenians. He [x] farther ſhews them, that the laws publiſhed by our fiſhermen and tent-makers could never be aboliſhed (like thoſe made by the beſt amongſt them) by the policies of Caius, the power of Claudius, the cruelties of Nero, or any of the ſucceeding emperors; [y] but ſtill they went on *conquering and to conquer*, and made millions both of men and women willing to embrace flames, and to encounter death in its moſt horrid ſhapes, rather than diſown and forſake them: whereof he calls to witneſs thoſe many churches and monuments every where erected to the memory of Chriſtian martyrs, no leſs to the honour than advantage of thoſe cities and countries, and in ſome ſenſe to all mankind.

7. THE ſum of the diſcourſe is, in the Apoſtle's words, [z] that *God choſe the fooliſh things of the world to confound the wiſe, the weak to confound thoſe that are mighty, the baſe things of the world, things moſt vilified and deſpiſed, yea, and things which are not, to bring to nought things that are.* Theſe were the things, theſe the perſons whom God ſent upon this errand, to ſilence [a] *the wiſe, the ſcribe, and the diſputer of this world, and to make fooliſh the wiſdom of this world.* For though *the Jews required a ſign, and the Greeks ſought after wiſdom, though the preaching a crucified Saviour was a ſcandal to the Jews, and fooliſhneſs to the* learned *Grecians,* yet *by this fooliſhneſs of preaching God was pleaſed to ſave them that believed:* and in the event made it appear, that *the fooliſhneſs of God is wiſer than men, and the weakneſs of God ſtronger than men.* That [b] ſo the honour of all might entirely

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[s] Arnob. adv. Gent. lib. 2. p. 21.

[t] De Curand. Græc. Affect. Serm. 9. de Leg. p. 123.

[v] Ibid. p. 125.

[w] Ibid. p. 128.

[x] Ibid. p. 126.

[y] Ibid. p. 135.

[z] 1 Cor. i. 27, 28.

[a] Verſ. 20—25.

[b] Iſti primi vocati ſunt, ut Dominum ſequerentur: piſcatores & illiterati mittuntur ad prædicandum, ne fides credentium non virtute Dei, ſed eloquentia atque doctrina fieri putaretur. Hieron. comm. in Matth. cap. 4. tom. 9. p. 17.

redound to himſelf; ſo the Apoſtle concludes, *that no fleſh ſhould glory in his preſence, but that he that glorieth, ſhould glory in the Lord.*

SECT. II.

Of St. PETER, from his firſt coming to Chriſt, till his being called to be a Diſciple.

Peter, before his coming to Chriſt, a diſciple (probably) of John the Baptiſt. His firſt approaches to Chriſt. Our Lord's communication with him. His return to his trade. Chriſt's entring into Peter's ſhip, and preaching to the people at the ſea of Galilee. The miraculous draught of fiſhes. Peter's great aſtoniſhment at this evidence of our Lord's divinity. His call to be a diſciple. Chriſt's return to Capernaum, and healing Peter's mother-in-law.

THOUGH we find not whether Peter, before his coming to Chriſt, was engaged in any of the particular ſects at this time in the Jewiſh church, yet is it greatly probable that he was one of the diſciples to John the Baptiſt. For firſt, it is certain that his brother Andrew was ſo; and we can hardly think theſe two brothers ſhould draw contrary ways, or that he who was ſo ready to bring his brother the early tidings of the Meſſiah, that the *ſun of righteouſneſs* was already riſen in thoſe parts, ſhould not be as ſolicitous to bring him under the diſcipline and influences of John the Baptiſt, the *day-ſtar* that went before him. Secondly, Peter's forwardneſs, and curioſity at the firſt news of Chriſt's appearing, to come to him, and converſe with him, ſhew that his expectations had been awakened, and ſome light in this matter conveyed to him by the preaching and miniſtry of John, who was *the voice of one crying in the wilderneſs, Prepare ye the way of the Lord, make his paths ſtraight*; ſhewing them who it was that was coming after him.

2. HIS firſt acquaintance with Chriſt commenced in this manner. The bleſſed Jeſus having for thirty years paſſed through the ſolitudes of a private life, had lately been baptized in Jordan, and there publickly owned to be the Son of God, by the moſt ſolemn atteſtations that heaven could give him; whereupon he was immediately hurried into the wilderneſs, to a perſonal conteſt with the devil for forty days together. So natural is it to the enemy of mankind to malign our happineſs, and to ſeek to blaſt our joys, when we are under the higheſt inſtances of the divine grace and favour. His enemy being conquered in three ſet battles, and fled, he returned hence, and came down to Bethabara beyond Jordan, where John was baptizing his proſelytes, and endeavouring to ſatisfy the Jews, who had ſent to him curiouſly to enquire concerning this new Meſſiah that appeared among them. Upon the great teſtimony which the Baptiſt gave him, and his pointing to our Lord then paſſing by him; two of John's diſciples [c] who were then with him preſently followed after Chriſt, one of which was Andrew, Simon's brother. It was towards evening when they came, and therefore probably they ſtaid with him all night, during which Andrew had opportunity to inform himſelf, and to ſatisfy his moſt ſcrupulous enquiries. Early the next morning (if not that very evening) he haſtned to acquaint his brother Simon with theſe glad tidings. [d] It is not enough to be good and happy alone; religion is a communicative principle, that, like the circles in the water, delights to multiply itſelf, and to diffuſe its influences round about it, and eſpecially upon thoſe, whom nature has placed neareſt to us. He tells him, they had found the long looked for Meſſiah, him whom Moſes and the prophets had ſo ſignally foretold, and whom all the devout and pious of that nation had ſo long expected.

3. SIMON (one of thoſe who *looked for the kingdom of God, and waited for the redemption of Iſrael*) raviſhed with this joyful news, and impatient of delay, pre-

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[c] John i. 37.

[d] Ἀνδρέας τοίνυν τῷ ζητουμένῳ περιτυχὼν, ϗ παρ' αὐτῷ μείνας, ϗ μαθὼν ἅπερ ἔμαθε, τὸν θησαυρὸν οὐ κατεῖχε παρ' ἑαυτῷ, οὐδὲ ὑπέμενεν εἰ μὴ ϗ τῷ ἀδελφῷ κοινώσεται, ἀλλ' ἐπείγεται ϗ τρέχει ταχέως, μεταδώσων αὐτῷ τῶν ἀγαθῶν, ὧν πεπλούτηκε. Comment. de S. Andr. in Menæis Græcor. ἡμέρ. λ'. Νοέμβρ. ſub lit. π'.

ſently follows his brother to the place: whither he was no ſooner come, but our Lord, to give him an evidence of his divinity, ſalutes him at firſt ſight by name, tells him what, and who he was, both as to his name and kindred, [e] what title ſhould be given him, that he ſhould be called Cephas, or Peter; a name which he afterwards actually conferred upon him. What paſſed farther between them, and whether theſe two brothers henceforward perſonally attended our Saviour's motions in the number of his diſciples, the ſacred ſtory leaves us in the dark. It ſeems probable, that they ſtaid with him for ſome time, till they were inſtructed in the firſt rudiments of his doctrine, and by his leave departed home. For it is reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that our Lord being unwilling, at this time eſpecially, to awaken the jealouſies of the ſtate by a numerous retinue, might diſmiſs his diſciples for ſome time, and Peter and Andrew amongſt the reſt; who hereupon returned home to the exerciſe of their calling, where he found them afterwards.

4. IT was now ſomewhat more than a year, ſince our Lord having entred upon the publick ſtage of action, conſtantly [f] *went about doing good, healing the ſick, and preaching the goſpel of the kingdom*; reſiding uſually at Capernaum, and the parts about it, where by the conſtancy of his preaching, and the reputation of his miracles, his fame ſpread about all thoſe countries; by means whereof multitudes of people from all parts flocked to him, greedily deſirous to become his auditors. And what wonder, if the parched and barren earth thirſted for the ſhowers of heaven? It happened that our Lord retiring out of the city, to enjoy the privacies of contemplation upon the banks of the ſea of Galilee, it was not long before the multitude found him out; to avoid the croud and preſs whereof, he ſtept into [g] *a ſhip*, or fiſher boat that lay near to the ſhore, which belonged to Peter (who together with his companions, after a tedious and unſucceſsful night, were gone aſhore to waſh and dry their nets.) He who might have commanded, was yet pleaſed to intreat Peter (who by this time was returned into his ſhip) to put a little from the ſhore. Here being ſat, he taught the people, who ſtood along upon the ſhore to hear him. Sermon ended, he reſolved to ſeal up his doctrine with a miracle, that the people might be the more effectually convinced, that *he was a teacher come from God*. To this purpoſe, he bad Simon launch out farther, and caſt his net into the ſea: Simon tells him, they had done it already, that they had been fiſhing all the laſt night, but in vain; and if they could not ſucceed then (the moſt proper ſeaſon for that employment) there was leſs hope to ſpeed now, it being probably about noon. But becauſe where God commands, it is not for any to argue, but obey; at our Lord's inſtance he let down the net, which immediately encloſed ſo great a multitude of fiſhes, that the net began to break, and they were forced to call to their partners, who were in a ſhip hard by them, to come to their aſſiſtance. A draught ſo great that it loaded both their boats, and that ſo full, that it endangered their ſinking before they could get ſafe to ſhore: An inſtance, wherein our Saviour gave an ocular demonſtration, that, as Meſſiah, God had [h] *put all things under his feet, not only fowls of the air, but the fiſh of the ſea, and whatſoever paſſeth through the paths of the ſea.*

5. AMAZED they were all at this miraculous draught of fiſhes, whereupon Simon, in an ecſtaſy of admiration, and a mixture of humility and fear, threw himſelf at the feet of Chriſt, and prayed him to depart from him, as a vile and a ſinful perſon. So evident were the appearances of divinity in this miracle, that he was overpowered and dazled with its brightneſs and luſtre, and reflecting upon himſelf, could not but think himſelf unworthy the preſence of ſo great a perſon, ſo immediately ſent from God; and conſidering his own ſtate (conſcience being hereby more ſenſibly awakened), was afraid that the divine vengeance might purſue and overtake him. But our Lord, to abate the edge of his fears, aſſures him that this miracle was not done to amaze and terrify him, but to ſtrengthen and confirm his faith; that now he had nobler work and employment for him; inſtead of catching fiſh, he ſhould, by perſuading men to the obedience of the goſpel, catch the ſouls of men: And accordingly commanded him and his brother to follow him; (the ſame command which preſently after he gave to the two ſons of Zebedee.) The word was no ſooner ſpoken, and they landed, but diſpoſing their concerns in the hands of friends (as we may preſume prudent and reaſonable men would) they immediately left all, and followed him; and from this time Peter and the reſt became his conſtant and inſeparable diſciples, living under the rules of his diſcipline and inſtitutions.

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[e] John i. 42. [f] Matt. iv. 23. [g] Luke v. 1. [h] Pſal. viii. 6, 7, 8.

6. FROM hence they returned to Capernaum, where our Lord entring into Simon's houſe (the place in all likelihood where he was wont to lodge during his reſidence in that city) [i] found his mother-in-law viſited with a violent fever. No privileges afford an exemption from the ordinary laws of human nature; Chriſt under her roof did not protect this woman from the aſſaults and invaſions of a fever. *Lord,* [k] *behold, he whom thou loveſt is ſick,* as they ſaid concerning Lazarus. Here a freſh opportunity offered itſelf to Chriſt of exerting his divine power. No ſooner was he told of it, but he came to her bed-ſide, rebuked the paroxyſm, commanded the fever to be gone, and taking her by the hand to lift her up, in a moment reſtored her to perfect health, and ability to return to the buſineſs of her family; all cures being equally eaſy to omnipotence.

SECT. III.

Of St. PETER, from his election to the Apoſtolate, till the confeſſion which he made of Chriſt.

The election of the Apoſtles; and our Lord's ſolemn preparation for it. The powers and commiſſion given to them. Why twelve choſen. Peter the firſt in order, not power. The Apoſtles when and by whom baptized. The tradition of Euodius, of Peter's being immediately baptized by Chriſt, rejected, and its authorities proved inſufficient. Three of the Apoſtles more intimately converſant with our Saviour. Peter's being with Chriſt at the raiſing Jairus his daughter. His walking with Chriſt upon the ſea. The creatures at God's command act contrary to their natural inclinations. The weakneſs of Peter's faith. Chriſt's power in commanding down the ſtorm, an evidence of his divinity. Many diſciples deſert our Saviour's preaching. Peter's profeſſion of conſtancy in the name of the reſt of the Apoſtles.

1. OUR Lord being now to elect ſome peculiar perſons, as his immediate vicegerents upon earth, to whoſe care and truſt he might commit the building up of his church, and the planting that religion in the world, for which he himſelf came down from heaven: In order to it he privately over night withdrew himſelf into [l] a ſolitary mountain (commonly called the mount of Chriſt, from his frequent repairing thither; though ſome of the ancients will have it to be mount Tabor) there to make his ſolemn addreſs to heaven for a proſperous ſucceſs on ſo great a work. Herein leaving an excellent copy and precedent to the governors of his church, how to proceed in ſetting apart perſons to ſo weighty and difficult an employment. Upon this mountain we may conceive there was an oratory or place of prayer (probably intimated by St. Luke's ἡ προσευχὴ, for ſuch proſeucha's, or houſes of prayer, uſually uncovered, and ſtanding in the fields, the Jews had in ſeveral places) wherein our Lord continued all night, not in one continued and intire act of devotion, but probably by intervals and repeated returns of duty.

2. EARLY the next morning his diſciples came to him, out of whom he made choice of [m] twelve to be his Apoſtles, that they might be the conſtant attendants upon his perſon, to hear his diſcourſes, and be eye-witneſſes of his miracles; to be always converſant with him while he was upon earth, and afterwards to be ſent abroad up and down the world, to carry on that work which he himſelf had begun; whom therefore he inveſted with the power of working miracles, which was more compleatly conferred upon them after his aſcenſion into heaven. Paſſing by the ſeveral fancies and conjectures of the ancients, why our Saviour pitched upon the juſt number of twelve (whereof before) it may deſerve to be conſidered, whether our Lord being now to appoint the ſupreme officers and governors of his church, which the Apoſtle ſtiles, the [n] *commonwealth of Iſrael,* might not herein have a more pe-

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[i] Matt. viii. 14. Mark i. 29. Luke iv. 38.
[k] John xi. 3.
[l] Luke vi. 12.
[m] Matt. x. 1. Mark iii. 14. Luke vi. 13.
[n] Epheſ. ii. 12.

culiar alluſion to the twelve patriarchs, as founders of their ſeveral tribes; or to the conſtant heads and rulers of thoſe twelve tribes, of which the body of the Jewiſh nation did conſiſt: Eſpecially ſince he himſelf ſeems elſewhere to give countenance to it, when he tells the Apoſtles that [o] *when the ſon of man ſhall ſit on the throne of his glory*, that is, be gone back to heaven, and have taken full poſſeſſion of his evangelical kingdom, which principally commenced from his reſurrection, that then *they alſo ſhould ſit upon twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Iſrael*; that is, they ſhould have great power and authority in the church, ſuch as the power of the keys, and other rights of ſpiritual judicature and ſovereignty, anſwerable in ſome proportion to the power and dignity which the heads and rulers of the twelve tribes of Iſrael did enjoy.

3. IN the enumeration of theſe twelve Apoſtles, all the Evangeliſts conſtantly place St. Peter in the front; and St. Matthew [p] expreſly tells us, that he was the *firſt*; that is, he was the firſt that was called to be an Apoſtle: his age alſo and the gravity of his perſon more particularly qualifying him for a primacy of order amongſt the reſt of the Apoſtles, as that without which no ſociety of men can be managed or maintained. Leſs than this, as none will deny him; ſo more than this, neither ſcripture nor primitive antiquity do allow him. And now it was that our Lord actually conferred that name upon him, which before he had promiſed him. [q] *Simon he ſurnamed Peter.* It may here be enquired, when, and by whom the Apoſtles were baptized. That they were is unqueſtionable, being themſelves appointed to confer it upon others; but when, or how, the ſcripture is altogether ſilent. Nicephorus, [r] from no worſe an author, as he pretends, than Euodius, St. Peter's immediate ſucceſſor in the ſee of Antioch, tells us, That of all the Apoſtles Chriſt baptized none but Peter with his own hands; that Peter baptized Andrew, and the two ſons of Zebedee, and they the reſt of the Apoſtles. This, if ſo, would greatly make for the honour of St. Peter. But alas! his authority is not only ſuſpicious, but ſuppoſititious, in a manner deſerted by St. Peter's beſt friends, and the ſtrongeſt champions of his cauſe: Baronius himſelf, however ſometimes [s] willing to make uſe of him, elſewhere [t] confeſſes, that this epiſtle of Euodius is altogether unknown to any of the ancients. As for the teſtimony of Clemens Alexandrinus, which to the ſame purpoſe he quotes out of [v] Sophronius, (though not Sophronius, but Johannes Moſchus, as is notoriouſly known, be the author of that book) beſides that it is delivered upon an uncertain report, pretended to have been alledged in a diſcourſe between one Dionyſius biſhop of Aſcalon and his clergy, out of a book of Clemens not now extant; his authors are much alike, that is, of no great value and authority.

4. AMONGST theſe Apoſtles our Lord choſe a triumvirate, Peter and the two ſons of Zebedee, to be his more intimate companions, whom he admitted more familiarly than the reſt, unto all the more ſecret paſſages and tranſactions of his life. The firſt inſtance of which was on this occaſion. Jairus, [w] a ruler of the ſynagogue, had a daughter deſperately ſick, whoſe diſeaſe having baffled all the arts of phyſick, was only curable by the immediate agency of the God of nature. He therefore in all humility addreſſes himſelf to our Saviour; which he had no ſooner done, but ſervants came poſt to tell him, that it was in vain to trouble our Lord, for that his daughter was dead. Chriſt bids him not deſpond, if his faith held out, there was no danger. And ſuffering none to follow him but Peter, James and John, goes along with him to the houſe; where he was derided by the ſorrowful friends and neighbours, for telling them that ſhe was not perfectly dead. But our Lord entring in, with the commanding efficacy of two words, reſtored her at once both to life and perfect health.

5. OUR Lord after this preached many ſermons, and wrought many miracles; amongſt which, none more remarkable, than his [x] feeding a multitude of five thouſand men, beſides women and children, but with five loaves and two fiſhes; of which, nevertheleſs, twelve baſkets of fragments were taken up. Which being done, and the multitude diſmiſſed, he commanded the Apoſtles to take ſhip, it being now near night, and to croſs over to Capernaum, whilſt he himſelf, as his manner was, retired to a neighbouring mountain, to diſpoſe himſelf to prayer and contemplation. The Apoſtles were ſcarce got into the middle of the ſea, when on a ſudden

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[o] Matt. xix. 28.

[p] Matt. x. 2.

[q] Mark iii. 10,

[r] Hiſt. Eccleſ. lib. 2. c. 3. p. 134.

[s] Ad An. 31. num. 40.

[t] Ad An. 71. num. 13.

[v] Vid. Joſ. Moſchi Prat. Spir. c. 176. Bibl. P. Græc. L. tom. 2. p. 1133.

[w] Mark v. 22.

[x] Matt. xiv. 17.

a violent ſtorm and tempeſt began to ariſe, whereby they were brought into preſent danger of their lives. Our Saviour, who knew how the caſe ſtood with them, and how much they laboured under infinite pains and fears, having himſelf cauſed this tempeſt, for the greater trial of their faith, a little before morning (for ſo long they remained in this imminent danger) immediately conveyed himſelf upon the ſea, where the waves received him, being proud to carry their maſter. He who refuſed to gratify the devils, when tempting him to throw himſelf down from the pinnacle of the temple, did here commit himſelf to a boiſterous and inſtable element, and that in a violent ſtorm, walking upon the water as if it had been dry ground. But that infinite power that made and ſupports the world, as it gave rules to all particular beings, ſo can when it pleaſeth countermand the laws of their creation, and make them act contrary to their natural inclinations. If God ſay the word, the ſun will ſtand ſtill in the middle of the heavens; if, Go back, it will retrocede, as upon the dial of Ahaz: if he command it, the heavens will become as braſs, and the earth as iron, and that for three years and an half together, as in the caſe of Elijah's prayer: If he ſay to the ſea, Divide; it will run upon heaps, and become on both ſides as firm as a wall of marble. Nothing can be more natural than for the fire to burn, and yet at God's command it will forget its nature, and become a ſcrene and a fence to the three children in the Babylonian furnace. What heavier than iron, or more natural than for gravity to tend downwards? yet when God will have it, iron ſhall float like cork on the top of the water. The proud and raging ſea, that naturally refuſes to bear the bodies of men while alive, became here as firm as braſs, when commanded to wait upon and do homage to the God of nature. Our Lord walking toward the ſhip as if he had an intention to paſs by it, he was eſpyed by them, who preſently thought it to be the apparition of a ſpirit. Hereupon they were ſeized with great terror and conſternation, and their fears in all likelihood heightned by the vulgar opinion, that they are evil ſpirits that chooſe rather to appear in the night than by day. While they were in this agony, our Lord taking compaſſion on them, calls to them, and bids them not be afraid, for that it was no other than he himſelf. Peter (the eagerneſs of whoſe temper carried him forward to all bold and reſolute undertakings) entreated our Lord, that if it was he, he might have leave to come upon the water to him. Having received his orders, he went out of the ſhip, and walked upon the ſea to meet his maſter. But when he found the wind to bear hard againſt him, and the waves to riſe round about him, whereby, probably, the ſight of Chriſt was intercepted, he began to be afraid; and the higher his fears aroſe, the lower his faith began to ſink, and together with that, his body to ſink under water: whereupon in a paſſionate fright he cried out to our Lord to help him; who, reaching out his arm, took him by the hand, and ſet him again upon the top of the water, with this gentle reproof, *O thou of little faith, wherefore didſt thou doubt?* It being the weakneſs of our faith that makes the influences of the divine power and goodneſs to have no better effect upon us. Being come to the ſhip, they took them in, where our Lord no ſooner arrived, but the winds and waves obſerving their duty to their ſovereign Lord, and having done the errand which they came upon, mannerly departed, and vaniſhed away, and the ſhip in an inſtant was at the ſhore. All that were in the ſhip being ſtrangely aſtoniſhed at this miracle, and fully convinced of the divinity of his perſon, came and did homage to him, with this confeſſion, *Of a truth thou art the Son of God.* After which they went aſhore, and landed in the country of Geneſareth, and there more fully acknowledged him before all the people.

6. THE next day, great multitudes flocking after him, he entred into a ſynagogue at Capernaum, and taking occaſion from the late miracle of the loaves, which he had wrought amongſt them, he began to diſcourſe concerning himſelf, as the [y] *true manna*, and the *bread that came down from heaven*; largely opening unto them many of the more ſublime and ſpiritual myſteries, and the neceſſary and important duties of the goſpel. Hereupon a great part of his auditory, who had hitherto followed him, finding their underſtandings gravelled with theſe difficult and uncommon notions, and that the duties he required were likely to grate hard upon them, and perceiving now that he was not the Meſſiah they took him for, whoſe kingdom ſhould conſiſt in an external grandeur and plenty, but was to be managed and tranſacted in a more inward and ſpiritual way; hereupon fairly left him in open field, and henceforth quite turned their backs upon him. Whereupon our Lord, turning about

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[y] John vi. 24.

J. Clark sculp.

But when Peter *ſaw the Wind boiſterous, he was afraid, & beginning to ſink, he cried ſaying,* Lord *ſave me, and immediately* Jeſus *ſtretched forth his Hand and caught him. &c.*

St. Matt. Chap. 14th Ver. 30th 31st.

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5 AU 70

about to his Apoſtles, aſked them, whether they alſo would go away from him? Peter (ſpokeſman generally for all the reſt) anſwered, whither ſhould they go to mend and better their condition? ſhould they return back to Moſes? alas! he laid *a yoke upon them, which neither they nor their fathers were able to bear.* Should they go to the Scribes and Phariſees? they would feed them with ſtones inſtead of bread, obtrude human traditions upon them for divine dictates and commands. Should they betake themſelves to the philoſophers amongſt the Gentiles? they were miſerably blind and ſhort-ſighted in their notions of things, and their ſentiments and opinions not only different from, but contrary to one another. No, it was he only had *the words of eternal life,* whoſe doctrine could inſtruct them in the plain way to heaven: that they had fully aſſented to what both John and he had ſaid concerning himſelf: That they were fully perſuaded, both from the efficacy of his ſermons which they heard, and the powerful conviction of his miracles, which they had ſeen, that he was *the Son of the living God,* the true Meſſiah and Saviour of the world. But notwithſtanding this fair and plauſible teſtimony, he tells them that they were not all of this mind, that there was a Satan amongſt them, one that was moved by the ſpirit and impulſe, and that acted according to the rules and intereſt of the devil; intimating Judas, who ſhould betray him. So hard is it to meet with a body of ſo juſt and pure a conſtitution, wherein ſome rotten member or diſtempered part is not to be found.

SECT. IV.

Of St. PETER, from the time of his confeſſion, till our Lord's laſt paſſover.

Our Saviour's journey with his Apoſtles to Cæſarea. The opinions of the people concerning him. Peter's eminent confeſſion of Chriſt, and our Lord's great commendation of it: Thou art Peter, and upon this rock, &c. *The keys of the kingdom of heaven, how given. The advantage the church of Rome makes of theſe paſſages. This confeſſion made by Peter in the name of the reſt, and by others before him. No perſonal privilege intended to St. Peter; the ſame things elſewhere promiſed to the other Apoſtles. Our Lord's diſcourſe concerning his paſſion. Peter's unſeaſonable zeal in diſſuading him from it, and our Lord's ſevere rebuking him. Chriſt's transfiguration, and the glory of it: Peter how affected with it. Peter's paying tribute for Chriſt and himſelf: This tribute, what. Our Saviour's diſcourſe upon it. Offending brethren, how oft to be forgiven. The young man commanded to ſell all. What compenſation made to the followers of Chriſt. Our Lord's triumphant entrance into Jeruſalem. Preparation made to keep the paſſover.*

1. IT was ſome time ſince our Saviour had kept his third [a] paſſover at Jeruſalem, when he directed his journey towards Cæſarea Philippi; where by the way, having like a careful maſter of his family firſt prayed with his Apoſtles, he began to aſk them (having been more than two years publickly converſant amongſt them) what the world thought concerning him. They anſwered, that the opinions of men about him were various and different; that ſome took him for John the Baptiſt lately riſen from the dead; between whoſe doctrine, diſcipline and way of life, in the main, there was ſo great a correſpondence. That others thought he was Elias; probably judging ſo from the gravity of his perſon, freedom of his preaching, the fame and reputation of his miracles; eſpecially ſince the ſcriptures aſſured them he was not dead, but taken up into heaven; and had ſo expreſly foretold, that he ſhould return back again. That others looked upon him as the prophet Jeremiah alive again, of whoſe return the Jews had great expectations, inſomuch that ſome of them thought the ſoul of Jeremias was re-inſpired into Zacharias.

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[a] Mark viii. 27. Matt. xvi. 13. Luke ix. 18.

rias. Or if not thus, at leaſt that he was one of the more eminent of the ancient prophets, or that the ſoul of ſome of theſe perſons had been breathed into him: The doctrine of the μετεμψύχωσις, or tranſmigration of ſouls, firſt broached and propagated by Pythagoras, being at this time current among the Jews, and owned by the Phariſees as one of their prime notions and principles.

2. THIS account not ſufficing, our Lord comes cloſer and nearer to them; tells them, It was no wonder if the common people were divided into theſe wild thoughts concerning him: but ſince they had been always with him, had been hearers of his ſermons, and ſpectators of his miracles, he enquired, what they themſelves thought of him. Peter, ever forward to return an anſwer, and therefore by the Fathers frequently ſtiled "the Mouth of the Apoſtles," [a] told him in the name of the reſt, that he was the Meſſiah, *the Son of the living God*, promiſed of old in the law and the prophets, heartily deſired and looked for by all good men, anointed and ſet apart by God to be the King, Prieſt, and Prophet of his people. To this excellent and comprehenſive confeſſion of St. Peter's, our Lord returns this great eulogy and commendation; *Bleſſed art thou, Simon Bar-Jonah; fleſh and blood hath not revealed it unto thee, but my Father which is in heaven:* that is, this faith which thou haſt now confeſſed, is not human, contrived by man's wit, or built upon his teſtimony, but upon thoſe notions and principles which I was ſent by God to reveal to the world, and thoſe mighty and ſolemn atteſtations, which he has given from heaven to the truth both of my perſon and my doctrine. And becauſe thou haſt ſo freely made this confeſſion, therefore *I alſo ſay unto thee, that thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church, and the gates of hell ſhall not prevail againſt it.* That is, that as thy name ſignifies *a ſtone*, or *rock*, ſuch ſhalt thou thy ſelf be, firm, ſolid, and immovable, in building of the church; which ſhall be ſo orderly erected by thy care and diligence, and ſo firmly founded upon that faith which thou haſt now confeſſed, that all the attempts and aſſaults which the powers of hell can make againſt it, ſhall not be able to overturn it. Moreover, *I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and whatſoever thou ſhalt bind on earth, ſhall be bound in heaven, and whatſoever thou ſhalt looſe on earth, ſhall be looſed in heaven:* That is, thou ſhalt have that ſpiritual authority and power within the church, whereby as with keys thou ſhalt be able to ſhut and lock out obſtinate and impenitent ſinners; and upon their repentance to unlock the door, and take them in again: And what thou ſhalt thus regularly do, ſhall be owned in the court above, and ratified by God in heaven.

3. UPON theſe ſeveral paſſages, the champions of the church of Rome mainly build the unlimited ſupremacy and infallibility of the biſhops of that ſee; with how much truth, and how little reaſon, it is not my preſent purpoſe to diſcuſs. It may ſuffice here to remark, that though this place does very much tend to exalt the honour of St. Peter, yet is there nothing herein perſonal and peculiar to him alone, as diſtinct from, and preferred above the reſt of the Apoſtles. Does he here make confeſſion of Chriſt's being the Son of God? Yet, beſides that herein he ſpake but the ſenſe of all the reſt, this was no more than what others had ſaid as well as he, yea before he was ſo much as called to be a diſciple. Thus Nathanael at his firſt coming to Chriſt expreſly told him, [b] *Rabbi, thou art the ſon of God; thou art the king of Iſrael.* Does our Lord here ſtile him a rock? All the Apoſtles are elſewhere equally called *foundations,* [c] yea ſaid to be the *twelve foundations upon which the wall of the new Jeruſalem,* that is, the evangelical church, is erected; and ſometimes others of them beſides Peter are called *pillars,* as they have relation to the church already built. Does Chriſt here promiſe the keys to Peter? that is, power of governing, and of exerciſing church-cenſures, and abſolving penitent ſinners? The very ſame is [d] elſewhere promiſed to all the Apoſtles, and almoſt in the very ſame terms and words, *If thine offending brother prove obſtinate, tell it unto the church; but if he neglect to hear the church, let him be unto thee an heathen and a publican. Verily I ſay unto you, whatſoever ye ſhall bind on earth, ſhall be bound in heaven, and whatſoever ye ſhall looſe on earth, ſhall be looſed in heaven.* And elſewhere, [e] when ready to leave the world, he tells them, *As my Father hath ſent me, even ſo ſend I you: whoſeſoever ſins ye remit, they are remitted unto them; and whoſeſoever ſins ye retain, they are retained.* By all which it is evident, that our Lord did not here give

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[a] Τὸ στόμα τῶν ἀποστόλων ὁ Πέτρος, ὁ πανταχοῦ θερμὸς, ὁ τοῦ χοροῦ τῶν ἀποστόλων κορυφαῖος, πάντων ἐρωτηθέντων, αὐτὸς ἀποκρίνεται. Chryſoſt. in Matt. xvi. p. 483.

[b] John i. 49.

[c] Rev. xxi. 14. Eph. ii. 20. Gal. ii. 9.

[d] Matt. xviii. 17, 18.

[e] John xx. 21, 23.

any perſonal prerogative to St. Peter, as univerſal paſtor and head of the Chriſtian church, much leſs to thoſe who were to be his ſucceſſors in the ſee of Rome; but that as he made his confeſſion in the name of the reſt of the Apoſtles, ſo what was here promiſed unto him, was equally intended unto all. Nor did the more conſidering and judicious part of the fathers (however giving a mighty reverence to St. Peter) ever underſtand it in any other ſenſe. Sure I am that [f] Origen tells us, that every true Chriſtian that makes this confeſſion with the ſame ſpirit and integrity which St. Peter did, ſhall have the ſame bleſſing and commendation from Chriſt conferred upon him.

4. THE holy Jeſus, knowing the time of his paſſion to draw on, began to prepare the minds of his Apoſtles againſt that fatal hour; telling them what hard and bitter things he ſhould ſuffer at Jeruſalem, [g] what affronts and indignities he muſt undergo, and be at laſt put to death with all the arts of torture and diſgrace, by the decree of the Jewiſh Sanhedrim. Peter, whom our Lord had infinitely encouraged and endeared to him, by the great things which he had lately ſaid concerning him, ſo that his ſpirits were now afloat, and his paſſions ready to overrun the banks, not able to endure a thought that ſo much evil ſhould befal his Maſter, broke out into an over-confident and unſeaſonable interruption of him: *He took him and began to rebuke him, ſaying, Be it far from thee, Lord; this ſhall not be unto thee.* Beſides his great kindneſs and affection to his Maſter, the minds of the Apoſtles were not yet throughly purged from the hopes and expectations of a glorious reign of the Meſſiah, ſo that Peter could not but look upon theſe ſufferings as unbecoming and inconſiſtent with the ſtate and dignity of the Son of God. And therefore thought good to adviſe his Lord to take care of himſelf, and while there was time, to prevent and avoid them. This our Lord, who valued the Redemption of mankind infinitely before his own eaſe and ſafety, reſented at ſo high a rate, that he returned upon him with this tart and ſtinging reproof, *Get thee behind me, Satan:* the very ſame treatment which he once gave to the devil himſelf, when he made that inſolent propoſal to him, [h] *to fall down and worſhip him:* Though in Satan it was the reſult of pure malice and hatred, in Peter only an error of love and great regard. However, our Lord could not but look upon it as a miſchievous and diabolical counſel, prompted and promoted by the great adverſary of mankind. Away therefore, ſays Chriſt, with thy helliſh and pernicious counſel, *Thou art an offence unto me,* in ſeeking to oppoſe and undermine that great deſign for which I purpoſely came down from heaven; in this *thou ſavoureſt not the things of God, but thoſe that be of men,* in ſuggeſting to me thoſe little ſhifts and arts of ſafety and ſelf-preſervation, which human prudence, and the love of mens own ſelves, are wont to dictate to them. By which, though we may learn Peter's mighty kindneſs to our Saviour, yet that herein he did not take his meaſures right. A plain evidence that his Infallibility had not yet taken place.

5. ABOUT a week after this, our Saviour being to receive a type and ſpecimen of his future glorification, [i] took with him his three more intimate Apoſtles, Peter and the two ſons of Zebedee, and went up into a very high mountain, which the ancients generally conceived to have been mount Tabor, a round and very high mountain, ſituate in the plains of Galilee. And now was even literally fulfilled what the Pſalmiſt had ſpoken, [k] *Tabor and Hermon ſhall rejoice in thy name:* For what greater joy and triumph, than to be peculiarly choſen to be the holy mount, whereon our Lord in ſo eminent a manner *received from God the Father honour and glory,* and made ſuch magnificent diſplays of his divine power and majeſty? For while they were here earneſtly employed in prayer, (as ſeldom did our Lord enter upon any eminent action, but he firſt made his addreſs to heaven) he was ſuddenly transformed into another manner of appearance; ſuch a luſtre and radiancy darted from his face, that the ſun itſelf ſhines not brighter at noon-day: ſuch beams of light reflected from his garments, as out-did the light itſelf that was round about them, ſo exceeding pure and white, that the ſnow might bluſh to compare with it; nor could the fuller's art purify any thing into half that whiteneſs: an evident and ſenſible repreſentation of the glory of that ſtate, wherein the juſt ſhall *walk in white, and ſhine as the ſun in the kingdom of the Father.* During this heavenly ſcene, there appeared Moſes and Elias, (who, as the Jews ſay, ſhall come together) cloathed with all the brightneſs and majeſty of a glorified ſtate, familiarly converſing with

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[f] Comment. in loc. tom. 3. fol. 1. fac. 2.

[g] Matt. xvi. 21. Mark viii. 31. Luke ix. 22.

[h] Luke iv. 8.

[i] Matt. xvii. 1. Mark ix. 2. Luke ix. 28.

[k] Pſal. lxxxix. 12.

him, and diſcourſing of the death and ſufferings which he was ſhortly to undergo, and his departure into heaven. Behold here together the three greateſt perſons that ever were the miniſters of heaven: Moſes, under God, the inſtitutor and promulgator of the law; Elias, the great reformer of it, when under its deepeſt degeneracy and corruption; and the bleſſed Jeſus, the Son of God, who came to take away what was weak and imperfect, and to introduce a more manly and rational inſtitution, and to communicate the laſt revelation which God would make of his mind to the world. Peter and the two Apoſtles that were with him, were in the mean time fallen aſleep, heavy through want of natural reſt, (it being probably night when this was done) or elſe overpowered with theſe extraordinary appearances, which the frailty and weakneſs of their preſent ſtate could not bear, were fallen into a trance. But now awaking, were ſtrangely ſurprized to behold our Lord ſurrounded with ſo much glory, and thoſe two great perſons converſing with him; knowing who they were, probably, by ſome particular marks and ſignatures that were upon them, or elſe by immediate revelation, or from the diſcourſe which paſſed betwixt Chriſt and them, or poſſibly from ſome communication which they themſelves might have with them. While theſe heavenly gueſts were about to depart, Peter in a great rapture and extaſy of mind addreſſed himſelf to our Saviour, telling him how infinitely they were pleaſed and delighted with their being there; and to that purpoſe deſiring his leave that they might erect three tabernacles, one for him, one for Moſes, and one for Elias. While he was thus ſaying, a bright cloud ſuddenly overſhadowed the two great miniſters, and wrapt them up: out of which came a voice, *This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleaſed, hear ye him:* which when the Apoſtles heard, and ſaw the cloud coming over themſelves, they were ſeized with a great conſternation, and fell upon their faces to the ground; whom our Lord gently touched, bad them ariſe and diſband their fears; whereupon looking up, they ſaw none but their Maſter, the reſt having vaniſhed and diſappeared. In memory of theſe great tranſactions, [l] Bede tells us, that in purſuance of St. Peter's petition about the three tabernacles, there were afterwards three churches built upon the top of this mountain, which in after-times were had in great veneration, which might poſſibly give ſome foundation to that report which [m] one makes, that in his time there were ſhewed the ruins of thoſe three tabernacles, which were built according to St. Peter's deſire.

6. AFTER this, [n] our Lord and his Apoſtles having travelled through Galilee, the gatherers of the tribute-money came to Peter, and aſked him, whether his Maſter was not obliged to pay the tribute, which God, under the Moſaic law, commanded to be yearly paid by every Jew above twenty years old, to the uſe of the temple; which ſo continued to the times of Veſpaſian, under whom the temple being deſtroyed, it was by him transferred to the uſe of the capitol at Rome; being to the value of half a ſhekel, or fifteen pence of our money. To this queſtion of theirs, Peter poſitively anſwers, Yes; knowing his Maſter would never be backward, either *to give unto Cæſar the things that are Cæſar's, or unto God the things that are God's.* Peter going into the houſe to give an account to his Maſter, and to know his mind concerning it, Chriſt prevented him with this queſtion, *What thinkeſt thou, Simon, of whom do earthly kings exact tribute, of their own children* and family, or from other people? Peter anſwered, Not from their own ſervants and family, but from *ſtrangers.* To which our Lord preſently replied, That then according to his own argument and opinion, both he himſelf, as being the Son of God, and they, whom he had taken to be his menial and domeſtick ſervants, were free from this tax of head-money, yearly to be paid to God. But rather than give offence, by ſeeming to deſpiſe the temple, and to undervalue that authority that had ſettled this tribute, he reſolves to put himſelf to the expence and charges of a miracle, and therefore commanded Peter to go to the ſea, and take up the firſt fiſh which came to his hook, in whoſe mouth he ſhould find a piece of money (a *ſtater*, in value a ſhekel, or half a crown) which he took and gave to the collectors, both for his Maſter and himſelf.

7. OUR Lord after this, [o] diſcourſing to them, how to carry themſelves towards their offending brethren, Peter, being deſirous to be more particularly informed in this matter, aſked our Saviour, How oft a man was obliged to forgive his brother, in caſe of offence and treſpaſs, whether ſeven times were not enough? He told

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[l] De Loc. Sanct. c. 17.

[m] Bern. à Bridenb. Itiner. Terræ Sanct. vid. J. Cotovic. Itiner. lib. 3. c. 7. p. 355.

[n] Matt. xvii. 24.

[o] Chap. xviii. 21.

him, that upon his neighbour's repentance he was not only bound to do it *ſeven times*, but *until ſeventy times ſeven*; that is, he muſt be indulgent to him as oft as the offender returns and begs it, and heartily profeſſes his ſorrow and repentance: Which he farther illuſtrates by a plain and excellent parable, and thence draws this concluſion, That the ſame meaſures, either of compaſſion or cruelty, which men ſhew to their fellow brethren, [p] they themſelves ſhall meet with at the hands of God, the ſupream ruler and juſticiary of the world. It was not long after, when a briſk young man addreſſed himſelf to our Saviour, to know of him, by what methods he might beſt attain eternal life. Our Lord, to humble his confidence, bid him *ſell his eſtate, and give it to the poor*; and, putting himſelf under his diſcipline, he ſhould have a much better *treaſure in heaven.* The man was rich, and liked not the counſel, nor was he willing to purchaſe happineſs at ſuch a rate; and accordingly went away under great ſorrow and diſcontent. Upon which Chriſt takes occaſion to let them know, how hardly thoſe men would get to heaven, who built their comfort and happineſs upon the plenty and abundance of theſe outward things. Peter, taking hold of this opportunity, aſked, What return they themſelves ſhould have, who had quitted and renounced whatever they had for his ſake and ſervice? Our Saviour anſwers, That no man ſhould be a loſer by his ſervice; that, for their parts, they ſhould be recompenced with far greater privileges; and that whoever ſhould forſake houſes or lands, kindred or relations, out of love to him and his religion, ſhould enjoy them again with infinite advantages in this world, if conſiſtent with the circumſtances of their ſtate, and thoſe troubles and perſecutions which would neceſſarily ariſe from the profeſſion of the goſpel: however, they ſhould have what would make infinite amends for all, eternal life in the other world.

8. OUR Saviour, in order to his laſt fatal journey to Jeruſalem, that he might the better comply with the prophecy that went before of him, ſent two of his Apoſtles; who in all probability were Peter and John, with an authoritative commiſſion to fetch him an [q] aſs to ride on (he had none of his own; he who *was rich, for our ſakes made himſelf poor*; he lived upon charity all his life, had neither an aſs to ride on, nor a houſe where to lay his head, no nor after his death a tomb to lie in, but what the charity of others provided for him) whereon being mounted, and attended with the feſtivities of the people, he ſet forward in his journey; wherein there appears an admirable mixture of humility and majeſty: The aſs he rode on became the meanneſs and meekneſs of a prophet; but his arbitrary commiſſion for the fetching it, and the ready obedience of its owners, ſpake the prerogative of a king; the palms born before him, the garments ſtrewed in his way, and the joyful hoſannahs and acclamations of the people, proclaim at once both the majeſty of a prince, and the triumph of a Saviour. For ſuch expreſſions of joy we find were uſual in publick and feſtival ſolemnities; thus the [r] hiſtorian deſcribing the emperor Commodus his triumphant return to Rome, tells us, that the ſenate and whole people of Rome, to teſtify their mighty kindneſs and veneration for him, came out of the city to meet him, δαφνηφοροῦντες τε ϗ πάντα ἐπιφερόμενοι ἄνθη τότε ἀκμάζοντα, carrying palms and laurels along with them, and throwing about all ſorts of flowers that were then in ſeaſon. In this manner our Lord being entred the city, he ſoon after retired to Bethany, [s] whence he diſpatched Peter and John to make preparation for the paſſover; giving them inſtructions where he would have it kept. Accordingly, they found the perſon he had deſcribed to them, whom they followed home to his houſe. Whether this was the houſe of John the Evangeliſt (as Nicephorus [t] tells us) ſituate near mount Sion, or of Simon the leper, or of Nicodemus, or of Joſeph of Arimathea, as others ſeverally conjecture; ſeeing none of the Evangeliſts have thought fit to tell us, it may not become us curiouſly to enquire.

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[p] Matt. xix. 16. Mark x. 17. Luke xviii. 18.

[q] Matt. xxi. 1.

[r] Herod. lib. 1. in vit. Comm. p. 47.

[s] Matt. xxvi. 17. Mark xiv. 12. Luke xxii. 7.

[t] Hiſt. Eccl. lib. 1. c. 28. p. 104.

SECT. V.

Of St. PETER, from the laſt Paſſover, till the Death of Chriſt.

The paſſover celebrated by our Lord and his Apoſtles. His waſhing their feet. Peter's imprudent modeſty. The myſtery and meaning of the action. The traitor, who. The Lord's ſupper inſtituted. Peter's confident promiſe of ſuffering with and for Chriſt. Our Lord's diſlike of his confidence, and foretelling his denial. Their going to the mount of Olives. Peter renews his reſolution. His indiſcreet zeal and affection. Our Saviour's paſſion, why begun in a garden. The bitterneſs of his antepaſſion. The drowſineſs of Peter and the two ſons of Zebedee. Our Lord's great candour towards them, and what it ought to teach us. Chriſt's apprehenſion, and Peter's bold attempt upon Malchus. Chriſt deſerted by the Apoſtles. Peter's following his Maſter to the high prieſt's hall, and thrice denying him, with oaths and imprecations. The Galilæan dialect, what. The cock crowing, and Peter's repentance upon it.

ALL things being now prepared, our Saviour with his Apoſtles comes down for the celebration of the paſſover. And being entred into the houſe, they all orderly took their places. Our Lord, who had always taught them by his practice, no leſs than by his doctrine, did now particularly deſign to teach them humility and charity by his own example. And that the inſtance might be the greater, he underwent the meaneſt offices of the miniſtry: Towards the end therefore of the paſchal ſupper, [v] he aroſe from the table, and laying aſide his upper garment (which, according to the faſhion of thoſe eaſtern countries, being long, was unfit for action) and himſelf taking a towel, and pouring water into a baſon, he began to waſh all the Apoſtles feet; not diſdaining thoſe of Judas himſelf. Coming to Peter, he would by no means admit an inſtance of ſo much condeſcenſion. What? the maſter do this to the ſervant? the Son of God to ſo vile a ſinner? This made him a ſecond time refuſe it, *Thou ſhalt never waſh my feet.* But our Lord ſoon corrects his imprudent modeſty, by telling him, that *if he waſhed him not, he could have no part with him:* inſinuating the myſtery of this action, which was to denote remiſſion of ſin, and the purifying virtue of the Spirit of Chriſt to be poured upon all true Chriſtians. Peter, ſatisfied with the anſwer, ſoon altered his reſolution, *Lord, not my feet only, but alſo my hands and my head.* If the caſe be ſo, let me be waſhed all over, rather than come ſhort of my portion in thee [w]. This being done, he returned again to the table, and acquainted them with the meaning and tendency of this myſtical action, and what force it ought to have upon them towards one another. The waſhing itſelf denoted their inward and ſpiritual cleanſing by the blood and ſpirit of Chriſt, ſymbolically typified and repreſented by all the waſhings and baptiſms of the Moſaic inſtitution: The waſhing of the feet reſpected our intire ſanctification of our whole ſpirit, ſoul and body, no part being to be left impure. And then, that all this ſhould be done by ſo great a perſon, their Lord and Maſter, preached to their very ſenſes a ſermon of the greateſt humility and condeſcenſion, and taught them how little reaſon they had to boggle at the meaneſt offices of kindneſs and charity towards others, when he himſelf had ſtooped to ſo low an abaſure towards them. And now he began more immediately to reflect upon his ſufferings, and upon him who was to be the occaſion of them; telling them, that one of them would be the traitor to betray him. Whereat they were ſtrangely troubled, and every one began to ſuſpect himſelf, till Peter (whoſe love and care for his Maſter, commonly made him ſtart ſooner than the reſt) made ſigns to St. John, who lay in our Saviour's boſom, to aſk him particularly who it was? which our Saviour preſently ſhewed, by making them underſtand that it was Judas Iſcariot; who not long after left the company.

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[v] John xiii. 4.

[w] ——————— φιλοστόργῳ δὲ μενοινῇ
Εἰ πόδας ὑμείων καθαρῷ φαίδρυνα λοετρῷ
Ἡγητὴρ ϗ ἄναξ ἀνδέξιος, ἀλλὰ ϗ αὐτοὺς
Ἀντίτυπον θέμις ἐστὶν ἐμὸν μίμημα μαθόντας
Ὑμέας, ἀλλήλων φιλίους πόδας ὕδατι νίπτειν.
Δεῖγμα γὰρ ἔπλετο τοῦτο διδάσκαλον, ὄφρα ϗ ὑμεῖς
Ἔργον ὅπερ ποίησα σοφὸν, τελέσητε ϗ αὐτοὶ,
Πάντες ἐν ἀλλήλοισιν ἀμοιβαίῳ τινὶ θεσμῷ
Ἰσοφυὲς μίμημα δαήμονος ἡγεμονῆος.
Nonn. Paraphr. in loc.

2. AND now our Lord began the inſtitution of his ſupper, that great ſolemn inſtitution which he was reſolved to leave behind him, to be conſtantly celebrated in all ages of the church, as the ſtanding monument of his love in dying for mankind. For now he told them, that he himſelf muſt leave them, and that [x] *whither he went, they could not come.* Peter, not well underſtanding what he meant, aſked him whither it was that he was going? Our Lord replied, It was to that place, whither he could not now follow him; but that he ſhould do it afterwards: intimating the martyrdom he was to undergo for the ſake of Chriſt. To which Peter anſwered, that he knew no reaſon why he might not follow him, ſeeing that if it was even to the laying down of his life for his ſake, he was moſt ready and reſolved to do it. Our Lord liked not this over-confident preſumption, and therefore told him, they were great things which he promiſed, but that he took not the true meaſures of his own ſtrength, nor eſpied the ſnares and deſigns of Satan, who deſired no better an occaſion than this, to ſift and winnow him: but that he had prayed to heaven for him, *That his faith might not fail:* by which means being ſtrengthned himſelf, he ſhould be obliged to ſtrengthen and confirm his brethren. And whereas he ſo confidently aſſured him, that he was ready to go along with him, not only into priſon, but even to death itſelf; our Lord plainly told him, that notwithſtanding all his confident and generous reſolutions, before the cock crowed twice, that is, before three of the clock in the morning, he would that very night three ſeveral times deny his Maſter. With which anſwer our Lord wiſely rebuked his confidence, and taught him (had he underſtood the leſſon) not to truſt to his own ſtrength, but intirely to depend upon him who is able to keep us from falling. Withal inſinuating, that though by his ſin he would juſtly forfeit the divine grace and favour, yet upon his repentance he ſhould be reſtored to the honour of the Apoſtolate, as a certain evidence of the divine goodneſs and indulgence to him [y].

3. HAVING ſung an hymn, and concluded the whole affair, he left the houſe where all theſe things had been tranſacted, and went with his Apoſtles unto the [z] *mount of Olives*; where he again put them in mind how much they would be offended at thoſe things which he was now to ſuffer: and Peter again renewed his reſolute and undaunted promiſe of ſuffering, and dying with him; yea, out of an exceſſive confidence, told him, that *though all the reſt ſhould forſake and deny him, yet would not he deny him.* How far will zeal and an indiſcreet affection tranſport even a good man into vanity and preſumption! Peter queſtions others, but never doubts himſelf. So natural is ſelf-love, ſo apt are we to take the faireſt meaſures of our ſelves. Nay, though our Lord had but a little before once and again reproved this vain humour, yet does he ſtill, not only perſiſt, but grow up in it. So hardly are we brought to eſpy our own faults, or to be ſo throughly convinced of them, as to correct and reform them. This confidence of his inſpired all the reſt with a mighty courage, all the Apoſtles aſſuring him of their conſtant and unſhaken adhering to him. Our Lord returning the ſame anſwer to Peter which he had done before. From hence they went down into the village of Gethſemane, where leaving the reſt of the Apoſtles, he, accompanied with none but Peter, James and John, retired into a neighbouring garden, (whither [a] Euſebius tells us, Chriſtians even in his time were wont to come ſolemnly to offer up their prayers to heaven; and where, as the [b] Arabian geographer informs us, a fair and ſtately church was built to the honour of the virgin Mary) to enter upon the ante-ſcene of the fatal tragedy that was now approaching; it bearing a very fit proportion (as ſome of the [c] fathers have obſerved) that as the firſt Adam fell and ruined mankind in a garden, ſo a garden ſhould be the place where the ſecond Adam ſhould begin his paſſion, in order to the redemption of the world. Gardens, which to us are places of repoſe and pleaſure, and ſcenes of divertiſement and delight, were to our Lord a ſchool of temptation,

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[x] John xiii. 36. Luke xxii. 31.

[y] Διὰ τί δὲ πάντας αὐτοὺς μόνῳ τῷ Πέτρῳ λέγει, Σίμων, Σίμων, ἰδοὺ ὁ Σατανᾶς ἠτήσατο ὑμᾶς σινιάσαι; ἵνα παιδεύσῃ αὐτὸν μὴ ἑαυτῷ θαῤῥεῖν μόνον, ἀλλὰ τοῖς παρ' αὐτοῦ [illegible] [illegible] φὺς ἔσῃ, [illegible] καὶ διδάσκαλος [illegible] ἐμοί· οὐ γὰρ δὴ ἀποστερηθήσῃ, φησὶν, [illegible] χαρισμάτων [illegible] τῆς [illegible] γαλημότητος καὶ ἀφάτου φιλανθρωπίας ὑπάρχει τεκμήριον. Tit. Boſtr. Com. in Luc. xxii. in Bibl. Pp. Gr. Lat. tom. 2. p. 829.

[z] Matt. xxvi. 30. Mark xiv. 26.

[a] De loc. Hebr. in voc. [illegible] p. 134.

[b] Geogr. Nub. Clim. 3. part. 5. p. 114.

[c] Cyril. Comment. in Joan. xviii. tom. 4. Theophylact. in Joan. xviii.

a theatre of great horrors and ſufferings, and the firſt approaches of the hour of darkneſs.

4. HERE it was that the bleſſed Jeſus laboured under the bittereſt agony that could fall upon human nature, which the holy ſtory deſcribes by words ſufficiently expreſſive of the higheſt grief and ſorrow; he was *afraid*, *ſorrowful*, and *very heavy*, yea, *his ſoul was* περίλυπος, *exceeding ſorrowful*, and that *even unto death*; he was *ſore amazed and very heavy*, he was *troubled*, ἐταράχθη, his ſoul was ſhaken with a vehement commotion; yea, he was *in an agony*, a word by which the Greeks were wont to repreſent the greateſt conflicts and anxieties. The effect of all which was, that *he prayed more earneſtly*, offering up *prayers and ſupplications with ſtrong cries and tears*, as the Apoſtle expounds it; and ſweat, *as it were great drops of blood falling to the ground.* What this bloody ſweat was, and how far natural or extraordinary, I am not now concerned to enquire. Certain it is, it was a plain evidence of the moſt intenſe grief and ſadneſs: For if an extream fear or trouble will many times caſt us into a cold ſweat, how great muſt be the commotion and conflict of our Saviour's mind, which could force open the pores of his body, locked up by the coldneſs of the night, and make not drops of ſweat, but *great drops*, or (as the word θρόμβοι ſignifies) *clods* of blood to iſſue from them? While our Lord was thus contending with theſe ante-paſſions, the three Apoſtles, whom he had left at ſome diſtance from him, being tired out with watching, and diſpoſed by the ſilence of the night, were fallen faſt aſleep. Our Lord, who had made three ſeveral addreſſes unto heaven, that, if it might conſiſt with his Father's will, this bitter *cup might paſs from him*; (expreſſing herein the harmleſs and innocent deſires of human nature, which always ſtudies its own preſervation) between each of them came to viſit the Apoſtles, and calling to Peter, aſked him, Whether they could not *watch* with him *one hour?* adviſing them to *watch and pray*, that they entered *not into temptation*; adding this argument, that *the ſpirit indeed* was *willing*, but that *the fleſh* was *weak*; and that therefore there was the more need that they ſhould ſtand upon their guard. Obſerve here the incomparable ſweetneſs, the generous candour of our bleſſed Saviour, to paſs ſo charitable a cenſure upon an action, from whence malice and ill-nature might have drawn monſters and prodigies, and have repreſented it black as the ſhades of darkneſs. The requeſt which our Lord made to theſe Apoſtles was infinitely reaſonable, to watch with him in his bitter agony; their company at leaſt being ſome refreſhment to one under ſuch ſad fatal circumſtances; and this but for a little time, *one hour*: it would ſoon be over, and then they might freely conſult their own eaſe and ſafety. It was their dear Lord and Maſter whom they now were to attend upon, ready to lay down his life for them, ſweating already under the firſt ſkirmiſhes of his ſufferings, and expecting every moment when all the powers of darkneſs would fall upon him. But all theſe conſiderations were drowned in a profound ſecurity; the men were faſt aſleep, and though often awakened and told of it, regarded it not, as if nothing but eaſe and ſoftneſs had been then to be dreamed of. An action that looked like the moſt prodigious ingratitude, and the higheſt unconcernedneſs for their Lord and Maſter, and which one would have thought had argued a very great coldneſs and indifferency of affection towards him. But he would not ſet it upon the tenters, nor ſtretch it to what it might eaſily have been drawn to: he imputes it not to their unthankfulneſs, or want of affection, nor to their careleſneſs of what became of him, but merely to their infirmity and the weakneſs of their bodily temper, himſelf making the excuſe, when they could make none for themſelves; *the ſpirit indeed is willing, but the fleſh is weak.* Hereby teaching us, to put the moſt candid and favourable conſtruction upon thoſe actions of others, which are capable of various interpretations, and rather with the bee to ſuck honey, than with the ſpider to draw poiſon from them. His laſt prayer being ended, he came to them, and told them with a gentle rebuke, that now they might *ſleep on*, if they pleaſed, that *the hour was at hand that he ſhould be betrayed, and delivered into the hands of men.*

5. WHILE he was thus diſcourſing to them, a band of ſoldiers ſent from the high prieſts, with the traitor Judas to conduct and direct them, ruſhed into the garden, and ſeized upon him: which when the Apoſtles ſaw, they aſked him whether they ſhould attempt his reſcue. Peter (whoſe ungovernable zeal put him upon all dangerous undertakings) without ſtaying for an anſwer, drew his ſword, and eſpying one more buſy than the reſt in laying hold upon our Saviour, which was Malchus, (who, though carrying kingſhip in his name, was but ſervant to the high prieſt)

Pag. 447. 1st LVI

But a certain Maid *beheld* Peter *as he sat by the Fire and erneſtly looked on him, and said this Man was also with* him, *& he denied* him, *saying,* Woman I know him not. *St Luke, Chap. 22d Ver. 56th & 57th* ſtruck at him, with an intention to diſpatch him: but God over-ruling the ſtroak, it only cut off his right ear. Our Lord liked not this wild and unwarrantable zeal, and therefore entreated their patience, whilſt he miraculouſly healed the wound. And turning to Peter, bad him put up his ſword again; told him, that they who unwarrantably uſed the ſword, ſhould themſelves periſh by it; that there was no need of theſe violent and extravagant courſes; that if he had a mind to be rid of his keepers, he could aſk his Father, who would preſently ſend *more than twelve legions of angels* to his reſcue and deliverance: but he muſt *drink the cup* which his Father had put into his hand; for how elſe ſhould the ſcriptures be fulfilled, which had expreſly foretold, *that theſe things muſt be?* Whereupon all the Apoſtles forſook him, and fled from him; and they who before in their promiſes were as bold as lions, now it came to it, like fearful and timorous hares ran away from him: Peter and John, though ſtaying laſt with him, yet followed the ſame way with the reſt, preferring their own ſafety before the concernments of their Maſter.

6. No ſooner was he apprehended by the ſoldiers, and brought out of the garden, but he was immediately poſted [d] from one tribunal to another, brought firſt to Annas, then carried to Caiaphas, where the Jewiſh Sanhedrim met together in order to his trial and condemnation. Peter having a little recovered himſelf, and gotten looſe from his fears, probably encouraged by his companion St. John, returns back to ſeek his Maſter; and finding them leading him to the high prieſt's hall, followed afar off, to ſee what would be the event and iſſue. But coming to the door, could get no admittance, till one of the diſciples who was acquainted there, went out and perſuaded the ſervant who kept the door to let him in. Being let into the hall, where the ſervants and officers ſtood round the fire, Peter alſo came thither to warm himſelf; where being eſpied by the ſervant-maid that let him in, ſhe, earneſtly looking upon him, charged him with being one of Chriſt's diſciples; which Peter publickly denied before all the company, poſitively affirming, that *he knew him not*; and preſently withdrew himſelf into the porch, where he heard the cock crow: an intimation, one would have thought, which ſhould have awakened his conſcience into a quick ſenſe of his duty, and the promiſe he had made unto his Maſter. In the porch, another of the maids ſet upon him, charging him *that he alſo was one of them that had been with Jeſus of Nazareth:* which Peter ſtoutly denied, ſaying that he *knew not* Chriſt; and the better to gain their belief to what he ſaid, ratified it with an oath. So natural is it for one ſin to draw on another.

7. ABOUT an hour after, he was a third time ſet upon by a ſervant of the high prieſt, Malchus his kinſman, whoſe ear Peter had lately cut off: by him he was charged to be one of Chriſt's diſciples; yea, that his *very ſpeech* betrayed him to be *a Galilæan.* For the Galilæans, though they did not ſpeak a different language, had yet a different dialect, uſing a more confuſed and barbarous, a broader and more unpoliſhed way of pronunciation, than the reſt of the Jews; whereby they were eaſily diſtinguiſhable in their ſpeaking from other men: abundant inſtances whereof there are extant in the *Talmud* at this day. Nay, not only gave this evidence, but added, that he himſelf had ſeen him with Jeſus in the garden. Peter ſtill reſolutely denied the matter, and to add the higheſt accompliſhment to his ſin, ratified it not only with an oath, but a ſolemn curſe and execration, that he was not the perſon, that he *knew not* the man. It is but a very weak excuſe, which St. Ambroſe and ſome others make for this act of Peter's, in ſaying, *I know not the man.* "He did "well, *ſays he,* [e] to deny him to be Man, whom he knew to be God." St. [f] Hierom takes notice of this pious and well-meant excuſe made for Peter, though out of modeſty he conceals the name of its author, but yet juſtly cenſures it as trifling and frivolous, and which to excuſe man from folly, would charge God with falſhood: for if he did not deny him, then our Lord was out, when he ſaid, that that night he *ſhould thrice deny* him; that is, his perſon, and not only his humanity. Certainly the beſt apology that can be made for Peter is, that he quickly repented of this great ſin; for no ſooner had he done it, but the cock crew again: at which intimation our Saviour turned about, and earneſtly looked upon him: A glance that quickly pierced him to the heart, and brought to his remembrance, what our Lord had once and again foretold of him, how foully and ſhamefully he ſhould deny him.

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[d] Matt. xxvi. 57. Mark xiv. 53. Luke xxii. 54. John xviii. 12.

[e] Bene negavit hominem, quem ſciebat Deum. Ambroſ. in Luc. xxii. tom. 5. p. 157. vid. Hilar. Comment. in Matth. 328.

[f] Hier. in Matth. xxvi. p. 81. tom. 9. vid. Auguſt. in Joan. tract. lxvi. col. 417. tom. 9.

Whereupon, not being able to contain his ſorrow, he ran out of doors to give it vent, and *wept bitterly*; paſſionately bewailing his folly, and the aggravations of his ſin; thereby endeavouring to make ſome reparation for his fault, and recover himſelf into the favour of heaven, and to prevent the execution of divine juſtice, by taking a ſevere revenge upon himſelf: by theſe penitential tears he endeavoured to waſh off his guilt; as indeed repentance is the next ſtep to innocence.

SECT. VI.

Of St. PETER, from Chriſt's Reſurrection till his Aſcenſion.

Our Lord's care to acquaint Peter with his reſurrection. His going to the ſepulchre. Chriſt's appearance to Peter, when, and the reaſons of it. The Apoſtles journey into Galilee. Chriſt's appearing to them at the ſea of Tiberias. His being diſcovered by the great draught of fiſhes. Chriſt's queſtioning Peter's love, and why. Feed my ſheep, *commended to Peter, imports no peculiar ſupereminent power and ſovereignty. Peter's death and ſufferings foretold. Our Lord takes his laſt leave of the Apoſtles at Bethany. His aſcenſion into heaven. The chapel of the aſcenſion. The Apoſtles joy at their Lord's exaltation.*

1. WHAT became of Peter after his late prevarication, whether he followed our Saviour through the ſeveral ſtages of his trial, and perſonally attended as a mourner at the funerals of his Maſter, we have no account left upon record. No doubt he ſtaid at Jeruſalem, and probably with St. John, together with whom we firſt find him mentioned, when both ſet forwards to the ſepulchre; which was in this manner: Early on that morning whereon our Lord was to return from the grave, Mary Magdalene, [g] and ſome other devout and pious women, brought ſpices and ointments, with a deſign to embalm the body of our crucified Lord. Coming to the ſepulchre at ſun-riſing, and finding the door open, they entred in, where they were ſuddenly ſaluted by an angel, who told them that Jeſus was riſen, and bad them go and acquaint his Apoſtles, and particularly Peter, that he was returned from the dead; and that he would go before them into Galilee, where they ſhould meet with him. Hereupon they returned back, and acquainted the Apoſtles with what had paſſed, who beheld the ſtory as the product of a weak and frighted fancy. But Peter and John preſently haſtned towards the garden; [h] John, being the younger and nimbler, outran his companion, and came firſt thither; where he only looked, but entred not in, either out of fear in himſelf, or a great reverence to our Saviour. Peter, though behind in ſpace, was before in zeal; and being elder and more conſiderate, came and reſolutely entred in, where they found nothing but the linen cloths lying together in one place, and the napkin that was about his head wrapped together in another; which being diſpoſed with ſo much care and order, ſhewed (what was falſly ſuggeſted by the Jews) that our Saviour's body was not taken away by thieves, who are wont more to conſult their eſcape, than how to leave things orderly diſpoſed behind them.

2. THE ſame day about noon we may ſuppoſe it was, that our Lord himſelf appeared alone to Peter; being aſſured of the thing, though not ſo preciſely of the time. That he did ſo, St. Paul [i] expreſly tells us; and ſo did the Apoſtles to the two diſciples that came from Emmaus, [k] *The Lord is riſen, and hath appeared unto Simon:* which probably intimates, that it was before his appearing to thoſe two diſciples. And indeed we cannot but think that our Lord would haſten the manifeſtation of himſelf to him, as compaſſionating his caſe, being overwhelmed with ſorrow for the late ſhameful denial of his Maſter: and was therefore willing in the firſt place to honour him with his preſence, at once to confirm him in the article of his reſurrection, and to let him ſee, that he was reſtored to the place which before he had in

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[g] Mark xvi. 1.
[h] Luke xxiv. 12. John xx. 2.
[i] 1 Cor. xv. 5.
[k] Luke xxiv. 34.

And the second Time the Cock crew. And Peter *called to mind the word that* Ieſus *said unto him, before the Cock crow twice, thou ſhalt deny me thrice. And when he thought thereon, he wept.* S.^t Mark Cha: 14. V. 72.

BRITISH MUSEUM
5 AU 70

in his grace and favour. St. Paul mentioning his ſeveral appearances after his reſurrection, ſeems to make this the firſt of them, that *he was ſeen of Cephas.* Not that it was ſimply the firſt, for he firſt appeared to the women. But, as [l] Chryſoſtom obſerves, it was the firſt that was made to men. He was firſt ſeen by him who moſt deſired to ſee him. He alſo adds ſeveral probable conjectures, why our Lord firſt diſcovered himſelf to Peter: As, that it required a more than ordinary firmneſs and reſolution of mind, to be able to bear ſuch a ſight: For they who beheld him after others had ſeen him, and had heard their frequent teſtimonies and reports, had had their faith greatly prepared and encouraged to entertain it; but he who was to be honoured with the firſt appearance, had need of a bigger and more undaunted faith, leſt he ſhould be overborn, τῷ παραδόξῳ τῆς θέας, with ſuch a ſtrange and unwonted ſight. That Peter was the firſt that had made a ſignal confeſſion of his Maſter, and therefore it was fit and reaſonable, that he ſhould firſt ſee him alive after his reſurrection. That Peter had lately denied his Lord, the grief whereof lay hard upon him; that therefore our Saviour was willing to adminiſter ſome conſolation to him, and as ſoon as might be to let him ſee that he had not caſt him off; like the kind Samaritan, he made haſte to help him, and to pour oil into his wounded conſcience.

3. SOME time after this, the Apoſtles began to reſolve upon their journey into Galilee, as he himſelf had commanded them. If it be enquired why they went no ſooner, ſeeing this was the firſt meſſage and intimation they had received from him; St. Ambroſe [m] his reſolution ſeems very rational, that our Lord indeed had commanded them to go thither; but that their fears for ſome time kept them at home; not being as yet fully ſatisfied in the truth of his reſurrection, till our Lord by often appearing to them, had confirmed their minds, and put the caſe beyond all diſpute. They went, as we may ſuppoſe, in ſeveral companies, leſt going all in one body, they ſhould awaken the power and malice of their enemies, and alarm the care and vigilancy of the ſtate, which by reaſon of the noiſe that our Saviour's trial and execution had made up and down the country, was yet full of jealouſies and fears. We find [n] Peter, Thomas, Nathanael, and the two ſons of Zebedee, and two more of the diſciples arrived at ſome town about the ſea of Tiberias: where, the providence of God guiding the inſtance of their employment, Peter, accompanied with the reſt, returns to his old trade of fiſhing. They laboured all night, but caught nothing. Early in the morning a grave perſon, probably in the habit of a traveller, preſents himſelf upon the ſhore; and calling to them, aſked them whether they had any meat. When they told him, No: he adviſed them to caſt the net on the right ſide of the ſhip, that ſo the miracle might not ſeem to be the effect of chance, and they ſhould not fail to ſpeed. They did ſo, and the net preſently incloſed ſo great a draught, that they were ſcarce able to drag it aſhore. St. John, amazed with the ſtrangeneſs of the matter, told Peter that ſurely this muſt be the Lord, whom the winds and the ſea, and all the inhabitants of that watery region, were ſo ready to obey. Peter's zeal preſently took fire, notwithſtanding the coldneſs of the ſeaſon, and impatient of the leaſt moment's being kept from the company of his dear Lord and Maſter, without any conſideration of the danger to which he expoſed himſelf; he girt his fiſher's coat about him, and throwing himſelf into the ſea, ſwam to ſhore, not being able to ſtay till the ſhip could arrive, which came preſently after [o]. Landing, they found a fire ready made, and fiſh laid upon it, either immediately created by his divine power, or which came to the ſhore of its own accord, and offered itſelf to his hand. Which notwithſtanding, he commands them to bring of the fiſh which they had lately caught, and prepare it for their dinner, he himſelf dining with them; both that he might give them an inſtance of mutual love and fellowſhip, and alſo aſſure them of the truth of his human nature, ſince his return from the dead.

4. DINNER being ended, our Lord more particularly addreſſed himſelf to Peter, urging him to the utmoſt diligence in his care of ſouls: and becauſe he knew, that nothing but a mighty love to himſelf could carry him through the troubles and ha-

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[l] Ἐν ἀνδράσι τούτῳ πρώτῳ, τῷ μάλιστα αὐτὸν ποθοῦντι ἰδεῖν. Chryſoſt. in 1 ad Cor. c. 15. Hom. 38. p. 666. Ibid. p. 667.

[m] Comment. in Luc. xxiv. in fin. p. 170. tom. 5.

[n] John xxi. 1.

[o] ———————— ὁ δὲ σχεδὸν ἐγγὺς ὀρύσας,
Εἵματι δαιδαλέῳ λαγόνας μιτρώσατο Σίμων,
Καὶ ταχὺς εἰς ῥόον ἅλτο, καὶ ἤθαδα πόντον ἀμείβων,
Χεῖρας ἐρετμώσας κεφαλὴν εἰς ὕψος ἀείρων,
Ποσσὶν ἀμοιβαίοισιν ὀπίστερον ὤθεεν ὕδωρ,
Ἀκτῆς δ' ἐγγὺς ἔκανε θεουδόχον ἤϊα βαίνων.
Nonn. Paraphr. in loc.

zards of ſo dangerous and difficult an employment; an employment attended with all the impediments, which either the perverſeneſs of men, or the malice and ſubtilty of the devil could caſt in the way to hinder it; therefore he firſt enquired of him, whether he loved him more than the reſt of the Apoſtles, herein mildly reproving his former over-confident reſolution, that *though all the reſt ſhould deny him, yet would not he deny him.* Peter modeſtly replied, not cenſuring others, much leſs preferring himſelf before them, that our Lord knew the integrity of his affection towards him. This queſtion he puts three ſeveral times to Peter, who as often returned the ſame anſwer: It being but juſt and reaſonable, that he who by a threefold denial had given ſo much cauſe to queſtion, ſhould now by a threefold confeſſion give [p] more than ordinary aſſurance of his ſincere affection to his Maſter. Peter was a little troubled at this frequent queſtioning of his love, and therefore more expreſsly appeals to our Lord's omniſciency, that he who knew all things, muſt needs know that he loved him. To each of theſe confeſſions our Lord added this ſignal trial of his affection; then, *Feed my ſheep*; that is, faithfully inſtruct and teach them, carefully rule and guide them; perſwade, not compel them; feed, not fleece nor kill them. And ſo it is plain St. Peter himſelf underſtood it, by the charge which he gives to the guides and rulers of the church, that [q] *they ſhould feed the flock of God, taking the overſight thereof, not by conſtraint, but willingly; not for filthy lucre, but of a ready mind: neither as being lords over God's heritage, but as examples to the flock.* But that by feeding Chriſt's ſheep and lambs, here commended to St. Peter, ſhould be meant an univerſal and uncontrollable monarchy and dominion over the whole Chriſtian church, and that over the Apoſtles themſelves and their ſucceſſors in ordinary, and this power and ſupremacy ſolely inveſted in St. Peter, and thoſe who were to ſucceed him in the ſee of Rome, is ſo wild an inference, and ſuch a melting down words to run into any ſhape, as could never with any face have been offered, or been poſſible to have been impoſed upon the belief of mankind, if men had not firſt ſubdued their reaſon to their intereſt, and captivated both to an implicit faith and a blind obedience. For granting that our Lord here addreſſed his ſpeech only unto Peter, yet the very ſame power in equivalent terms is elſewhere indifferently granted to all the Apoſtles, and in ſome meaſure to the ordinary paſtors and governors of the church: as when our Lord told them, that *all power* was given him *in heaven and in earth*, by virtue whereof they ſhould *go teach and baptize all nations*, and *preach the goſpel to every creature*: that they ſhould *feed God's flock, rule well*, inſpect and *watch over* thoſe over whom they had the authority and rule. Words of as large and more expreſs ſignification, than thoſe which were here ſpoken to St. Peter.

5. **Our** Lord having thus engaged Peter to a cheerful compliance with the dangers that might attend the diſcharge and execution of his office, now particularly intimates to him what that fate was that ſhould attend him: telling him, that though when he was young he girt himſelf, lived at his own pleaſure, and went whither he pleaſed; yet when he was old he ſhould ſtretch forth his hands, and another ſhould gird and bind him, and lead him whither he had no mind to go: intimating, as the Evangeliſt tells us, *by what death he ſhould glorify God*; that is, by crucifixion, the martyrdom which he afterward underwent. And then riſing up, commanded him to follow him; by this bodily attendance myſtically implying his conformity to the death of Chriſt, that he ſhould follow him in dying for the truth and teſtimony of the goſpel. It was not long after, that our Lord appeared to them to [r] take his laſt farewel of them, when leading them out unto Bethany, a little village upon the mount of Olives, he briefly told them, that they were the perſons whom he had choſen to be the witneſſes both of his death and reſurrection; a teſtimony which they ſhould bear to him in all parts of the world: in order to which, he would after his aſcenſion pour out his Spirit upon them in larger meaſures than they had hitherto received, that they might be the better fortified to grapple with that violent rage and fury wherewith both men and devils would endeavour to oppoſe them; and that in the mean time they ſhould return to Jeruſalem, and ſtay till theſe miraculous powers were from on high conferred upon them. His diſcourſe being ended, laying his hands upon them, he gave them his ſolemn bleſſing; which

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[p] Τὸ τριπλοῦν τῆς ἀρνήσεως τῷ τριπλῷ τῆς συγκαταθέσεως ὁ ἀγαθὸς ἰατρὸς ἐξωρθώσατο. Iſid. Peluſ. l. 1. ep. 103. p. 27. Redditur negationi trinæ trina confeſſio, nè minùs amori lingua ſerviat quàm timori; & plus vocis elicuiſſe videatur mors imminens, quàm vita præſens. Aug. in Joan. tract. 123. col. 566.

[q] 1 Pet. v. 1, 2, 3.

[r] Acts i. 8. Luke xxiv. 49.

done, he was immediately taken from them, and being attended with a glorious guard and train of angels, was received up into heaven. Antiquity [s] tells us, that in the place where he laſt trod upon the rock, the impreſſion of his feet did remain, which could never afterwards be filled up or impaired; over which Helena, mother of the great Conſtantine, afterwards built a little chapel, called *The chapel of the Aſcenſion*; in the floor whereof, upon a whitiſh kind of ſtone, modern travellers tell us, that the impreſſion of his foot is ſhewed at this day; but it is that of his right foot only, the other being taken away by the Turks, and, as it is ſaid, kept in the temple at Jeruſalem [t]. Our Lord being thus taken from them, the Apoſtles were filled with a greater ſenſe of his glory and majeſty, than while he was wont familiarly to converſe with them; and having performed their ſolemn adorations to him, returned back to Jeruſalem, waiting for the promiſe of the holy Ghoſt, which was ſhortly after conferred upon them. *They worſhipped him, and returned to Jeruſalem with great joy* [v]. They who lately were overwhelmed with ſorrow at the very mention of their Lord's departure from them, entertained it now with joy and triumph, being fully ſatisfied of his glorious advancement at God's right hand, and of that particular care and providence which they were ſure he would exerciſe towards them, in purſuance of thoſe great truſts he had committed to them.

SECT. VII.

Of St. PETER's Acts, from our Lord's Aſcenſion, till the Diſperſion of the Church.

The Apoſtles return to Jeruſalem. The ὑπερῷον, or upper room, where they aſſembled, what. Peter declares the neceſſity of a new Apoſtle's being choſen in the room of Judas. The promiſe of the holy Ghoſt made upon the day of Pentecoſt. The Spirit deſcended in the likeneſs of fiery cloven tongues, and why. The greatneſs of the miracle. Peter's vindication of the Apoſtles from the ſlanders of the Jews, and proving Chriſt to be the promiſed Meſſiah. Great numbers converted by his ſermon. His going up to the temple. What their ſtated hours of prayer. His curing the impotent cripple there, and diſcourſe to the Jews upon it. What numbers converted by him. Peter and John ſeized, and caſt into priſon. Brought before the Sanhedrim, and their reſolute carriage there. Their refuſing to obey, when commanded not to preach Chriſt. The great ſecurity the Chriſtian religion provides for ſubjection to magiſtrates in all lawful inſtances of obedience. The ſeverity uſed by Peter towards Ananias and Sapphira. The great miracles wrought by him. Again caſt into priſon, and delivered by an angel. Their appearing before the Sanhedrim; and deliverance, by the prudent counſels of Gamaliel.

1. THE holy Jeſus being gone to heaven, the Apoſtles began to act according to the power and commiſſion he had left with them. In order whereunto, the firſt thing they did after his aſcenſion, was to fill up the vacancy in their college, lately made by the unhappy fall and apoſtaſy of Judas. To which end, no ſooner were they returned to Jeruſalem, but they went εἰς ὑπερῷον, *into an upper room*. Where this ὑπερῷον was, whether in the houſe of St. John, or of Mary, John-Mark's mother, or in ſome of the out-rooms belonging to the temple, (for the temple had over the cloiſters ſeveral chambers for the ſervice of the Prieſts and Levites, and as repoſitories, where the conſecrated veſſels and utenſils of the temple were laid up; though it be not probable that the Jews, and eſpecially the Prieſts, would ſuffer the Apoſtles and their company to be ſo near the temple) I ſtand not to enquire. It is certain that the Jews uſually had their ὑπερῷα, private oratories, in the

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[s] Paulin. Epiſt. 3. ad Sever. lib. 2. p. 130. Sulpitius Sever. Hiſt. Sacr. lib. 2. p. 145. Hieron. de loc. Heb. in Act. App. p. 297. tom. 3.

[t] J. Cotovic. Itin. lib. 2. c. 11. p. 271. vid. Sand's Relat. l. 3. p. 156.

[v] Luke xxiv. 52.

the upper parts of their houſes, called עליות for the more private exerciſes of their devotions. Thus [w] Daniel had his עליתו his upper chamber, (τὰ ὑπερῷα the LXX render it) whither he was wont to retire to pray to his God: And [x] Benjamin the Jew tells us, that in his time (Ann. Chriſt. 1172) the Jews at Babylon were wont to pray both in their ſynagogues, "בעליית דניאל and in that ancient upper chamber of Daniel, which the prophet himſelf built." Such an ὑπερῷον, [y] or upper chamber, was that wherein St. Paul preached at Troas: and ſuch probably this, where the Apoſtles were now met together, and in all likelihood the ſame, where our Lord had lately kept the paſſover, where the Apoſtles and the church were aſſembled on the day of Pentecoſt, and which was then the uſual place of their religious aſſemblies, as we have elſewhere obſerved more at large [z]. Here the church being met to the number of about an hundred and twenty, Peter, as preſident of the aſſembly, began to ſpeak, and, applying himſelf to the whole congregation, propoſed to them the choice of a new Apoſtle. And it is the remark which [a] St. Chryſoſtom makes upon this paſſage, that Peter herein would do nothing without the common conſent and approbation, οὐκ αὐθεντικῶς, οὐκ ἀρχικῶς, aſſuming no peculiar ſupereminent power and authority to himſelf. He put them in mind, [b] that Judas, one of our Lord's Apoſtles, being betrayed by his own covetous and inſatiable mind, had lately fallen from the honour of his place and miniſtry: that this was no more than what the prophet had long ſince foretold ſhould come to paſs, and that the rule and overſight in the church, which had been committed to him, ſhould be devolved upon another: that therefore it was highly neceſſary, that one ſhould be ſubſtituted in his room, and eſpecially ſuch a one as had been familiarly converſant with our Saviour, from firſt to laſt, that ſo he might be a competent witneſs both of his doctrine and miracles, his life and death, but eſpecially of his reſurrection from the dead. For ſeeing no evidence is ſo valid and ſatisfactory, as the teſtimony of an eye-witneſs, the Apoſtles all along mainly inſiſted upon this, that they delivered no other things concerning our Saviour to the world, than what they themſelves had ſeen and heard. And ſeeing this riſing from the dead was a principle likely to meet with a great deal of oppoſition, and which would hardlieſt gain belief and entertainment with the minds of men, therefore they principally urged this at every turn, that *they were eye-witneſſes of his reſurrection*, that they had ſeen, felt, eaten, and familiarly converſed with him after his return from the grave. That therefore ſuch an Apoſtle might be choſen, two candidates were propoſed, Joſeph, called Barſabas, and Matthias. And having prayed that the divine providence would immediately guide and direct the choice, they caſt lots, and the lot fell upon Matthias, who was accordingly admitted into the number of the twelve Apoſtles.

2. FIFTY days ſince the laſt paſſover being now run out, made way for the feaſt of Pentecoſt: [c] at what time the great promiſe of the holy Ghoſt was fully made good unto them. The Chriſtian aſſembly being met together for the publick ſervices of their worſhip, on a ſudden a ſound like that of a mighty wind ruſhed in upon them; repreſenting the powerful efficacy of that divine Spirit, that was now to be communicated to them: After which there appeared little flames of fire, which, in the faſhion of cloven tongues, not only deſcended, but ſat upon each of them; probably to note their perpetual enjoyment of this gift upon all occaſions, that when neceſſary they ſhould never be without it; not like the prophetick gifts of old, which were conferred but ſparingly, and only at ſome particular times and ſeaſons. As the [d] *ſeventy elders propheſied and ceaſed not*, but it was only at ſuch times *as the Spirit came down and reſted upon them*. Hereupon, they were all immediately filled with the holy Ghoſt, which enabled them in an inſtant to ſpeak ſeveral languages, which they had never learned, and probably never heard of, together with other miraculous gifts and powers. Thus as the confounding of languages became a curſe to the old world, ſeparating men from all mutual offices of kindneſs and commerce, rendering one part of mankind Barbarians to another: ſo here, the multiplying ſeveral languages became a bleſſing, being intended as the means to bring men of all nations *into the unity of the faith, and of the knowledge of the ſon of God*; into the fellowſhip of that religion, that would baniſh diſcords, cement differences, and unite mens hearts in the bond of peace. The report of ſo ſudden and ſtrange an action preſently ſpread itſelf

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[w] Dan. vi. 20.
[x] Benj. Itin. p. 76.
[y] Acts xx. 8.
[z] Primitive Chriſtianity, part. 1. ch. 6. p. 126.
[a] Homil. 3. in Act. p. 28.
[b] Acts i. 15.
[c] Chap. ii. 1.
[d] Numb. xi. 25.

into all corners of the city, and there being at that time at Jeruſalem multitudes of Jewiſh proſelytes, *devout men out of every nation under heaven, Parthians, Medes, Elamites,* (or Perſians) *the dwellers in Meſopotamia and Judæa, Cappadocia, Pontus, and Aſia Minor, from Phrygia and Pamphylia, from Egypt and the parts of Libya and Cyrene, from Rome, from Crete, from Arabia, Jews and proſelytes,* (probably drawn thither by the general report and expectation which had ſpread itſelf over all the eaſtern [e] parts, and in a manner over all places of the Roman empire, of the Jewiſh Meſſiah, that about this time ſhould be born at Jeruſalem) they no ſooner heard of it, but univerſally flocked to this Chriſtian aſſembly; where they were amazed to hear theſe Galileans ſpeaking to them in their own native languages, ſo various, ſo vaſtly different from one another. And it could not but exceedingly increaſe the wonder, to reflect upon the meanneſs and inconſiderableneſs of the perſons, neither aſſiſted by natural parts, nor poliſhed by education, nor improved by uſe and cuſtom: which three things philoſophers require to render a man accurate and extraordinary in any art or diſcipline, φύσις γὰρ ἄνευ μαθήσεως τυφλόν· μάθησις δίχα φύσεως ἐλλιπές· ἄσκησις χωρὶς ἀμφοῖν ἀτελές, ſays [f] Plutarch: "Natural diſpoſition without inſtitution is blind; "inſtruction without a genius and diſpoſition is defective; and exerciſe without both, "is lame and imperfect." Whereas theſe diſciples had not one of theſe to ſet them off; their parts were mean, below the rate of the common people, the Galileans being generally accounted the rudeſt and moſt ſtupid of the whole Jewiſh nation: Their education had been no higher than to catch fiſh, and to mend nets; nor had they been uſed to plead cauſes, or to deliver themſelves before great aſſemblies: but ſpoke on a ſudden, not premeditated diſcourſes; not idle ſtories, or wild roving fancies, but the great and admirable works of God, and the myſteries of the goſpel, beyond human apprehenſions to find out, and this delivered in almoſt all the languages of the then known world. Men were ſeverally affected with it, according to their different tempers and apprehenſions. Some admiring, and not knowing what to think of it; others deriding it, ſaid, that it was nothing elſe but the wild raving effect of drunkenneſs and intemperance. At ſo wild a rate are men of profane minds wont to talk, when they take upon them to paſs their cenſure in the things of God.

3. HEREUPON the Apoſtles roſe up, and Peter, in the name of the reſt, took this occaſion of diſcourſing to them: He told them, that this ſcandalous ſlander proceeded from the ſpirit of malice and falſhood; that their cenſure was as uncharitable as it was unreaſonable; that *they that are drunken, are drunk in the night*; that it was againſt nature and cuſtom for men to be in drink ſo ſoon, too early for ſuch a ſuſpicion to take place, it being now but about nine of the clock, the hour for morning prayer, till when men even of ordinary ſobriety and devotion on feſtival days were wont to faſt [g]. That theſe extraordinary and miraculous paſſages were but the accompliſhment of an ancient prophecy, the fulfilling of what God had expreſly foretold ſhould come to paſs in the times of the Meſſiah; that Jeſus of Nazareth had evidently approved himſelf to be the Meſſiah ſent from God, by many unqueſtionable miracles, of which they themſelves had been eye-witneſſes: And though by God's permiſſion, who had determined by this means to bring about the ſalvation of mankind, they had wickedly crucified and ſlain him, yet that God had raiſed him from the dead: That it was not poſſible he ſhould be holden always under the dominion of the grave; nor was it conſiſtent with the juſtice and goodneſs of God, and eſpecially with thoſe divine predictions which had expreſly foretold he ſhould riſe again from the dead: David having more particularly foretold, that *his fleſh ſhould reſt in hope*; that *God would not leave his ſoul in hell, neither ſuffer his holy One to ſee corruption*; but *would make known to him the ways of life*: That this prophecy could not be meant concerning David himſelf, by whom it was ſpoken, he having many ages ſince been turned to aſhes, his body reſolved into rottenneſs and putrefaction, his tomb yet viſible among them, from whence he never did return; that therefore it muſt needs have been prophetically ſpoken concerning Chriſt, having never been truly fulfilled in any but him, who both died, and was riſen again, whereof they were witneſſes. Yea, that he was not only riſen from the dead, but aſcended

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[e] Percrebuerat Oriente toto vetus & conſtans opinio, eſſe in fatis, ut eo tempore Judæa profecti rerum potirentur. Id de imperatore, *&c.* Sueton. in Vit. Veſpaſ. c. 4. p. 728. eadem habet Tacitus Hiſt. l. 5. c. 15. p. 540.

[f] Περὶ παιδ. ἀγωγ. p. 2.

[g] Πάντως ἂν εἰς στάσιν ἐχώρησαν, εἰ μὴ τὴν σύνοδον διέλυσεν ἐπελθοῦσα ἕκτη ὥρα· καθ' ἣν τοῖς σάββασιν ἀριστοποιεῖσθαι νόμιμόν ἐστιν ἡμῖν. Joſeph. de Vit. ſua, p. 1020.

into heaven, and according to David's prediction, *ſat down on God's right hand, until he made his enemies his footſtool:* which could not be primarily meant of David, he never having yet bodily aſcended into heaven; that therefore the whole houſe of Iſrael ought to believe, and take notice, that this very Jeſus, whom they had crucified, was the perſon whom God had appointed to be the Meſſiah and the Saviour of his church.

4. THIS diſcourſe in every part of it, like ſo many daggers, pierced them to the heart; who thereupon cried out to Peter and his brethren to know what they ſhould do. Peter told them, that there was no other way, than by an hearty and ſincere repentance, and a being baptized into the religion of this crucified Saviour, to expiate their guilt, to obtain pardon of ſin, and the gifts and benefits of the holy Ghoſt. That upon theſe terms the promiſes of the new covenant, which was ratified by the death of Chriſt, did belong to them and their children, and to all that ſhould effectually believe and embrace the goſpel: farther preſſing and perſuading them by doing thus, to ſave themſelves from that unavoidable ruin and deſtruction, which this wicked and untoward generation of obſtinate unbelieving Jews were ſhortly to be expoſed to. The effects of his preaching were ſtrange and wonderful: *as many as believed were baptized*; there being *that day added to the church* no leſs than *three thouſand ſouls.* A quick and plentiful harveſt: the late ſufferings of our Saviour as yet freſh bleeding in their memories, the preſent miraculous powers of the holy Ghoſt that appeared upon them, the zeal of his auditors, though heretofore miſplaced and miſguided; and above all, the efficacy of divine grace, contributing to this numerous converſion.

5. THOUGH the converting ſo vaſt a multitude might juſtly challenge a place amongſt the greateſt miracles, yet the Apoſtles began now more particularly to exerciſe their miraculous power. Peter and John [h] going up to the temple, about three of the clock in the afternoon, towards the concluſion of one of the ſolemn hours of prayer, (for the Jews divided their day into four greater hours, each quarter containing three leſſer under it, three of which were publick and ſtated times of prayer inſtituted (ſay they) by the three great patriarchs of their nation; [i] the firſt from ſix of the clock in the morning till nine, called hence *the third hour of the day*, inſtituted by Abraham; this was called תפלת שחרית or morning prayer: the ſecond from nine till twelve, called *the ſixth hour*, and this hour of prayer ordained by Iſaac; this was called תפלת צהרים or *mid-day prayer:* the third, from twelve till three in the afternoon, called *the ninth hour*, appointed by Jacob; called תפלת ערבית or *evening prayer:* and at this hour it was that theſe two Apoſtles went up to the temple, where) they found a poor impotent cripple, who, though above forty years old, had been lame from his birth, lying *at the beautiful gate of the temple*, and aſking an alms of them. Peter earneſtly looking on him, told him, he had no money to give him, but that he would give him that which was a great deal better, reſtore him to his health; and lifting him up by the hand, commanded him *in the name of Jeſus of Nazareth to riſe up and walk.* The word was no ſooner ſaid, than the thing was done: immediately the nerves and ſinews were enlarged, and the joints returned to their proper uſe. The man ſtanding up went into the temple, walking, leaping, and praiſing God. The beholding ſo ſudden and extraordinary a cure, begot great admiration in the minds of the people, whoſe curioſity drew them to the Apoſtles to ſee thoſe who had been the authors of it. Which Peter taking notice of, began to diſcourſe to them to this effect; That there was no reaſon they ſhould wonder at them, as if by their own ſkill and art they had wrought this cure, it being entirely done in the name of their crucified Maſter, by the power of that very Chriſt, that holy and juſt perſon, whom they themſelves had denied, and delivered up to Pilate, and preferred a rebel and a murderer before him, when his judge was reſolved to acquit him: and that though they had put him to death, yet that they were witneſſes, that God had raiſed him up again, and that he was gone to heaven, where he muſt remain till the times of the general reſtitution. That he preſumed that this in them, as alſo in their rulers, was in a great meaſure the effect of ignorance, and the not being throughly convinced of the greatneſs and divinity of his perſon; which yet God made uſe of for the bringing about his wiſe and righteous deſigns, the accompliſhing of what he had foretold concerning Chriſt's perſon and ſufferings, by Moſes and Samuel, and all *the holy prophets which had*

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[h] Acts iii. 1.

[i] Vid. Druſ. in Act. iii. 1.

been ſince the world began: That therefore it was now high time for them to repent and turn to God, that their great wickedneſs might be expiated, and that when Chriſt ſhould ſhortly come in judgment upon the Jewiſh nation, it might be a time of comfort and refreſhing to them, what would be of vengeance and deſtruction to other men: that they were the peculiar perſons, to whom the bleſſings of the promiſes did primarily appertain, and unto whom God in the firſt place ſent his Son, that he might derive his bleſſing upon them by *turning them away from their iniquities.* While Peter was thus diſcourſing to the people in one place, we may ſuppoſe that John was preaching to them in another; and the ſucceſs was anſwerable. The Apoſtles caſt out the ſeed, and *God* immediately *gave the increaſe.* There being by this means no fewer than [k] five thouſand brought over to the faith: though it is poſſible the whole body of believers might be comprehended in that number.

6. While the Apoſtles were thus preaching, the Prieſts and [l] Sadducees (who particularly appeared in this buſineſs, as being enemies to all tumults, or whatever might diſturb their preſent eaſe and quiet, the only portion of happineſs they expected; beſides that they hated Chriſtianity, becauſe ſo expreſly aſſerting the Reſurrection) being vexed to hear this doctrine vented amongſt the people, intimated to the magiſtrate, that this concourſe might probably tend to an uproar and inſurrection: Whereupon they came with the captain of the temple (commander of the tower of Antonia, which ſtood cloſe by, on the north ſide of the temple; wherein was a Roman garriſon to prevent or ſuppreſs, eſpecially at feſtival times, popular tumults and uproars) who ſeized on the Apoſtles, and put them into priſon. The next day they were convented before the Jewiſh Sanhedrim; and being aſked by what power and authority they had done this; Peter reſolutely anſwered, That as to the cure done to this impotent perſon, Be it known to them and all the Jews, that it was perfectly wrought in the name of that Jeſus of Nazareth whom they themſelves had crucified, and God had raiſed from the dead; and whom, though they had thrown him by as waſte and rubbiſh, yet, God had made *head of the corner*; and that there was no other way, wherein they, or others, could expect ſalvation, but by this crucified Saviour. Great was the boldneſs of the Apoſtles, admired by the Sanhedrim itſelf, in this matter; eſpecially if we conſider, that this probably was the very court that had ſo lately ſentenced and condemned their Maſter, and being fleſhed in ſuch ſanguinary proceedings, had no other way but to go on and juſtify one cruelty with another: That the Apoſtles did not ſay theſe things in corners and behind the curtain, but to their very faces, and that in the open court of judicature, and before all the people. That the Apoſtles had not been uſed to plead in ſuch publick places, nor had been poliſhed with the arts of education, but were ignorant, unlearned men, known not to be verſed in the ſtudy of the Jewiſh law.

7. The council (which all this while had beheld them with a kind of wonder, and now remembred that they had been the companions and attendants of the late crucified Jeſus) commanded them to withdraw, and debated amongſt themſelves what they ſhould do with them. The miracle they could not deny, the fact being ſo plain and evident, and therefore reſolved ſtrictly to charge them, that they ſhould preach no more in the name of Jeſus. Being called in again, they acquainted them with the reſolution of the council; to which Peter and John replied, That they could by no means yield obedience to it, appealing to themſelves, whether it was not more fit that they ſhould *obey God rather than* them: and that they could not but *teſtify what they had ſeen and heard.* Nor did they in this anſwer make any undue reflection upon the power of the magiſtrates, and the obedience due to them; it being a ruled caſe by the firſt dictates of reaſon, and the common vote and ſuffrage of mankind, that parents and governors are not to be obeyed when their commands interfere with the obligations under which we ſtand to a ſuperior [m] power. All authority is originally derived from God, and our duty to him may not be ſuperſeded by the laws of any authority deriving from him. And even Socrates himſelf in a parallel inſtance, when perſuaded to leave off his excellent way of inſtitution

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[k] Acts iv. 4.

[l] Verſe 1.

[m] Τὸ μὲν ἀπειθεῖν, καὶ ὁ ἀπειθὴς, λοιδορία ἐστὶ καὶ ὄνειδος· τὸ δὲ μὴ πράττειν ἃ μὴ χρὴ, οὐκ ὄνειδος, ἀλλ᾽ ἔπαινος. ὥστε εἴτε πατρὸς, εἴτε ἄρχοντος, εἴτε καὶ νὴ Δία δεσπότου προστάγματι μὴ ὑπουργεῖ τις κακὰ προστάττοντος, ἢ ἄδικα ἢ αἰσχρὰ, οὐκ ἀπειθεῖ οὐδαμῶς, ὥσπερ οὐδ᾽ ἀδικεῖ, οὐδ᾽ ἁμαρτάνει· ἀλλ᾽ ἐκεῖνος ἀπειθεῖ μόνος, ὁ τῶν εὖ καὶ καλῶς καὶ συμφερόντως προσταττομένων, ἀφροντιστῶν καὶ παρακούων· ὁ μὲν οὖν ἀπειθὴς, τοιοῦτός τις ἐστίν. Muſon, apud Stob. Serm. 77. de honor. & obed. parent. debit. p. 458. ubi pluribus ſtrenuè & eleganter hac de re diſſerit.

and inſtructing youth, and to comply with the humour of his Athenian judges to ſave his life, returned this anſwer, [a] "That indeed he loved and honoured the Athe-"nians, but yet reſolved to obey God rather than them." An anſwer almoſt the ſame both in ſubſtance and words, with that which was here given by our Apoſtles. In all other caſes, where the laws of the magiſtrate did not interfere with the commands of Chriſt, none more loyal, none more compliant than they. As indeed no religion in the world ever ſecured the intereſts of civil authority like the religion of the goſpel. It poſitively charges *every ſoul*, of what rank or condition ſoever, *to be ſubject to the higher powers*, as a divine ordinance and inſtitution, and that *not for wrath only, but for conſcience ſake*: It *puts men in mind to be ſubject to principalities and powers, and obey magiſtrates, to ſubmit to every ordinance of man for the Lord's ſake, both to the king as ſupreme, and unto governors, as unto them that are ſent by him; for ſo is the will of God.* So far is it from allowing us to violate their perſons, that it ſuffers us not boldly to cenſure their actions, *to revile the gods, deſpiſe dominions, and ſpeak evil of dignities*; or to vilify and injure them ſo much as by a diſhonourable thought: commanding us, when we cannot obey, to ſuffer the moſt rigorous penalties impoſed upon us with calmneſs, and *to poſſeſs our ſouls with patience.* Thus when theſe two Apoſtles were ſhortly after again ſummoned before the council, commanded no more to preach the Chriſtian doctrine, and to be ſcourged for what they had done already, though they could not obey the one, they chearfully ſubmitted to the other without any peeviſh or tart reflections, but went away rejoicing. But what the carriage of Chriſtians was in this matter in the firſt and beſt ages of the goſpel, we have in another [o] place ſufficiently diſcovered to the world. We may not withhold our obedience, till the magiſtrate invades God's throne, and countermands his authority; and may then appeal to the ſenſe of mankind, whether it be not moſt reaſonable that God's authority ſhould firſt take place, as the Apoſtles here appealed to their very judges themſelves. Nor do we find that the Sanhedrim did except againſt the plea. At leaſt whatever they thought, yet not daring to puniſh them for fear of the people, they only threatned them, and let them go: who thereupon preſently returned to the reſt of the Apoſtles and believers.

8. THE church exceedingly multiplied by theſe means: and that ſo great a company, moſt whereof were poor, might be maintained, they generally ſold their eſtates, and brought the money to the Apoſtles, to be by them depoſited in one common treaſury, and thence diſtributed according to the ſeveral exigences of the church; which gave occaſion to this dreadful inſtance. Ananias [p] and his wife Sapphira, having taken upon them the profeſſion of the goſpel, according to the free and generous ſpirit of thoſe times, had conſecrated and devoted their eſtate to the honour of God, and the neceſſities of the church. And accordingly ſold their poſſeſſions, and turned them into money. But as they were willing to gain the reputation of charitable perſons, ſo were they loth wholly to caſt themſelves upon the divine providence, by letting go all at once, and therefore privately withheld part of what they had devoted, and bringing the reſt, laid it at the Apoſtles feet: hoping herein they might deceive the Apoſtles, though immediately guided by the Spirit of God. But Peter, at his firſt coming in, treated Ananias with theſe ſharp inquiries; Why he would ſuffer Satan to fill his heart with ſo big a wickedneſs, as by keeping back of his eſtate, to think to *deceive the holy Ghoſt?* That before it was ſold, it was wholly at his own diſpoſure; and after, it was perfectly in his own power fully to have performed his vow: So that it was capable of no other interpretation, than that herein he had not only abuſed and injured men, but mocked God, and, what in him lay, lyed to, and cheated the holy Ghoſt; who, he knew, was privy to the moſt ſecret thoughts and purpoſes of his heart. This was no ſooner ſaid, but ſuddenly, to the great terror and amazement of all that were preſent, Ananias was arreſted with a ſtroke from heaven, and fell down dead to the ground. Not long after his wife came in, whom Peter entertained with the ſame ſevere reproofs wherewith he had done her huſband, adding, that the like ſad fate and doom ſhould immediately ſeize upon her; who thereupon dropt down dead. As ſhe had been copartner with him in the ſin, becoming ſharer with him in the puniſhment. An in-

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[a] Εἰ οὖν με (ὅπερ εἶπον) ἐπὶ τούτοις ἀφίοιτε, εἴποιμ' ἂν ὑμῖν, ὅτι ἐγὼ ὑμᾶς ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι ἀσπάζομαι μὲν καὶ φιλῶ, πείσωμαι δὲ τῷ θεῷ μᾶλλον ἢ ὑμῖν. Socr. in Apol. apud Plat. n. 11. p. 25.

[o] Primitive Chriſtianity, part 3. ch. 4.

[p] Acts v. 1.

ſtance of great ſeverity, filling all that heard of it with fear and terror, and became a ſeaſonable prevention of that hypocriſy and diſſimulation, wherewith many might poſſibly think to have impoſed upon the church.

9. This ſevere caſe being extraordinary, the Apoſtles uſually exerted their power in ſuch miracles as were more uſeful and beneficial to the world: Curing all manner of diſeaſes, and diſpoſſeſſing devils: inſomuch [q] that they brought the ſick into the ſtreets, and laid them upon beds and couches, that at leaſt Peter's ſhadow, as he paſſed by, might come upon them. Theſe aſtoniſhing miracles could not but mightily contribute to the propagation of the goſpel, and convince the world that the Apoſtles were more conſiderable perſons than they took them for; poverty and meanneſs being no bar to true worth and greatneſs. And, methinks, Eraſmus [r] his reflection is here not unſeaſonable; that no honour or ſovereignty, no power or dignity was comparable to this glory of the Apoſtle; that the things of Chriſt, though in another way, were more noble and excellent than any thing that this world could afford. And therefore he tells us, that when he beheld the ſtate and magnificence wherewith pope Julius the ſecond appeared firſt at Bononia, and then at Rome, equalling the triumphs of a Pompey, or a Cæſar; he could not but think how much all this was below the greatneſs and majeſty of St. Peter, who converted the world, not by power or armies, not by engines or artifices of pomp and grandeur, but by faith in the power of Chriſt, and drew it to the admiration of himſelf: and the ſame ſtate (ſays he) would no doubt attend the Apoſtles ſucceſſors, were they men of the ſame temper and holineſs of life. The Jewiſh rulers alarmed with this news, and awakened with the growing numbers of the church, ſend to apprehend the Apoſtles, and caſt them into priſon. But God, who is never wanting to his own cauſe, ſent that night an angel from heaven to open the priſon doors, commanding them to repair to the temple, and to the exerciſe of their miniſtry. Which they did early in the morning, and there taught the people. How unſucceſsful are the projects of the wiſeſt ſtateſmen, when God frowns upon them! how little do any counſels againſt heaven proſper! In vain is it to ſhut the doors, where God is reſolved to open them; the firmeſt bars, the ſtrongeſt chains cannot hold, where once God has deſigned and decreed our liberty. The officers returning the next morning, found the priſon ſhut and guarded, but the priſoners gone: wherewith they acquainted the council, who much wondred at it; but being told where the Apoſtles were, they ſent to bring them without any noiſe or violence before the Sanhedrim: where the high prieſt aſked them, how they durſt go on to propagate that doctrine, which they had ſo ſtrictly commanded them not to preach? Peter, in the name of the reſt, told them, that they muſt in this caſe *obey God rather than men*: That though they had ſo barbarouſly and contumeliouſly treated the Lord Jeſus, yet that God had raiſed him up, and exalted him to be *a prince and a Saviour*, to *give* both *repentance and remiſſion of ſins*: That they were witneſſes of theſe things, and ſo were thoſe miraculous powers which the holy Ghoſt conferred upon all true Chriſtians. Vexed was the council with this anſwer, and began to conſider how to cut them off. But Gamaliel, a grave and learned ſenator, having commanded the Apoſtles to withdraw, bad the council take heed what they did to them; putting them in mind, that ſeveral perſons had heretofore raiſed parties and factions, and drawn vaſt numbers after them; but that they had miſcarried, and they and their deſigns come to nought: that therefore they ſhould do well to let theſe men alone: That if their doctrines and deſigns were merely human, they would in time of themſelves fall to the ground; but if they were of God, it was not all their power and policies would be able to defeat and overturn them: and that they themſelves would herein appear to oppoſe the councils and deſigns of heaven. With this prudent and rational advice they were ſatisfied; and having commanded the Apoſtles to be ſcourged, and charged them no more to preach this doctrine, reſtored them to their liberty. Who notwithſtanding this charge and threatning, returned home in a kind of triumph, that they were accounted worthy to ſuffer in ſo good a cauſe, and to undergo ſhame and reproach for the ſake of ſo good a Maſter. Nor could all the hard uſage they met with from men diſcourage them in their duty to God, or make them leſs zealous and diligent both publickly and privately to preach Chriſt in every place [s].

SECT.

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[q] Acts v. 12.

[r] Annot. in loc.

[s] Πῶς ἂν ἀναβαίνεις νῦν; ὡς μάρτυς ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ κεκλημένος· ἔρχου σὺ, καὶ μαρτύρησόν μοι· σὺ γὰρ ἄξιος εἶ περιαχθῆναι μάρτυς ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ· ἐν δεινοῖς εἰμι, κύριε, καὶ δυστυχῶ

ὥθεις

SECT. VIII.

Of St. PETER's Acts, from the diſperſion of the church at Jeruſalem, till his conteſt with St. Paul at Antioch.

The great care of the divine providence over the church. Peter diſpatched by the Apoſtles to confirm the church newly planted at Samaria. His baffling and ſilencing Simon Magus there. His going to Lydda, and curing Æneas. His raiſing Dorcas at Joppa. The viſion of all ſorts of creatures preſented to him, to prepare him for the converſion of the Gentiles. His going to Cornelius, and declaring God's readineſs to receive the Gentiles into the church. The baptizing Cornelius and his family. Peter cenſured by the Jews for converſing with the Gentiles. The mighty prejudices of the Jews againſt the Gentiles noted out of heathen writers. Peter caſt into priſon by Herod Agrippa: miraculouſly delivered by an angel. His diſcourſe in the ſynod at Jeruſalem, that the Gentiles might be received without being put under the obligation of the law of Moſes. His unworthy compliance with the Jews at Antioch, in oppoſition to the Gentiles, ſeverely checked and reſiſted by St. Paul. The ill uſe Porphyry makes of this difference. The conceit of ſome that it was not Peter the Apoſtle but one of the ſeventy.

1. THE church had been hitherto toſſed with gentle ſtorms, but now a more violent tempeſt overtook it, which began in the proto-martyr [t] Stephen, and was more vigorouſly carried on afterwards; by occaſion whereof the diſciples were diſperſed. And God, who always brings good out of evil, hereby provided, that the goſpel ſhould not be confined only to Jeruſalem. Hitherto the church had been crowded up within the city walls, and the religion had crept up and down in private corners; but the profeſſors of it being now diſperſed abroad by the malice and cruelty of their enemies, carried Chriſtianity along with them, and propagated it into the neighbour countries, accompliſhing hereby an ancient prophecy, that [v] *out of Sion ſhould go forth the law, and the word of the Lord from Jeruſalem.* Thus God overrules the malice of men, and makes intended poiſon to become food or phyſick. That divine providence that governs the world, more particularly ſuperintends the affairs and intereſts of his church, ſo that no weapon formed againſt Iſrael ſhall proſper; curſes ſhall be turned into bleſſings, and that become an eminent means to enlarge and propagate the goſpel, which they deſigned as the only way to ſuppreſs and ſtifle it. Amongſt thoſe that were ſcattered, Philip the deacon was driven down unto Samaria, where he preached the goſpel, and confirmed his preaching by many miraculous cures, and diſpoſſeſſing devils. In this city there was one Simon, who by magick arts and diabolical ſorceries ſought to advance himſelf into a great fame and reputation with the people, inſomuch that they generally beheld him as the *great power of God*; for ſo the [w] ancients tell us he uſed to ſtile himſelf, giving out himſelf to be the *firſt* and *chiefeſt Deity*, the *Father who is God over all*; that is, that he was that which in every nation was accounted the ſupreme Deity. This man hearing the ſermons, and beholding the miracles that were done by Philip, gave up himſelf amongſt the number of believers, and was baptized with them. The Apoſtles, who yet remained at Jeruſalem, having heard of the great ſucceſs of Philip's miniſtry at Samaria, thought good to ſend ſome of their number to his aſſiſtance: and accordingly deputed Peter and John, who came thither. Where having prayed for, and laid their hands upon theſe new converts, they preſently received the holy Ghoſt. Simon the magician obſerving that by laying on of the Apoſtles hands, miraculous gifts were conferred upon men, offered them a conſiderable ſum of money to inveſt him with this power, that on whom he laid his hands they might receive the holy Ghoſt. Peter perceiving his rotten

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οὐδείς μου ἐπιστρέφεται, οὐδείς μοι δίδωσιν οὐδὲν, πάντες ψέγουσι, πάντες κακολογοῦσι. ταῦτα μέλλεις μαρτυρεῖν, καὶ καταισχύνειν τὴν κλῆσιν, ἣν κέκληκεν, ὅτι σε ἐτίμησε τοιαύτης τιμῆς, καὶ ἄξιον ἡγήσατο προσαγαγεῖν εἰς μαρτυρίαν τηλικαύτην. Arrian. Diſſert. lib. 1. c. 29. p. 163.

[t] Acts viii. 1.

[v] Iſai. ii. 3.

[w] Juſt. Mart. Apol. 2. p. 69. Iren. lib. 1. c. 20. p. 115. Tertull. de Præſcript. Hæret. c. 46. p. 219.

rotten and inſincere intentions, rejected his impious motion with ſcorn and deteſtation: *Thy money periſh with thee.* He told him that his heart was naught and hypocritical; that he could have no ſhare nor portion in ſo great a privilege; that it more concerned him to repent of ſo great a wickedneſs, and ſincerely ſeek to God, that ſo the thought of his heart might be forgiven him; for that he perceived that he had a very vicious and corrupt temper and conſtitution of mind, and was as yet bound up under a very wretched and miſerable ſtate, diſpleaſing to God, and dangerous to himſelf. The conſcience of the man was a little ſtartled with this, and he prayed the Apoſtles to intercede with heaven, that God would pardon his ſin, and that none of theſe things might fall upon him. But how little cure this wrought upon him, we ſhall find elſewhere, when we ſhall again meet with him afterwards. The Apoſtles having thus confirmed the church at Samaria, and preached up and down in the villages thereabouts, returned back to Jeruſalem, to join their counſel and aſſiſtance to the reſt of the Apoſtles.

2. THE ſtorm, though violent, being at length blown over, the church enjoyed a time of great calmneſs and ſerenity: during which Peter went out to viſit the churches lately planted in thoſe parts by thoſe diſciples who had been diſperſed by the perſecution at Jeruſalem. Coming [x] down to Lydda, the firſt thing he did was to work a cure upon one Æneas, who being crippled with the palſy, had lain bedrid for eight years together. Peter coming to him, bad him in the name of Chriſt to ariſe, and the man was immediately reſtored to perfect health. A miracle that was not confined only to his perſon, but being known abroad, generally brought over the inhabitants of that place. The fame of this miracle having flown to Joppa, a ſea-port town ſome ſix miles thence, the Chriſtians there preſently ſent for Peter upon this occaſion. Tabitha, whoſe Greek name was Dorcas, a woman venerable for her piety and diffuſive charity, was newly dead, to the great lamentation of all good men, and much more to the loſs of the poor that had been relieved by her. Peter, coming to the houſe, found her dreſſed up for her funeral ſolemnity, and compaſſed about with the ſorrowful widows, who ſhewed the coats and garments wherewith ſhe had clothed them, the badges of her charitable liberality. Peter, ſhutting all out, kneeled down and prayed, and then turning him to the body, commanded her to ariſe, and lifting her up by the hand, preſented her in perfect health to her friends, and thoſe that were about her: by which he confirmed many, and converted more to the faith. After which he ſtaid ſome conſiderable time at Joppa, lodging in the houſe of Simon a tanner.

3. WHILE he [y] abode in this city, retiring one morning to the houſe top to pray, (as the Jews frequently did, having thence a free and open proſpect towards Jeruſalem and the temple) it being now near noon, which was the concluſion of one of their ſtated times of prayer, he found himſelf hungry, and called for meat: but while it was preparing, he himſelf fell into a trance, wherein was repreſented to him a large ſheet let down from heaven, containing all ſorts of creatures, clean and unclean; a voice at the ſame time calling to him, that he ſhould riſe, kill freely, and indifferently feed upon them. Peter, tenacious as yet of the rites and inſtitutions of the Moſaick law, rejoined, That he could not do it, having never eaten any thing that was common or unclean. To which the voice replied, That what God had cleanſed he ſhould not account or call common. Which being done thrice, the veſſel was again taken up into heaven, and the viſion preſently diſappeared. By this ſymbolick repreſentment, though Peter at preſent knew not what to make of it, God was teaching him a new leſſon, and preparing him to go upon an errand and embaſſy, which the Spirit at the ſame time expreſly commanded him to undertake. While he was in this doubtful poſture of mind, three meſſengers knocked at the door, enquiring for him; from whom he received this account: That Cornelius, a Roman, captain of a band of Italian ſoldiers at Cæſarea, a perſon of great piety and religion (being a proſelyte at the gate, who though not obſerving an exact conformity to the rites of the Moſaick law, did yet maintain ſome general correſpondence with it, and lived under the obligation of the ſeven precepts of the ſons of Noah) had by an immediate command from God, ſent for him. The next day Peter, accompanied with ſome of the brethren, went along with them; and the day after they came to Cæſarea. Againſt whoſe arrival, Cornelius had ſummoned his friends and kindred to his houſe. Peter arriving, Cornelius (who was affected with

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[x] Acts ix. 32.

[y] Chap. x. 9.

a mighty reverence for ſo great a perſon) fell at his feet and worſhipped him: a way of addreſs frequent in thoſe eaſtern countries towards princes and great men, but by the Greeks and Romans appropriated as a peculiar honour to the gods. Peter, rejecting the honour, as due only to God, entred into the houſe, where he firſt made his apology to the company, that though they could not but know, that it was not lawful for a Jew to converſe in the duties of religion with thoſe of another nation, yet that now God had taught him another leſſon. And then proceeded particularly to enquire the reaſon of Cornelius his ſending for him. Whereupon Cornelius told him, that four days ſince, being converſant in the duties of faſting and prayer, an angel had appeared to him, and told him, that his prayers and alms were come up for a memorial before God; that he ſhould ſend to Joppa for one Simon Peter, who lodged in a tanner's houſe by the ſea ſide, who ſhould farther make known his mind to him: That accordingly he ſent; and being now come, they were there met to hear what he had to ſay to them. Where we ſee, that though God ſent an angel to Cornelius to acquaint him with his will, yet the angel was only to direct him to the Apoſtle for inſtruction in the faith: which no doubt was done, partly that God might put the greater honour upon an inſtitution, that was likely to meet with contempt and ſcorn enough from the world; partly to let us ſee, that we are not to expect extraordinary and miraculous ways of teaching and information, where God affords ordinary means.

4. Hereupon Peter began this diſcourſe; That by comparing things it was now plain and evident, that the partition wall was broken down; that God had no longer a particular kindneſs for nations and perſons; that it was not the nation, but the religion; not the outward quality of the man, but the inward temper of the mind, that recommends men to God; that the devout and the pious, the righteous and the good man, wherever he be, is equally dear to heaven; that [a] God has as much reſpect for a juſt and virtuous perſon in the wilds of Scythia, as upon mount Sion: That the reconciling and making peace between God and man by Jeſus Chriſt, was the doctrine publiſhed by the prophets of old; and of late, ſince the times of John, preached through Galilee and Judæa, *viz.* That God had anointed and conſecrated Jeſus of Nazareth with divine powers and graces, in the exerciſe whereof he conſtantly went about to do good to men: That they had ſeen all he had done amongſt the Jews; whom though they had ſlain and crucified, yet that God had raiſed him again the third day, and had openly ſhewed him to his Apoſtles and followers, whom he had choſen to be his peculiar witneſſes, and whom to that end he had admitted to eat and drink with him after his Reſurrection, commanding them to preach the goſpel to mankind, and to teſtify, that he was the perſon whom God had ordained to be the great judge of the world: That all the prophets with one conſent bore witneſs of him; that this Jeſus is he, in whoſe name whoſoever believes, ſhould certainly receive remiſſion of ſins. While Peter was thus preaching to them, the holy Ghoſt fell upon a great part of his auditory, enabling them to ſpeak ſeveral languages, and therein to magnify the giver of them. Whereat the Jews who came along with Peter did ſufficiently wonder, to ſee that the gifts of the holy Ghoſt ſhould be poured upon the Gentiles. Peter ſeeing this, told the company, that he knew no reaſon why theſe perſons ſhould not be baptized, having received the holy Ghoſt as well as they: and accordingly commanded them to be baptized. For whoſe farther confirmation he ſtaid ſome time longer with them. This act of Peter's made a great noiſe amongſt the Apoſtles and brethren at Jeruſalem, who being lately converted from their Judaiſm, [a] were as yet zealous for the religion of their country, and therefore ſeverely charged Peter at his return, for his too familiar converſing with the Gentiles. See here the powerful prejudice of education. The Jews had for ſeveral ages conceived a radicated and inveterate prejudice againſt the Gentiles. Indeed the law of Moſes commanded them to be peculiarly kind to their own nation; and the rites and inſtitutions of their religion, and the peculiar form of their commonwealth, made them different from the faſhion of other countries: a ſeparation which in after-times they drew into a narrower compaſs. Beſides, they were mightily puffed up with their external privileges, that they were *the ſeed of Abraham*, the people whom God had peculiarly choſen for himſelf, above all other nations in the world; and therefore with a lofty ſcorn proudly

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[a] Vos eſtis templum Domini, & Spiritus ſanctus habitat in vobis. Et de Hieroſolymis & de Britannia æqualiter patet aula cœleſtis. Regnum enim Dei intra vos eſt. Hieronym. ad Paulin. p. 102. tom. 1.

[a] Acts xi. 1.

Joh. Jam. Sartor fecit Londini.

And behold, the Angel of the Lord *came upon him and a Light shined in the Prison: And he smote* Peter *on the Side, and raised him up, saying, arise up quickly, and his Chains fell off from his Hands.* *Acts, Chap. 12th. Ver. 7th.*

ly rejected the Gentiles as dogs and reprobates, utterly refuſing to ſhew them any office of common kindneſs and converſe. We find the Heathens frequently charging them with this rudeneſs and inhumanity. Juvenal [b] accuſes them, that they would not ſhew a traveller the right way, nor give him a draught of water, if he were not of their religion. Tacitus [c] tells us, that they had *adverſus omnes alios hoſtile odium*, "a bitter hatred of all other people." Haman [d] repreſented them to Ahaſuerus, as ἔθνος ἄμικτον, ἀσύμφυλον, &c. "A people that would never kindly mix and correſpond with any other; as different in their manners as in their laws and religion from other nations." The friends of Antiochus (as the [e] hiſtorian reports) charged them μόνους ἁπάντων ἐθνῶν ἀκοινωνήτους εἶναι τῆς πρὸς ἄλλο ἔθνος ἐπιμιξίας, καὶ πολεμίους ὑπολαμβάνειν πάντας, μηδενὶ ἄλλῳ ἔθνει τραπέζης κοινωνεῖν τὸ παράπαν, μηδὲ εὐνοεῖν, "That they alone of all others were the moſt unſociable people under heaven; that they held no converſe or correſpondence with any other, but accounted them as their mortal enemies; that they would not eat nor drink with men of another nation, no nor ſo much as wiſh well to them; their anceſtors having leavened them with an hatred of all mankind." This was their humour: and that the Gentiles herein did not wrong them, is ſufficiently evident from their ordinary practice, and is openly avowed by their own writings [f]. Nay, at their firſt coming over to Chriſtianity, though one great deſign of it was to ſoften the manners of men, and to oblige them to a more extenſive and univerſal charity; yet could they hardly quit this common prejudice, quarrelling with Peter for no other reaſon, but that he had eaten and drunken with the Gentiles: inſomuch that he was forced to apologize for himſelf, and to juſtify his actions as immediately done by divine warrant and authority. And then, no ſooner had he given them a naked and impartial account of the whole tranſaction, from firſt to laſt, but they preſently turned their diſpleaſure againſt him into thanks to God, that had granted to the Gentiles alſo repentance unto life.

5. It was now about the end of Caligula's reign, when Peter having finiſhed his viſitation of the new planted churches, was returned to Jeruſalem. Not long after Herod Agrippa, [g] grandchild to Herod the great, having attained the kingdom, the better to ingratiate himſelf with the people, had lately put St. James to death. And finding that this gratified the vulgar, reſolved to ſend Peter the ſame way after him. In order whereunto he apprehended him, caſt him into priſon, and ſet ſtrong guards to watch him: the church in the mean time being very inſtant and importunate with heaven for his life and ſafety. The night before his intended execution, God purpoſely ſent an angel from heaven, who coming to the priſon, found him faſt aſleep between two of his keepers. So ſoft and ſecure a pillow is a good conſcience, even in the confines of death, and the greateſt danger. The angel raiſed him up, knocked off his chains, bad him gird on his garments and follow him. He did ſo; and having paſſed the firſt and ſecond watch, and entred through the iron gate into the city (which opened to them of its own accord) after having paſſed through one ſtreet more, the angel departed from him. By this time Peter came to himſelf, and perceived that it was no viſion, but a reality that had happned to him. Whereupon he came to Mary's houſe, where the church were met together at prayer for him. Knocking at the door, the maid who came to let him in, perceiving it was his voice, ran back to tell them that Peter was at the door: which they at firſt looked upon as nothing but the effect of a fright or fancy; but ſhe ſtill affirming it, they concluded that it was his angel, or ſome peculiar meſſenger ſent from him. The door being opened, they were ſtrangely amazed at the ſight of him: but he briefly told them the manner of his deliverance, and charging them to acquaint the brethren with it, preſently withdrew into another place. It is eaſy to imagine what a buſtle and ſtir there was the next morning among the keepers of the priſon, with whom Herod was ſo much diſpleaſed, that he commanded them to be put to death.

6. Some time [h] after this it happened, that a controverſy ariſing between the Jewiſh and the Gentile converts about the obſervation of the Moſaick law, the minds of men were exceedingly diſquieted and diſturbed with it: the Jews zealouſly contending for circumciſion, and the obſervance of the ceremonial law, to be joined with the belief and profeſſion of the goſpel, as equally neceſſary to ſalvation. To

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[b] Satyr. p. 439.

[c] Hiſt. lib. 5. c. 4, 5. p. 535.

[d] Ap. Joſeph. Antiq. Jud. lib. 11, c. 6.

[e] Diodor. Sicul. lib. 34. apud Phot. Cod. 244 col. 1140.

[f] Vid. Maimon. in רוצח cap. 12. & in Gezelah, c. 11.

[g] Acts xii. 1.

[h] Chap. xv. 1.

compoſe this difference, the beſt expedient that could be thought on, was to call a general council of the Apoſtles and brethren to meet together at Jeruſalem; which was done accordingly, and the caſe throughly ſcanned and canvaſſed. At laſt Peter ſtood up, and acquainted the ſynod, that God having made choice of him among all the Apoſtles, to be the firſt that preached the goſpel to the Gentiles; God, who was beſt able to judge of the hearts of men, had born witneſs to them, that they were accepted of him, by giving them his holy Spirit, as well as he had done to the Jews; having put no difference between the one and the other. That therefore it was a tempting and provoking God, to put a yoke upon the necks of the diſciples, which neither they themſelves nor their fathers were able to bear; there being ground enough to believe, that the Gentiles as well as the Jews ſhould be ſaved by the grace of the goſpel. After ſome other of the Apoſtles had declared their judgments in the caſe, it was unanimouſly decreed, that except the temporary obſervance of ſome few particular things, equally convenient both for Jew and Gentile, no other burden ſhould be impoſed upon them: And ſo the decrees of the council being drawn up into a ſynodical epiſtle, were ſent abroad to the ſeveral churches, for allaying the heats and controverſies that had been raiſed about this matter.

7. PETER a while after the celebration of the council, left Jeruſalem, [i] and came down to Antioch, where uſing the liberty which the goſpel had given him, he familiarly eat and converſed with the Gentile converts, accounting them, now that *the partition wall was broken down*, no longer *ſtrangers* and *foreigners, but fellow-citizens with the ſaints, and of the houſhold of God:* This he had been taught by the viſion of the ſheet let down from heaven; this had been lately decreed, and he himſelf had promoted and ſubſcribed it in the ſynod at Jeruſalem; this he had before practiſed towards Cornelius and his family, and juſtified the action to the ſatisfaction of his accuſers; and this he had here freely and innocently done at Antioch; till ſome of the Jewiſh brethren coming thither, for fear of offending and diſpleaſing them, he withdrew his converſe with the Gentiles, as if it had been unlawful for him to hold communion with uncircumciſed perſons; when yet he knew, and was fully ſatisfied, that our Lord had wholly removed all difference, and broken down the wall of ſeparation between Jew and Gentile. In which affair, as he himſelf acted againſt the light of his own mind and judgment, condemning what he had approved, and deſtroying what he had before built up; ſo hereby he confirmed the Jewiſh zealots in their inveterate error, caſt infinite ſcruples into the minds of the Gentiles, filling their conſciences with fears and diſſatisfactions, reviving the old feuds and prejudices between Jew and Gentile: by which means many others were enſnared, yea, the whole number of Jewiſh converts followed his example, ſeparating themſelves from the company of the Gentile Chriſtians. Yea, ſo far did it ſpread, that Barnabas himſelf was carried away with the ſtream and torrent of this unwarrantable practice. St. Paul, who was at this time come to Antioch, unto whom Peter gave *the right hand of fellowſhip*, acknowledging his Apoſtleſhip of the circumciſion, obſerving theſe evil and unevangelical actings, reſolutely withſtood Peter to the face, and publickly reproved him as a perſon worthy to be blamed for his groſs prevarication in this matter; ſeverely expoſtulating and reaſoning with him, that he who was himſelf a Jew, and thereby under a more immediate obligation to the Moſaick law, ſhould caſt off that yoke himſelf, and yet endeavour to impoſe it upon the Gentiles, who were not in the leaſt under any obligation to it. A ſmart, but an impartial charge: And indeed ſo remarkable was this carriage of St. Paul towards our Apoſtle, that though it ſet things right for the preſent, yet it made ſome noiſe abroad in the World. Yes, [k] Porphyry himſelf, that acute and ſubtil enemy of Chriſtianity, makes uſe of it as an argument againſt them both; charging the one with error and falſhood, and the other with rudeneſs and incivility: and that the whole was but a compact of forgery and deceit, while the princes of the church did thus fall out among themſelves. And ſo ſenſible were ſome of this, in the firſt ages of Chriſtianity, that rather than ſuch a diſhonour and diſgrace, as they accounted it, ſhould be reflected upon Peter; they tell [l] us of two ſeveral Cephas's, one the Apoſtle, the other one of the ſeventy Diſciples; and that it was the laſt of theſe that was guilty of this prevarication, and

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[i] Gal. ii. 11.

[l] Hieron. Com. in Gal. ii. p. 168.

[k] Apud Hieron. proœm, in Ep. ad Gal. p. 159. tom,

whom St. Paul ſo vigorouſly reſiſted and reproved at Antioch. But for this plauſible and well meant evaſion the champions of the Romiſh church con them no great thanks at this day. Nay, St. Hierom long ſince fully confuted it in his notes upon this place.

SECT. IX.

Of St. PETER's Acts, from the end of the ſacred Story till his Martyrdom.

Peter's ſtory proſecuted out of eccleſiaſtical writers. His planting of a church and an epiſcopal ſee at Antioch; when ſaid to be. His firſt journey to Rome, and the happineſs it brought to the Roman empire. His preaching in other places, and return to Rome. His encounter with Simon Magus. The impoſtures of that magician. His familiarity with the emperors, and the great honours ſaid to be done to him. His ſtatue and inſcription at Rome. Peter's victory over him by raiſing one from the dead. Simon attempting to fly, is by Peter's prayers hindred, falls down, and dies. Nero's diſpleaſure againſt Peter, whence. His being caſt into priſon. His flight thence, and being brought back by Chriſt appearing to him. Crucified with his head downwards, and why. The place of his martyrdom and burial. The original and greatneſs of St. Peter's church at Rome. His epiſcopal chair pretended to be ſtill kept there.

1. HITHERTO in drawing up the life of this great Apoſtle, we have had an infallible guide to conduct and lead us: But the ſacred ſtory breaking off here, forces us to look abroad, and to pick up what memoirs the ancients have left us in this matter: which we ſhall for the main digeſt according to the order wherein Baronius, and other eccleſiaſtick writers have diſpoſed the ſeries of St. Peter's life; reſerving what is juſtly queſtionable, to a more particular examination afterward. And that we may preſent the account more entire and perfect, we muſt ſtep back a little in point of time, that ſo we may go forward with greater advantage. We are to know therefore, that during the time of peace and calmneſs which the church enjoyed after Saul's perſecution, when St. Peter went down to viſit the churches, he is ſaid to have gone to Antioch, where great numbers of Jews inhabited, and there to have planted the Chriſtian faith. That he founded a church here [m] Euſebius expreſly tells us, and by [n] others it is ſaid, that he himſelf was the firſt biſhop of this ſee. Sure I am that [o] St. Chryſoſtom reckons it one of the greateſt honours of that city, that St. Peter ſtaid ſo long there, and that the biſhops of it ſucceeded him in that ſee. The care and preſidency of this church he had between ſix and ſeven years. Not that he ſtaid there all that time, but that having ordered and diſpoſed things to the beſt advantage, he returned to other affairs and exigences of the church: confirming the new plantation, bringing in Cornelius and his family, and in him the firſt fruits of the Gentiles converſion to the faith of Chriſt. After which he returned unto Jeruſalem, where he was impriſoned by Herod, and miraculouſly delivered by an angel ſent from heaven.

2. WHAT became of Peter after his deliverance out of priſon, is not certainly known: probably he might preach in ſome parts a little farther diſtant from Judæa, as we are told [p] he did at Byzantium, and in the countries thereabout (though, I confeſs, the evidence to me is not convincing.) After this he reſolved upon a journey to Rome; where moſt agree he arrived about the ſecond year of the emperor

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[m] Chron. ad An. Chr. 43.

[n] Hieron. Comment. in 2 ad Galat. p. 168. tom. 9.

[o] Encom. S. Ignat. Mart. p. 503. tom. 1.

[p] Baron. ad Ann. Chr. 44. num. 12. vid. Epiſt. Agap. ad Pet. Hieroſ. in V. Synod. ſub Men. Conc. tom. 4. p. 24.

Claudius. [pp] Oroſius tells us, that coming to Rome, he brought proſperity along with him to that city: For beſides ſeveral other extraordinary advantages which at that time happened to it, this was not the leaſt obſervable, that Camillus Scribonianus, governor of Dalmatia, ſoliciting the army to rebel againſt the emperor, the eagles, their military ſtandard, remained ſo faſt in the ground, that no power nor ſtrength was able to pluck them up. With which unuſual accident the minds of the ſoldiers were ſurprized and ſtartled; and turning their ſwords againſt the author of the ſedition, continued firm and loyal in their obedience. Whereby a dangerous rebellion was prevented, likely enough otherwiſe to have broken out. This he aſcribes to St. Peter's coming to Rome, and the firſt plantation of the Chriſtian faith in that city; heaven beginning more particularly to ſmile upon that place at his firſt coming thither. It is not to be doubted, but that at his firſt arrival, he diſpoſed himſelf amongſt the Jews his countrymen, who, ever ſince the time of Auguſtus, had dwelt in the region beyond Tiber. But when afterwards he began to preach to the Gentiles, he was forced to change his lodging, and was taken in by one Pudens, a ſenator, lately converted to the faith. Here he cloſely plied his main office and employment, to eſtabliſh Chriſtianity in that place. Here we are told [q] he met with Philo the Jew, lately come on his ſecond embaſſy unto Rome, in the behalf of his countrymen at Alexandria, and to have contracted an intimate friendſhip and acquaintance with him. And now it was, ſays [r] Baronius, that Peter being mindful of the churches which he had founded in Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Bithynia and Aſia the leſs, wrote his firſt Epiſtle to them; which he probably infers hence, that St. Mark being yet with him at the time of the date of this Epiſtle, it muſt be written at leaſt ſome time this year, for that now it was that St. Mark was ſent to preach and propagate the faith in Egypt. Next to the planting religion at Rome, he took care to propagate it in the weſtern parts. And to that end (if we may believe one [s] of thoſe that pretend to be his ſucceſſors) he ſent abroad diſciples into ſeveral provinces: that ſo *their ſound might go into all the earth, and their words unto the ends of the world.*

3. IT happened that after St. Peter had been ſeveral years at Rome, Claudius the emperor taking the advantage of ſome ſeditions and tumults raiſed by the Jews, by a publick edict [t] baniſhed them out of Rome. In the number of whom, St. Peter (they ſay) departed thence, and returned back to Jeruſalem, where he was preſent at that great Apoſtolical ſynod, of which before. After this we are left under great uncertainties how he diſpoſed of himſelf for many years. Confident we may be, that he was not idle, but ſpent his time ſometimes in preaching in the eaſtern parts, and ſometimes in other parts of the world, as in [v] Africk, Sicily, Italy, and other places. And here it may not be amiſs to inſert a claim in behalf of our own country: Euſebius telling us (as [w] Metaphraſtes reports it) that Peter was not only in theſe weſtern parts, but particularly that he was a long time in Britain, where he converted many nations to the faith. But we had better be without the honour of St. Peter's company, than build the ſtory upon ſo ſandy a foundation: Metaphraſtes his authority being of ſo little value in this caſe, that it is ſlighted by the more learned and moderate writers of the church of Rome. But wherever it was that St. Peter employed his time, towards the latter part of Nero's reign he returned to Rome; where he found the minds of the people ſtrangely bewitched and hardned againſt the embracing of the Chriſtian Religion, by the ſubtilties and magick arts of Simon Magus, whom (as we have before related) he had formerly baffled at Samaria. This Simon was born at [x] Gitton, a village of Samaria, bred up in the arts of ſorcery and divination, and by the help of the diabolical powers performed many ſtrange feats of wonder and activity. Inſomuch that people generally looked upon him as ſome great Deity come down from heaven. But being diſcovered and confounded by Peter at Samaria, he left the Eaſt, and fled to Rome: where by witchcraft and ſorceries he inſinuated himſelf into the favour of the people; and at laſt became very acceptable to the emperors themſelves, inſomuch that no honour and veneration was too great for him. [y] Juſtin Martyr aſſures us, that he was

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[pp] Hiſt. lib. 7. c. 6. fol. 296. & ſeq.

[q] Euſeb. Hiſt. Eccl. lib. 2. c. 17. p. 53. Hieron. de ſcript. Eccl. in Phil. p. 270.

[r] Ad Ann. 45. num. 16.

[s] Innoc. Ep. 1. ad Dec. Eug. Concil. tom. 1. p. 751.

[t] Vid. Oroſ. lib. 7. c. 6. fol. 297.

[v] Vid. Innoc. Epiſt. ubi ſupra.

[w] De Petr. & Paul. ad diem 29 Jun. num. 23. Vid. etiam num. 10. ibid.

[x] Juſt. Mart. Apol. 2. p. 69,–91. Vid. Dialog. cum Tryph. p. 349.

[y] Ubi ſupra, Apol. 2.

honoured as a Deity, that a ſtatue was erected to him in the Inſula Tiberina, between two bridges, with this inſcription, SIMONI DEO SANCTO; "To Simon the holy god." That the Samaritans generally, and very many of other nations, did own and worſhip him as the chief principal Deity. I know the credit of this inſcription is ſhrewdly ſhaken by ſome later antiquaries, who tell us, that the good father being a Greek, might eaſily miſtake in a Latin inſcription, or be impoſed upon by others; and that the true inſcription was SEMONI SANGO DEO FIDIO, &c. ſuch an inſcription being in the laſt age dug up in the Tiberine Iſland, and there preſerved to this day. It is not impoſſible but this might be the foundation of the ſtory. But ſure I am, that it is not only reported by the Martyr, who was himſelf a Samaritan, and lived but in the next age, but by others almoſt of the ſame time, [z] Irenæus, [a] Tertullian, and by others [b] after them. It farther deſerves to be conſidered, that Juſtin Martyr was a perſon of great learning and gravity, inquiſitive about matters of this nature, at this time at Rome, where he was capable fully to ſatisfy himſelf in the truth of things; that he preſented this *Apology* to the emperor and the ſenate of Rome, to whom he would be careful what he ſaid; and who, as they knew whether it was true or no, ſo, if falſe, could not but ill reſent to be ſo boldly impoſed upon by ſo notorious a fable. But, be it as it will, he was highly in favour both with the people and their emperors; eſpecially Nero, who was the great patron of magicians, [c] and all who maintained ſecret ways of commerce with the infernal powers. With him [d] St. Peter thought fit in the firſt place to encounter, and to undeceive the people, by diſcovering the impoſtures and deluſions of that wretched man.

4. THAT he did ſo, is generally affirmed by the ancient [e] fathers; who tell us of ſome particular inſtances wherein he baffled and confounded him. But becauſe the matter is more entirely drawn up by [f] Hegeſippus the younger, an author contemporary with St. Ambroſe, if not (which is moſt probable) St. Ambroſe himſelf, we ſhall from him repreſent the ſummary of the ſtory. There was at this time at Rome an eminent young gentleman, and a kinſman of the emperor's, lately dead. The fame which Peter had for raiſing perſons to life, perſuaded his friends that he might be called. Others alſo prevailing that Simon the magician might be ſent for. Simon, glad of the occaſion to magnify himſelf before the people, propounded to Peter, that if he raiſed the gentleman unto life, then Peter, who had ſo injuriouſly provoked the *great power of God,* (as he ſtiled himſelf) ſhould loſe his life: But if Peter prevailed, he himſelf would ſubmit to the ſame fate and ſentence. Peter accepted the terms, and Simon began his charms and inchantments, whereat the dead gentleman ſeemed to move his hand. The people that ſtood by preſently cried out that he was alive, and that he talked with Simon, and began to fall foul upon Peter, for daring to oppoſe himſelf againſt ſo great a power. The Apoſtle entreated their patience, told them that all this was but a phantaſm and appearance, that if Simon was but taken from the bed-ſide, all this pageantry would quickly vaniſh. Who being accordingly removed, the body remained without the leaſt ſign of motion. Peter, ſtanding at a good diſtance from the bed, ſilently made his addreſs to heaven, and then before them all commanded the young gentleman in the name of the LORD JESUS to ariſe: who immediately did ſo, ſpoke, walked, and eat, and was by Peter reſtored to his mother. The people who ſaw this, ſuddenly changed their opinions, and fell upon the magician with an intent to ſtone him. But Peter begged his life, and told them, that it would be a ſufficient puniſhment to him, to live and ſee, that in deſpite of all his power and malice, the kingdom of Chriſt ſhould increaſe and flouriſh. The magician was inwardly tormented with this defeat, and vexed to ſee the triumph of the Apoſtle, and therefore muſtering up all his powers, ſummoned the people, told them he was offended at the Galileans, whoſe protector and guardian he had been, and therefore ſet them a day, when he promiſed that they ſhould ſee him fly up into heaven. At the time appointed, he went up into the Mount of the Capitol, and throwing himſelf from the top of the rock, began his flight. A ſight which the people entertained with great wonder

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[z] Iren. adv. Hæreſ. lib. 1. c. 20. p. 115.

[a] Tertull. Apol. c. 13. p. 14.

[b] Euſeb. lib. 2. c. 14. p. 51. Aug. de Hæreſ. in Simon. tom. 6. col. 13. Niceph. lib. 2. cap. 14. p. 154.

[c] Vid. Plin. Nat. Hiſt. lib. 30. e. 2. p. 606.

[d] Euſeb. Hiſt. Eccl. lib. 2. c. 14. p. 51, 52.

[e] Damaſc. in Vit. Petr. Conc. tom. 1. Conſt. App. lib. 6. c. 8, 9. p. 944. Arnob. adv. Gent. lib. 2. p. 23. Epiph. Hæreſ. 21. p. 3. 1. Sulp. Sever. lib. 2. p. 137, & alii.

[f] Hegeſ. de Excid. Hieroſ. lib. 3. c. 2. 293.

and veneration, affirming that this muſt be the power of God, and not of man. Peter ſtanding in the crowd, prayed to our Lord that the people might be undeceived; and that the vanity of the impoſtor might be diſcovered in ſuch a way, that he himſelf might be ſenſible of it. Immediately the wings which he had made himſelf began to fail him, and he fell to the ground, miſerably bruiſed and wounded with the fall: whence being carried into a neighbouring village, he ſoon after died. This is the ſtory; for the particular circumſtances whereof, the reader muſt rely upon the credit of my author, the thing in general being ſufficiently acknowledged by moſt ancient writers. This conteſt of Peter's with Simon Magus is placed by Euſebius under the reign of Claudius; but by the generality both of ancient and later authors, it is referred to the reign of Nero.

5. SUCH was the end of this miſerable and unhappy man; which no ſooner came to the ears of the emperor, to whom by wicked artifices he had endeared himſelf, but it became an occaſion of haſtning Peter's ruin. The emperor probably had been before diſpleaſed with Peter, not only upon the account of the general diſagreement, and inconformity of his religion, but becauſe he had ſo ſtrictly preſſed temperance and chaſtity, and reclaimed ſo many women in Rome from a diſſolute and vicious life, [g] thereby croſſing that wanton and laſcivious temper, to which that prince was ſo immoderate a ſlave and vaſſal. And being now by this means robbed of his dear favourite and companion, he reſolved upon revenge, and commanded Peter (as alſo St. Paul, who was at this time at Rome) to be apprehended and caſt into the Mamertine [h] priſon: where they ſpent their time in the exerciſes of religion, and eſpecially in preaching to the priſoners, and thoſe who reſorted to them. And here we may ſuppoſe it was (if not a little before) that Peter wrote his ſecond Epiſtle to the diſperſed Jews, wherein he endeavours to confirm them in the belief and practice of Chriſtianity, and to fortify them againſt thoſe poiſonous and pernicious principles and practices, which even then began to break in upon the Chriſtian church.

6. NERO returning from Achaia, and entring Rome with a great deal of pomp and triumph, reſolved now the Apoſtles ſhould fall as a victim and ſacrifice to his cruelty and revenge. While the fatal ſtroke was daily expected, the Chriſtians in Rome did by daily prayers and importunities ſolicit [i] St. Peter to make an eſcape, and to reſerve himſelf to the uſes and ſervices of the church. This at firſt he rejected, as what would ill reflect upon his courage and conſtancy, and argue him to be afraid of thoſe ſufferings for Chriſt, to which he himſelf had ſo often perſuaded others; but the prayers and tears of the people overcame him, and made him yield. Accordingly the next night having prayed with, and taken his farewel of the brethren, he got over the priſon wall, and coming to the city gate, he is there ſaid to have met with our Lord, who was juſt entring into the city. Peter aſked him, "Lord, whither art thou going?" from whom he preſently received this anſwer, "I am come to Rome, to be crucified a ſecond time." By which anſwer Peter apprehended himſelf to be reproved, and that our Lord meant it of his death, that he was to be crucified in his ſervant. Whereupon he went back to the priſon, and delivered himſelf into the hands of his keepers, ſhewing himſelf moſt ready and chearful to acquieſce in the will of God. And we are told, [k] that in the ſtone whereon our Lord ſtood while he talked with Peter, he left the impreſſion of his feet; which ſtone has been ever ſince preſerved as a very ſacred relique, and after ſeveral tranſlations was at length fixed in the church of St. Sebaſtian the martyr, where it is kept and viſited with great expreſſions of reverence and devotion at this day. Before his ſuffering he was, no queſtion, ſcourged; according to the manner of the Romans, who were wont firſt to whip thoſe malefactors who were adjudged to the moſt ſevere and capital puniſhments. Having ſaluted his brethren, and eſpecially having taken his laſt farewel of St. Paul, he was brought out of the priſon, and led to the top of the Vatican Mount, near to Tiber, the place deſigned for his execution. The death he was adjudged to was crucifixion, as of all others accounted the moſt ſhameful, ſo the moſt ſevere and terrible. But he intreated the favour of the officers, that he might not be crucified in the ordinary way, [l] but might ſuffer with his head

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[g] Vid. Ambr. Orat. in Auxent. Ep. lib. 5. p. 125. tom. 3.

[h] Vid. Martyr. Rom. ad diem 14. Mart. p. 165.

[i] Vid. Ambr. ut ſupra, & Hegeſ. ib. p. 279.

[k] Rom. Subterran. lib. 3. c. 21. n. 15. tom. 1. p. 292.

[l] Orig. lib. 3. in Geneſ. apud Euſeb. Hiſt. Eccleſ. lib. 3. c. 1. p. 71. Hieron. de Script. Eccl. in Petr. p. 262. Hegeſ. p. 279.

Prima Petrum rapuit ſententia legibus Neronis,
Pendere juſſum præminente ligno.

Ille

head downwards, and his feet up to heaven; affirming that he was unworthy to ſuffer in the ſame poſture wherein his Lord had ſuffered before him. Happy man (as [m] Chryſoſtom gloſſes) to be ſet in the readieſt poſture of travelling from earth to heaven. His body being taken from the croſs, is ſaid to have been embalmed by Marcellinus the preſbyter, after the Jewiſh manner, and was then buried in the Vatican, near the Triumphal way. Over his grave a ſmall [n] church was ſoon after erected, which being deſtroyed by Heliogabalus, his body was removed to the Cemetery in the Appian way, two miles from Rome; where it remained till the time of pope Cornelius, who re-conveyed it to the Vatican, where it reſted ſomewhat obſcurely till the reign of Conſtantine; who, out of the mighty reverence which he had for the Chriſtian religion, cauſed many churches to be built at Rome, but eſpecially rebuilt and enlarged the Vatican to the honour of St. Peter. In the doing whereof, himſelf is ſaid to have been the firſt that began to dig the foundation, and to have carried thence twelve baſkets of rubbiſh with his own hands, in honour, as it ſhould ſeem, of the twelve Apoſtles. He infinitely enriched the church with gifts and ornaments, which in every age encreaſed in ſplendor and riches, till it is become one of the wonders of the world at this day: Of whoſe glories, ſtatelineſs and beauty, and thoſe many venerable monuments of antiquity that are in it, they who deſire to know more, may be plentifully ſatisfied by [o] Onuphrius. Only one amongſt the reſt muſt not be forgotten: there being kept that very wooden chair wherein St. Peter ſat when he was at Rome, by the only touching whereof many miracles are ſaid to be performed. But ſurely [p] Baronius his wiſdom and gravity were from home, when ſpeaking of this chair, and fearing that hereticks would imagine that it might be rotten in ſo long a time, he tells us, that it is no wonder that this chair ſhould be preſerved ſo long, when Euſebius affirms, that the wooden chair of St. James, biſhop of Jeruſalem, was extant in the time of Conſtantine. But the cardinal it ſeems forgot to conſider, that there is ſome difference between three and ſixteen hundred years. But of this enough. St. Peter was crucified, according to the common computation, in the year of Chriſt ſixty nine, and the thirteenth (or, as Euſebius, the fourteenth) of Nero; how truly may be enquired afterwards.

SECT. X.

The character of his Perſon and Temper; and an account of his Writings.

The deſcription of St. Peter's perſon. An account of his temper. A natural fervour and eagerneſs predominant in him. Fierceneſs and animoſity peculiarly remarkable in the Galileans. The abatements of his zeal and courage. His humility and lowlineſs of mind. His great love to, and zeal for Chriſt. His conſtancy and reſolution in confeſſing of Chriſt. His faithfulneſs and diligence in his office. His writings, genuine and ſuppoſititious. His firſt Epiſtle; what the deſign of it. What meant by Babylon, whence it was dated. His ſecond Epiſtle a long time queſtioned, and why. Difference in the ſtile, no conſiderable objection. Grotius his conceit of its being written by Symeon biſhop of Jeruſalem, exploded. A concurrence of circumſtances to entitle St. Peter to it. Some things in it referred to, which he had preached at Rome, particularly the deſtruction of Jeruſalem. Written but a little before his death. The ſpurious writings attributed to him, mentioned by the ancients. His Acts. Goſpel. Petri Prædicatio. *His* Apocalypſe. Judicium Petri. *Peter's married relation. His wife the companion of his travels. Her martyrdom. His daughter Petronilla.*

Ille tamen veritus celſæ decus æmulando mortis
 Ambire tanti gloriam Magiſtri:
Exigit ut pedibus merſum caput imprimant ſupinis,
 Quo ſpectet imum ſtipitem cerebro.
Figitur ergo manus ſubter, ſola verſus in cacumen
 Hoc mente major, quo minor figura,
Noverat ex humili cœlum citius ſolere adiri,
 Dejecit ora, ſpiritum daturus.
Prudent. Periſteph. Hymn. xi. in paſſ. Pet. & Paul.

[m] Serm. in Petr. & Paul. p. 267. t. 6.

[n] Vid. Onuphr. de VII Urb. Baſil. c. 4. p. 45, &c.

[o] Loc. ſupra laudat.

[p] Ad An. 45. n. 11.

1. HAVING run through the current hiſtory of St. Peter's life, it may not be amiſs in the next place to ſurvey a little his perſon and temper. His body (if we may believe the deſcription given of him by [q] Nicephorus) was ſomewhat ſlender, of a middle ſize, but rather inclining to tallneſs; his complexion very pale, and almoſt white: The hair of his head and beard curled and thick, but withal ſhort: though [r] St. Hierom tells us, out of Clemens his *Periods*, that he was bald; which probably might be in his declining age. His eyes black, but ſpecked with red; which [ſ] Baronius will have to proceed from his frequent weeping: His eyebrows thin, or none at all: His noſe long, but rather broad and flat than ſharp. Such was the caſe and outſide. Let us next look inwards, and view the jewel that was within. Take him as a man, and there ſeems to have been a natural eagerneſs predominant in his temper, which as a whetſtone ſharpned his ſoul for all bold and generous undertakings. It was this in a great meaſure that made him ſo forward to ſpeak, and to return anſwers, ſometimes before he had well conſidered them. It was this made him expoſe his perſon to the moſt [t] imminent dangers, promiſe thoſe great things in behalf of his Maſter, and reſolutely draw his ſword in his quarrel againſt a whole band of ſoldiers, and wound the high prieſt's ſervant: and poſſibly he had attempted greater matters, had not our Lord reſtrained, and taken him off by that ſeaſonable check that he gave him.

2. THIS temper he owed in a great meaſure to the genius and nature of his country, of which [v] Joſephus gives this true character; That it naturally bred in men a certain fierceneſs and animoſity, whereby they were fearleſly carried out upon any action, and in all things ſhewed a great ſtrength and courage both of mind and body. The Galileans (ſays he) being fighters from their childhood; the men being as ſeldom overtaken with cowardiſe, as their country with want of men. And yet notwithſtanding this, his fervour and fierceneſs had its intervals; there being ſome times when the paroxyſms of his heat and courage did intermit, and the man was ſurprized and betrayed by his own fears. Witneſs his paſſionate crying out, when he was upon the ſea in danger of his life, and his fearful deſerting his Maſter in the garden; but eſpecially his carriage in the high prieſt's hall, when the confident charge of a ſorry maid made him ſink ſo far beneath himſelf; and, notwithſtanding his great and reſolute promiſes, ſo ſhamefully deny his Maſter, and that with curſes and imprecations. But he was in danger, and paſſion prevailed over his underſtanding, and fear betrayed the ſuccours which reaſon offered: and being intent upon nothing but the preſent ſafety of his life, he heeded not what he did, when he diſowned his Maſter to ſave himſelf. So dangerous is it to be left to ourſelves, and to have our natural paſſions let looſe upon us.

3. CONSIDER him as a diſciple and a Chriſtian, and we ſhall find him exemplary in the great inſtances of religion, ſingular in his humility and lowlineſs of mind. With what a paſſionate earneſtneſs, upon the conviction of a miracle, did he beg of our Saviour to depart from him; accounting himſelf not worthy that the Son of God ſhould come near ſo vile a ſinner? When our Lord by that wonderful condeſcenſion ſtooped to waſh his Apoſtles feet, he could by no means be perſuaded to admit it; not thinking it fit, that ſo great a perſon ſhould ſubmit himſelf to ſo ſervile an office towards ſo mean a perſon as himſelf; nor could he be induced to accept it, till our Lord was in a manner forced to threaten him into obedience. When Cornelius, heightned in his apprehenſions of him by an immediate command from God concerning him, would have entertained him with expreſſions of more than ordinary honour and veneration; ſo far was he from complying with it, that he plainly told him, he was no other than ſuch a man as himſelf. With how much candour and modeſty does he treat the inferior rulers and miniſters of the church? He, upon whom antiquity heaps ſo many honourable titles, ſtiling himſelf no other than their fellow preſbyter. Admirable his love to, and zeal for his Maſter, which he thought he could never expreſs at too high a rate: for his ſake venturing on the greateſt dangers, and expoſing himſelf to the moſt imminent hazards

[q] Hiſt. Eccleſ. lib. 2. c. 37. p. 195.

[r] Com. in Gal. 2. p. 164. t. 9. ex lib. dicto Πράξεις, ſeu Περίοδοι Πέτρου.

[ſ] Ad An. 69. n. 31.

[t] Καὶ τοίγε ὁ Πέτρος θερμότερον πανταχοῦ ϗ κινεῖται ϗ φθέγγεται Chryſoſt. Hom. 32. in Joan. p. 170.

[v] Τηλικαῦται δὲ οὖσαι τὸ μέγεθος, ϗ τοσούτοις ἔθνεσιν ἀλλοφύλοις κεκυκλωμένοι, πρὸς πᾶσαν ἀεὶ πολέμου πεῖραν ἀντέχον· μάχιμοί τε γὰρ ἐκ νηπίων, ϗ πολλοὶ πάντοτε Γαλιλαῖοι· ϗ οὔτε δειλία πότε τοὺς ἄνδρας, οὔτε λειπανδρεία τὴν χώραν κατέσχεν. De Bello Jud. lib. 3. c. 4. p. 833.

zards of life. It was in his quarrel that he drew his ſword againſt a band of ſoldiers, and an armed multitude; and it was love to his Maſter that drew him into that imprudent advice, that he ſhould ſeek to ſave himſelf, and avoid thoſe ſufferings that were coming upon him; that made him promiſe and engage ſo deep, to ſuffer and die with him. Great was his forwardneſs in owning Chriſt to be the Meſſiah and Son of God; which drew from our Lord that honourable encomium, *Bleſſed art thou, Simon Bar-Jonah.* But greater his courage and conſtancy in confeſſing Chriſt before his moſt inveterate enemies, eſpecially after he had recovered himſelf of his fall. With how much plainneſs did he tell the Jews at every turn to their very faces, that they were the murderers and crucifiers of the Lord of glory? nay, with what an undaunted courage, with what an heroick greatneſs of mind did he tell that very Sanhedrim, that had ſentenced and condemned him, that they were guilty of his murder; and that they could never be ſaved any other way, than by this very Jeſus, whom they had crucified and put to death.

4. LASTLY, let us reflect upon him as an Apoſtle, as a paſtor and guide of ſouls. And ſo we find him faithful and diligent in his office, with an infinite zeal endeavouring to inſtruct the ignorant, reduce the erroneous, to ſtrengthen the weak, and confirm the ſtrong, to reclaim the vicious, and *turn ſouls to righteouſneſs.* We find him taking all opportunities of preaching to the people, converting many thouſands at once. How many voyages and travels did he undergo? with how unconquerable a patience did he endure all conflicts and trials, and ſurmount all difficulties and oppoſitions, that he might plant and propagate the Chriſtian faith? Not thinking much to lay down his own life, to promote and further it. Nor did he only do his duty himſelf, but as one of the prime ſuperintendents of the church, and as one that was ſenſible of the value and worth of ſouls, he was careful to put others in mind of theirs, earneſtly preſſing and perſuading the paſtors and governors of it, *to feed the flock of God*; [w] *to take upon them the rule* and inſpection of it *freely and willingly,* not out of a ſiniſter end, merely of gaining advantages to themſelves, but out of a ſincere deſign of doing good to ſouls; that they would treat them mildly and gently, and be themſelves examples of piety and religion to them, as the beſt way to make their miniſtry ſucceſsful and effectual. And becauſe he could not be always preſent to teach and warn men, he ceaſed not by letters *to ſtir up their minds* to the remembrance and practice of what they had been taught. A courſe, he tells them, which he was reſolved to hold as long as he lived, as [x] *thinking it meet while he was in this tabernacle to ſtir them up, by putting them in mind of theſe things*; that ſo they might be able after his deceaſe to have them always in remembrance. And this may lead us to the conſideration of thoſe writings which he left behind him for the benefit of the church.

5. NOW the writings that entitle themſelves to this Apoſtle, were either genuine, or ſuppoſititious. The genuine writings are his two Epiſtles, which make up part of the ſacred canon. For the firſt of them, no certain account can be had when it was written: though Baronius and moſt writers commonly aſſign it to the year of Chriſt forty four. But this cannot be, Peter not being at Rome (from whence it is ſuppoſed to have been written) at that time, as we ſhall ſee anon. He wrote it to the Jewiſh converts, diſperſed through Pontus, Galatia, and the countries thereabouts, chiefly upon the occaſion of that perſecution which had been raiſed at Jeruſalem. And accordingly the main deſign of it is, to confirm and comfort them under their preſent ſufferings and perſecutions, and to direct and inſtruct them how to carry themſelves in the ſeveral ſtates and relations, both of the civil and the Chriſtian life. For the place whence it was written, it is expreſly dated from Babylon: But what or where this Babylon is, is not ſo eaſy to determine. Some think it was Babylon in Egypt, and probably Alexandria; and that there Peter preached the goſpel. Others will have it to have been Babylon the ancient metropolis of Aſſyria, and where great numbers of Jews dwelt ever ſince the times of their captivities. But we need not ſend Peter on ſo long an errand, if we embrace the notion of a learned [y] man, who by Babylon will figuratively underſtand Jeruſalem, no longer now the holy city, but a kind of ſpiritual Babylon, in which the church of God did at this time groan under great ſervitude and captivity. And this notion of the word he endeavours to make good, by calling in to his aſſiſtance two of the [z] an-

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[w] 1 Pet. v. 3, 4.
[x] 2 Pet. i. 12, 13, 15.
[y] L. Capell. Append. ad Hiſt. App. p. 42.
[z] Cyril. Alex. & Procop. Gaz. in Eſa. 53.

cient fathers, who ſo underſtand that of the prophet, *We have healed Babylon, but ſhe was not healed.* Where the prophet, ſay they, by Babylon means Jeruſalem, as differing nothing from the wickedneſs of the nations, nor conforming itſelf to the law of God. But generally the writers of the Romiſh church, and the more moderate of the Reformed party, acquieſcing herein in the judgment of antiquity, by Babylon underſtand Rome. And ſo it is plain St. John calls it in his [a] *Revelation*, either from its conformity in power and greatneſs to that ancient city, or from that great idolatry which at this time reigned in Rome. And ſo we may ſuppoſe St. Peter to have written it from Rome, not long after his coming thither, though the preciſe time be not exactly known.

6. As for the ſecond Epiſtle, it was not accounted of old of equal value and authority with the firſt, and therefore for ſome ages not taken into the ſacred canon, as is expreſly affirmed by [b] Euſebius, and many of the ancients before him. The ancient Syriack church did not receive it, and accordingly it is not to be found in their ancient [c] copies of the New Teſtament. Yea, thoſe of that church at this day do not own it as canonical, but only read it privately, as we do the apocryphal books. The greateſt [d] exception that I can find againſt it, was the difference of its ſtile from the other Epiſtle; and therefore it was preſumed, that they were not both written by the ſame hand. But St. Hierom, who tells us the objection, does [e] elſewhere himſelf return the anſwer, that the difference in the ſtile and manner of writing might very well ariſe from hence, that St. Peter, according to his different circumſtances, and the neceſſity of affairs, was forced to uſe ſeveral amanuenſes and interpreters; ſometimes St. Mark, and after his departure ſome other perſon, which might juſtly occaſion a difference in the ſtile and character of theſe Epiſtles. Not to ſay, that the ſame perſon may vaſtly alter and vary his ſtile, according to the times when, or the perſons to whom, or the ſubjects about which he writes, or the temper and diſpoſition he is in at the time of writing, or the care that is uſed in doing it. Who ſees not the vaſt difference of Jeremy's writing in his *Prophecy*, and in his book of *Lamentations?* between St. John's in his *Goſpel*, his *Epiſtles*, and *Apocalypſe?* How oft does St. Paul alter his ſtile in ſeveral of his Epiſtles; in ſome more lofty and elegant, in others more rough and harſh? Beſides hundreds of inſtances that might be given both in eccleſiaſtical and foreign writers, too obvious to need inſiſting on in this place. The learned [f] Grotius will have this Epiſtle to have been written by Symeon, St. James his immediate ſucceſſor in the biſhoprick of Jeruſalem, and that the word [*Peter*] was inſerted into the title by another hand. But as a judicious [g] perſon of our own obſerves, theſe were but his poſthume *Annotations*, publiſhed by others, and no doubt never intended as the deliberate reſult of that great man's judgment: eſpecially ſince he himſelf tacitly acknowledges, that all copies extant at this day read the title and inſcription as it is in our books. And indeed there is a concurrence of circumſtances to prove St. Peter to be the author of it. It bears his name in the front and title, yea, ſomewhat more expreſly than the former, which has only one, this both his names. There is a paſſage in it which cannot well relate to any but him: when he tells us that he was preſent with Chriſt in the holy mount; [h] when he *received from God the Father honour and glory:* where he *heard the voice which came from heaven, from the excellent glory, This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleaſed.* This evidently refers to Chriſt's transfiguration, where none were preſent but Peter and the two ſons of Zebedee, neither of which were ever thought of to be the author of this Epiſtle. Beſides that there is an admirable conſent and agreement in many paſſages between theſe two Epiſtles, as it were eaſy to ſhew in particular inſtances. Add to this, that St. Jude, ſpeaking of the [i] *ſcoffers* who ſhould come *in the laſt time, walking after their own ungodly luſts,* cites this as that which had been *before ſpoken by the Apoſtles of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt:* wherein he plainly quotes the words of this ſecond Epiſtle of Peter, affirming, that [k] *there ſhould come in the laſt days ſcoffers, walking after their own luſts.* And that this does agree to Peter, will farther appear by this, that he tells us of theſe ſcoffers that ſhould come in the laſt days; that is, before the deſtruction of Jeruſalem (as that phraſe is often uſed in the New Teſtament) that they ſhould ſay, *Where is the promiſe*

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[a] Chap. xviii. 2, 10, 21.

[b] Hiſt. Eccl. l. 3. c. 3. p. 72. Orig. apud Niceph. l. 5. c. 16. p. 365.

[c] Vid. Edv. Pocock. præfat. ad Epiſt. Syr. à ſe edit.

[d] Hier. de ſcript. Eccl. in Petr.

[e] Quæſt. 11. ad Hedib. tom. 3. p. 151.

[f] Annot. in 2 Pet. c. 1.

[g] Dr. Hammond in Argum. Epiſt.

[h] 2 Pet. i. 16, 17, 18.

[i] Jud. 17, 18.

[k] 2 Pet. iii. 2, 3.

promiſe of his coming? Which clearly reſpects their making light of thoſe threatnings of our Lord, whereby he had foretold, that he would ſhortly come in judgment for the deſtruction of Jeruſalem and the Jewiſh nation. This he now puts them in mind of, as what probably he had before told them of *vivâ voce*, when he was amongſt them. For ſo we find he did elſewhere. Lactantius aſſuring [l] us, "That amongſt many ſtrange and wonderful things which Peter and Paul preached "at Rome, and left upon record, this was one, That within a ſhort time God "would ſend a prince who ſhould deſtroy the Jews, and lay their cities level with "the ground, ſtraitly beſiege them, deſtroy them with famine, ſo that they ſhould "feed upon one another: That their wives and daughters ſhould be raviſhed, and "their childrens brains daſhed out before their faces. That all things ſhould be "laid waſte by fire and ſword, and themſelves perpetually baniſhed from their own "country: and this for their inſolent and mercileſs uſage of the innocent and dear "Son of God." All which, as he obſerves, came to paſs ſoon after their death, when Veſpaſian came upon the Jews, and extinguiſhed both their name and nation. And what Peter here foretold at Rome, we need not queſtion but he had done before to thoſe Jews to whom he wrote this Epiſtle. Wherein he eſpecially antidotes them againſt thoſe corrupt and poiſonous principles, wherewith many, and eſpecially the followers of Simon Magus, began to infect the church of Chriſt. And this but a little time before his death, as appears from that paſſage in it, where he tells them, [m] *That he knew he muſt ſhortly put off his earthly tabernacle.*

7. BESIDES theſe divine Epiſtles, there were other ſuppoſititious writings which in the firſt ages were fathered upon St. Peter. Such was the book called his *Acts*, mentioned by [n] Origen, [o] Euſebius, and others; but rejected by them. Such was his *Goſpel*, which probably at firſt was nothing elſe but the goſpel written by St. Mark, dictated to him (as is generally thought) by St. Peter; and therefore, as [p] St. Hierom tells us, ſaid to be his. Though in the next age there appeared a book under that title, mentioned by [q] Serapion biſhop of Antioch, and by him at firſt ſuffered to be read in the church; but afterwards, upon a more careful peruſal of it, he rejected it as apocryphal, as it was by others after him. Another was the book ſtiled his *Preaching*, mentioned and quoted by [r] Clemens Alexandrinus, and by [ſ] Origen, but not acknowledged by them to be genuine; nay, expreſly ſaid to have been forged by hereticks, by an ancient [t] author contemporary with St. Cyprian. The next was his *Apocalypſe*, or Revelation, rejected, as [v] Sozomen tells us, by the ancients as ſpurious, but yet read in ſome churches in Paleſtine in his time. The laſt was the book called his *Judgment*, which probably was the ſame with that called *Hermes*, or *Paſtor* [w], a book of good uſe and eſteem in the firſt times of Chriſtianity, and which, as [x] Euſebius tells us, was not only frequently cited by the ancients, but alſo publickly read in churches.

8. WE ſhall conclude this ſection by conſidering Peter with reſpect to his ſeveral relations: That he was married is unqueſtionable, the ſacred hiſtory mentioning his wife's mother: his wife (might we believe [y] Metaphraſtes) being the daughter of Ariſtobulus, brother to Barnabas the Apoſtle. And though [z] St. Hierom would perſuade us that he left her behind him, together with his nets, when he forſook all to follow Chriſt; yet we know that father too well to be over-confident upon his word in a caſe of marriage or ſingle life, wherein he is not over-ſcrupulous ſometimes to ſtrain a point, to make his opinion more fair and plauſible. The beſt is, we have an infallible authority which plainly intimates the contrary, the teſtimony of St. Paul, who tells us of Cephas, that *he led about a wife, a ſiſter*, along with him; who for the moſt part mutually cohabited and lived together, for ought that can be proved to the contrary. [a] Clemens Alexandrinus gives us this account, though he tells us not the time or place, that Peter, ſeeing his wife going towards martyrdom, exceedingly rejoiced that ſhe was called to ſo great an honour, and that ſhe was now returning home; encouraging and earneſtly exhorting her, and calling her by her name, bad her be mindful of our Lord. Such, ſays he, was the wedlock of that bleſſed couple, and the perfect diſpoſition and agreement in thoſe things that were deareſt

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[l] Lib. 4. cap. 21. p. 422.

[m] Chap. i. 14.

[n] Orig. tom. 20. in Joan.

[o] Euſeb. lib. 3. c. 3. p. 72.

[p] In Petro, ut ſupra.

[q] Apud Euſeb. lib. 6. c. 12. p. 213.

[r] Strom. lib. 6. p. 635. & in Excerpt. Græc. ex Hypotyp. p. 809.

[ſ] Orig. tom. 13. in Joan.

[t] De Hæret. non rebapt. apud Cypr. p. 142.

[v] Hiſt. Eccl. lib. 7. c. 19. p. 735.

[w] Vid. Ruffin. Expoſit. Symbol. inter Oper. Hier. tom. 4. p. 113.

[x] Hiſt. Eccl. lib. 3. c. 3. p. 72.

[y] Comment. de S. Petr. apud Sur. ad diem 29 Jun. n. 2.

[z] Ep. ad Julian. tom. 1. p. 207. 1 Cor. ix. 5. Vid. Clem. Recognit. lib. 7. fol. 76. pag. 2.

[a] Strom. lib. 7. p. 736.

to them. By her he is ſaid to have had a [b] daughter, called Petronilla (Metaphraſtes [c] adds a ſon) how truly I know not. This only is certain, that [d] Clemens of Alexandria reckons Peter for one of the Apoſtles that was married and had children. And ſurely he who was ſo good a man, and ſo good an Apoſtle, was as good in the relation both of an huſband and a father.

SECT. XI.

An Enquiry into St. PETER's going to Rome.

Peter's being at Rome granted in general. The account of it given by Baronius and the writers of that church, rejected and diſproved. No foundation for it in the hiſtory of the Apoſtolick Acts. *No mention of it in St. Paul's epiſtle to the Romans. No news of his being there at St. Paul's coming to Rome, nor intimation of any ſuch thing in the ſeveral epiſtles which St. Paul wrote from thence. St. Peter's firſt being at Rome inconſiſtent with the time of the Apoſtolical ſynod at Jeruſalem: And with an ancient tradition, that the Apoſtles were commanded to ſtay twelve years in Judæa after Chriſt's death. A paſſage out of Clemens Alexandrinus noted and corrected to that purpoſe. Difference among the writers of the Romiſh church in their accounts. Peter's being twenty five years biſhop of Rome, no ſolid foundation for it in antiquity. The planting and governing that church equally attributed to Peter and Paul. St. Peter, when (probably) came to Rome. Different dates of his martyrdom aſſigned by the ancients. A probable account given of it.*

1. IT is not my purpoſe to ſwim againſt the ſtream and current of antiquity, in denying St. Peter to have been at Rome; an aſſertion eaſilier perplexed and entangled, than confuted and diſproved: we may grant the main, without doing any great ſervice to that church, there being evidence enough to every impartial and conſidering man, to ſpoil that ſmooth and plauſible ſcheme of times, which Baronius and the writers of that church have drawn with ſo much care and diligence. And in order to this we ſhall firſt enquire, whether that account which Bellarmine and Baronius give us of Peter's being at Rome, be tolerably reconcileable with the hiſtory of the Apoſtles *Acts* recorded by St. Luke; which will be beſt done by briefly preſenting St. Peter's acts in their juſt ſeries and order of time, and then ſee what countenance and foundation their account can receive from hence.

2. AFTER our Lord's Aſcenſion, we find Peter, for the firſt year at leaſt, ſtaying with the reſt of the Apoſtles at Jeruſalem. In the next year he was ſent, together with St. John, by the command of the Apoſtles, to Samaria, to preach the goſpel to that city, and the parts about it. About three years after St. Paul meets him at Jeruſalem, with whom he ſtaid ſome time. In the two following years he viſited the late planted churches, preached at Lydda and Joppa, where having *tarried many days*, he thence removed to Cæſarea, where he preached to, and baptized Cornelius and his family. Whence after ſome time he returned to Jeruſalem, where he probably ſtaid, till caſt into priſon by Herod, and delivered by the Angel. After which we hear no more of him, till three or four years after we find him in the council at Jeruſalem. After which he had the conteſt with St. Paul at Antioch. And thenceforward the ſacred ſtory is altogether ſilent in this matter. So that in all this time we find not the leaſt footſtep of any intimation that he went to Rome. This [e] Baronius well foreſaw, and therefore once and again inſerts this caution, that St. Luke did not deſign to record all the Apoſtles acts, and that he has omitted many things which were done by Peter. Which ſurely no man ever intended to deny. But then that he ſhould omit a matter of ſuch vaſt moment and importance to the whole Chriſtian world, that not one ſyllable ſhould be ſaid of a church planted by Peter at Rome; a church that was to be paramount, the ſeat of all ſpiritual power and

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[b] Baron. ad Ann. 60. n. 32. [c] Ubi ſupra. [e] Ad Ann. 39. num. 12. ad Ann. 34. num. 285.

[d] Strom. lib. 3. p. 448.

infallibility, and to which all other churches were to veil and do homage; nay, that he ſhould not ſo much as mention that ever he was there, and yet all this ſaid to be done within the time he deſigned to write of, is by no means reaſonable to ſuppoſe. Eſpecially conſidering, that St. Luke records many of his journeys and travels, and his preaching at ſeveral places, of far leſs conſequence and concernment. Nor let this be thought the worſe of, becauſe a negative argument, ſince it carries ſo much rational evidence along with it, that any man who is not plainly biaſſed by intereſt, will be ſatisfied with it.

3. BUT let us proceed a little farther to enquire, whether we can meet any probable footſteps afterwards. About the year fifty three, towards the end of Claudius his reign, St. Paul is thought to have writ his Epiſtle to the church of Rome, wherein he ſpends the greateſt part of one chapter in ſaluting particular perſons that were there; amongſt whom it might reaſonably have been expected, that St. Peter ſhould have had the firſt place. And ſuppoſing with [f] Baronius, that Peter at this time might be abſent from the city, preaching the goſpel in ſome parts of the weſt, yet we are not ſure that St. Paul knew of this; and if he did, it is ſtrange that in ſo large an Epiſtle, wherein he had occaſion enough, there ſhould be neither direct nor indirect mention of him, or of any church there founded by him. Nay, St. Paul himſelf intimates, what an earneſt deſire he had to come thither, that he might [g] *impart unto them ſome ſpiritual gifts, to the end they might be eſtabliſhed in the faith*; for which there could have been no ſuch apparent cauſe, had Peter been there ſo lately and ſo long before him. Well, St. Paul himſelf not many years after is ſent to Rome, *Ann. Chr.* fifty ſix, or as Euſebius, fifty ſeven; (though Baronius makes it two years after) about the ſecond year of Nero: when he comes thither, does he go to ſojourn with Peter, as it is likely he would, had he been there? No, but dwelt by himſelf in his own hired houſe. No ſooner was he come, but he called the chief of the Jews together, [h] acquainted them with the cauſe and end of his coming, explains the doctrine of Chriſtianity, which when they rejected, he tells them, that *henceforth the ſalvation of God was ſent unto the Gentiles*, who would hear it, to whom he would now addreſs himſelf. Which ſeems to intimate, that however ſome few of the Gentiles might have been brought over, yet that no ſuch harveſt had been made before his coming, as might reaſonably have been expected from St. Peter's having been ſo many years amongſt them. Within the two firſt years after St. Paul's coming to Rome, he wrote epiſtles to ſeveral churches, to the Coloſſians, Epheſians, Philippians, and one to Philemon; in none whereof is there the leaſt mention of St. Peter, or from whence the leaſt probability can be derived, that he had been there. In that to the Coloſſians, he tells them, that of the Jews at Rome, he had had [i] *no other fellow-workers unto the kingdom of God, which had been a comfort unto him, ſave only Ariſtarchus, Marcus, and Jeſus who was called Juſtus*; which evidently excludes St. Peter. And in that to Timothy, which Baronius confeſſes to have been written a little before his martyrdom (though probably it was written at the ſame time with the reſt abovementioned) he tells him, that [k] *at his firſt anſwer at Rome, no man ſtood with him, but that all men forſook him:* Which we can hardly believe St. Peter would have done, had he then been there. He farther tells him, that *only Luke was with him*; that Creſcens was gone to this place, Titus to that, and Tychicus left at another. Strange! that if Peter was at this time gone from Rome, St. Paul ſhould take no notice of it as well as the reſt. Was he ſo inconſiderable a perſon, as not to be worth the remembring? or his errand of ſo ſmall importance, as not to deſerve a place in St. Paul's account, as well as that of Creſcens to Galatia, or of Titus to Dalmatia? Surely the true reaſon was, that St. Peter as yet had not been at Rome, and ſo there could be no foundation for it.

4. IT were no hard matter farther to demonſtrate the inconſiſtency of that account which Bellarmine and Baronius give us of Peter's being at Rome, from the time of the Apoſtolical Synod at Jeruſalem. For if St. Paul went up to that council fourteen years after his own converſion, as he plainly [l] intimates; and that he himſelf was converted in the year thirty five, ſomewhat leſs than two years after the death of Chriſt, then it plainly appears, that this council was holden in the year forty eight, in the ſixth year of Claudius, if not ſomewhat ſooner; for St. Paul's διὰ δεκατεσσάρων ἐτῶν does not neceſſarily imply that fourteen years were compleatly paſt; διὰ ſignifying *circa*, as well as *poſt*; but that it was near about that time. This

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[f] Ad An. 58. n. 51. [g] Rom. i. 10, 11, 12. [h] Acts xxviii. 17. [i] Chap. iv. 10, 11. [k] 1 Tim. iv. 16.
[l] Gal. ii. 1.

being granted (and if it be not, it is eaſy to make it good) then three things amongſt others will follow from it. Firſt, that whereas according to [m] Bellarmine and [n] Baronius, St. Peter after his firſt coming to Rome (which they place in the year forty four, and the ſecond of Claudius) was ſeven years before he returned thence to the council at Jeruſalem; they are ſtrangely out in their ſtory, there being but three, or at moſt four years between his going thither, and the celebration of that council. Secondly, That when they tell [o] us, that St. Peter's leaving Rome to come to the council, was upon the occaſion of the decree of Claudius, baniſhing all Jews out of the city, this can no ways be. For [p] Oroſius does not only affirm, but prove it from Joſephus, that Claudius his decree was publiſhed in the ninth year of his reign, or *Anno Chr.* fifty one; three years at leaſt after the celebration of the council. Thirdly, that when [q] Baronius tells us, that the reaſon why Peter went to Rome after the breaking up of the ſynod, was becauſe Claudius was now dead, he not daring to go before for fear of the decree: this can be no reaſon at all, the council being ended at leaſt three years before that decree took place; ſo that he might ſafely have gone thither without the leaſt danger from it. It might farther be ſhewed (if it were neceſſary) that the account which even they themſelves give us is not very conſiſtent with itſelf. So fatally does a bad cauſe draw men whether they will or no into errors and miſtakes.

5. THE truth is, the learned men of that church are not well agreed among themſelves, to give in their verdict in this caſe. And indeed how ſhould they, when the thing itſelf affords no ſolid foundation for it? Onuphrius, a man of great learning and induſtry in all matters of antiquity, and who (as the [r] writer of Baronius his Life informs us) deſigned before Baronius to write the hiſtory of the church, goes a way by himſelf, in aſſigning the time of St. Peter's founding his ſee both at Antioch and [s] Rome. For finding by the account of the ſacred ſtory, that Peter did not leave Judæa for the ten firſt years after our Lord's aſcenſion, and conſequently could not in that time erect his ſee at Antioch; he affirms that he went firſt to Rome, whence returning to the council at Jeruſalem, he thence went to Antioch, where he remained ſeven years, till the death of Claudius, and having ſpent almoſt the whole reign of Nero in ſeveral parts of Europe, returned in the laſt of Nero's reign to Rome, and there died. An opinion, for which he is ſufficiently chaſtiſed by [t] Baronius, and others of that party. And here I cannot but remark the ingenuity (for the learning ſufficiently commends itſelf) of [v] Monſieur Valois, who freely confeſſes the miſtake of Baronius, Petavius, *&c.* in making Peter go to Rome in the year forty four, the ſecond year of Claudius, whenas it is plain, ſays he, from the hiſtory of the *Acts*, that Peter went not out of Judæa and Syria, till the death of Herod, the fourth of Claudius, two whole years after. Conſonant to which, as he obſerves, is what Apollonius, a writer of the ſecond century, reports from a tradition current in his time, that the Apoſtles did not depart aſunder till the twelfth year after Chriſt's aſcenſion, our Lord himſelf having ſo commanded them. In confirmation whereof, let me add a paſſage that I meet with in Clemens [w] of Alexandria, where from St. Peter he records this ſpeech of our Saviour to his Apoſtles, ſpoken probably either a little before his death, or after his reſurrection. Ἐὰν μὲν οὖν τις θελήσῃ τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ μετανοῆσαι, διὰ τοῦ ὀνόματός μου πιστεύειν ἐπὶ τὸν Θεόν, ἀφεθήσονται αὐτῷ αἱ ἁμαρτίαι, μετὰ δώδεκα ἔτη. Ἐξέλθετε εἰς τὸν κόσμον, μή τις εἴπῃ, οὐκ ἠκούσαμεν. "If any Iſraelite ſhall repent, and believe in God through my name, his ſins ſhall be forgiven him after "twelve years. Go ye into the world, leſt any ſhould ſay, We have not heard." This paſſage, as ordinarily pointed in all editions that I have ſeen, is ſcarce capable of any tolerable ſenſe; for what is the meaning of a penitent Iſraelite's being pardoned *after twelve years?* It is therefore probable, yea, certain with me, that the ſtop ought to be after ἁμαρτίαι, and μετὰ δώδεκα ἔτη joined to the following clauſe, and then the ſenſe will run clear and ſmooth: "If any Jew ſhall repent and believe "the goſpel, he ſhall be pardoned: But after twelve years, go ye into all the world; "that none may pretend that they have not heard the ſound of the goſpel." The Apoſtles were firſt to preach the goſpel to the Jews for ſome conſiderable time, twelve years after Chriſt's aſcenſion, in and about Judæa, and then to betake themſelves

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[m] Bellarmin. de Rom. Pontif. lib. 2. c. 6. col. 615.

[n] Baron. ad Ann. 39. num. 15.

[o] Ibid. & Baron. ad Ann. 51. num. 1. 3.

[p] Lib. 7. c. 6. fol. 297. p. 2.

[q] Ad Ann. 58. n. 51.

[r] Hier. Barnab. de Vit. Baron. lib. 1. c. 18.

[s] Onuphr. Annot. ad Plat. in Vit. Petr. p. 9. & in Faſt.

[t] Ad Ann. 39. n. 12.

[v] Annot. ad Euſeb. lib. 2. c,16.

[w] Stromat. lib. 6. p. 636.

ſelves to the provinces of the Gentile world, to make known to them the glad tidings of ſalvation; exactly anſwerable to the tradition mentioned by Apollonius. Beſides, the *Chronicon Alexandrinum* tells us, that Peter came not to Rome till the ſeventh year of Claudius, *Anno Chriſti* forty nine. So little certainty can there be of any matter, wherein there is no truth. Nay, the ſame excellent man [x] before mentioned does not ſtick elſewhere to profeſs, he wonders at Baronius, that he ſhould make Peter come from Rome, baniſhed thence by Claudius his edict, to the ſynod at Jeruſalem, the ſame year, *viz.* the ninth of Claudius; a thing abſolutely inconſiſtent with that ſtory of the Apoſtles *Acts*, recorded by St. Luke, wherein there is the ſpace of no leſs than three years, from the time of that ſynod to the decree of Claudius. It being evident, what he obſerves, that after the celebration of the council, St. Paul went back to Antioch; afterwards into Syria and Cilicia, to preach the goſpel; thence into Phrygia, Galatia and Myſia; from whence he went into Macedonia, and firſt preached at Philippi, then at Theſſalonica and Berœa, afterwards ſtayed ſome conſiderable time at Athens, and laſt of all went to Corinth, where he met with Aquila and Priſcilla, lately come from Italy, baniſhed Rome with the reſt of the Jews, by the decree of Claudius: all which, by an eaſy and reaſonable computation, can make up no leſs than three years at leaſt.

6. THAT which cauſed Baronius to ſplit upon ſo many rocks, was not ſo much want of ſeeing them, which a man of his parts and induſtry could not but in a great meaſure ſee, as the unhappy neceſſity of defending thoſe unſound principles which he had undertaken to maintain. For being to make good Peter's five and twenty years preſidency over the church of Rome, he was forced to confound times, and diſlocate ſtories, that he might bring all his ends together. What foundation this ſtory of Peter's being five and twenty years biſhop of Rome has in antiquity, I find not; unleſs it ſprang from hence, that Euſebius places Peter's coming to Rome in the ſecond year of Claudius, and his martyrdom in the fourteenth of Nero; between which there is juſt the ſpace of five and twenty years: whence thoſe that came after concluded that he ſat biſhop there all that time. It cannot be denied, but that in St. Jerom's tranſlation it is expreſly ſaid, that he continued five and twenty years biſhop of that city. But then it is as evident that this was his own addition, who probably ſet things down as the report went in his time, no ſuch thing being to be found in the Greek copy of [y] Euſebius. Nor indeed does he ever there or elſewhere poſitively affirm St. Peter to have been biſhop of Rome, but only that he preached the goſpel there: and expreſly [z] affirms, that he and St. Paul being dead, Linus was the firſt biſhop of Rome. To which I may add, that when the ancients ſpeak of the biſhops of Rome, and the firſt originals of that church, they equally attribute the founding and the epiſcopacy and government of it to Peter and Paul; making the one as much concerned in it as the other. Thus [a] Epiphanius reckoning up the biſhops of that ſee, places Peter and Paul in the front, as the firſt biſhops of Rome; ἐν Ῥώμῃ γὰρ γεγόνασι πρῶτοι Πέτρος καὶ Παῦλος, οἱ ἀπόστολοι αὐτοὶ καὶ ἐπίσκοποι, "Peter and Paul, "Apoſtles, became the firſt biſhops of Rome; then Linus, *&c.*" And again a little after, ἡ γὰρ ἐν Ῥώμῃ ἐπισκόπων διαδοχὴ ταύτην ἔχει τὴν ἀκολουθίαν, "The ſucceſſion of the biſhops of Rome was in this manner, Peter and Paul, Linus, Cletus, *&c.*" And [b] Hegeſippus, ſpeaking of their coming to Rome, equally ſays of them, that they were *Doctores Chriſtianorum, ſublimes operibus, clari magiſterio*; "The inſtructors of the Chriſtians, admirable for miracles, and renowned for their authority." However, granting not only that he was there, but that he was biſhop, and that for five and twenty years together, yet what would this make for the unlimited ſovereignty and univerſality of that church, unleſs a better evidence than *feed my ſheep* could be produced for its uncontrollable ſupremacy and dominion over the whole Chriſtian world?

7. THE ſum is this; granting, what none that has any reverence for antiquity will deny, that St. Peter was at Rome, he probably came thither ſome few years before his death, joined with and aſſiſted St. Paul in preaching of the goſpel, and then both ſealed the teſtimony of it with their blood. The date of his death is differently aſſigned by the ancients. [c] Euſebius places it in the year ſixty nine, in the four-

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[x] H. Valeſ. Annot. in Euſeb. lib. 2. c. 18. p. 37.

[y] Πέτρος ὁ κορυφαῖος τὴν ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ πρώτην θεμελιώσας ἐκκλησίαν εἰς Ῥώμην ἄπεισι κηρύττων τὸ εὐαγγέλιον. Χρον. Καν. ad num. ΜΓ. p. 204.

[z] Hiſt. Eccleſ. lib. 3. c. 2. p. 71.

[a] Contr. Carpocrat. Hæreſ. xxvii. p. 51.

[b] De excid. Jud. lib. 3. c. 2. p. 292.

[c] Chron. p. 162.

teenth of Nero, [d] Epiphanius in the twelfth: That which ſeems to me moſt probable is, that it was in the tenth, or the year ſixty five; which I thus compute: Nero's burning of Rome is placed by [e] Tacitus under the conſulſhip of C. Lecanius, and M. Licinius, about the month of July, that is, *Anno Chr.* ſixty four. This act procured him the infinite hatred and clamours of the people, which having in vain endeavoured ſeveral ways to remove and pacify, he at laſt reſolved upon this project, to derive the odium upon the Chriſtians; whom therefore, both to appeaſe the gods and pleaſe the people, he condemned as guilty of the fact, and cauſed to be executed with all manner of acute and exquiſite tortures. This perſecution we may ſuppoſe began about the end of that, or the beginning of the following year. And under this perſecution, I doubt not, it was that St. Peter ſuffered, and changed earth for heaven.

An Appendix to the preceding Section, containing a vindication of St. PETER's being at Rome.

St. Peter's being at Rome unjuſtly queſtioned. The thing itſelf ſufficiently atteſted by the authority of the ancients. The expreſs teſtimonies of Papias, Irenæus, Dionyſius of Corinth, Clemens Alexandrinus, Tertullian, Caius, and Origen, produced to that purpoſe. The exceptions made to theſe teſtimonies ſhewed to be weak and trifling, by a particular examination of each of them. A good cauſe needs not be ſupported by indirect methods. The church of Rome not much advantaged by allowing this ſtory. The needleſs queſtioning a ſtory ſo well atteſted, makes way for ſhaking the faith of all ancient hiſtory.

1. FINDING the truth of what is ſuppoſed and granted in the foregoing ſection, to wit, St. Peter's going to, and ſuffering at Rome, not only doubted of heretofore in the beginning of the Reformation, while the paths of antiquity were leſs frequented, and beaten out, but now again lately in this broad daylight of eccleſiaſtical knowledge not only called in queſtion, but exploded as moſt vain and fabulous; and that eſpecially by a foreign [f] profeſſor, of name and note: it may not be amiſs, having the opportunity of this impreſſion, to make ſome few remarks for the better clearing of this matter.

2. AND firſt, I obſerve that this matter of fact is atteſted by witneſſes of the moſt remote antiquity, perſons of great eminency and authority, and who lived near enough to thoſe times, to know the truth and certainty of thoſe things which they reported. And perhaps there is ſcarce any one piece of ancient church hiſtory, for which there is more clear, full and conſtant evidence, than there is for this. Not to inſiſt on that paſſage of [g] Ignatius, in his Epiſtle to the Romans, which ſeems yet to look this way; it is expreſly aſſerted by Papias biſhop of Hierapolis, or Phrygia, who (as Irenæus [h] tells us) was ſcholar to St. John, and fellow-pupil with St. Polycarp: And though we ſhould with Euſebius [i] ſuppoſe it was not St. John the Apoſtle whoſe ſcholar he was, but another ſirnamed the Elder, that lived at Epheſus, yet will this ſet him very little lower in point of time. Now Papias [k] ſays not only that St. Peter was at Rome, and preached the Chriſtian faith there, but that he wrote thence his firſt Epiſtle, and by his authority confirmed the Goſpel, which St. Mark, his diſciple and follower, at the requeſt of the Romans had drawn up. And that we may ſee, that he did not careleſly take up theſe things as common hear-ſays, it was his cuſtom wherever he met with any that had converſed with the Apoſtles, to pick up what memoirs he could meet with concerning them; and particularly to enquire what Andrew, what Peter, what Philip, what Thomas or James, or the

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[d] Hæreſ. 27. p. 51.

[e] Annal. lib. 15. c. 38. 41. p. 316, &c.

[f] Fred. Spanhem. Diſſert. de temere credita Petri in urb. Romam profectione. L. Bat. edit. 1679. Vid. etiam Brutum Fulmen, or Obſervations on the Bull againſt Queen Elizabeth, p. 88, &c. Lond. 1681. 4.

[g] Οὐχ ὡς Πέτρος καὶ Παῦλος διατάσσομαι ὑμῖν· ἐκεῖνοι Ἀπόστολοι, ἐγὼ κατάκριτος. Ep. ad Rom. p. 23.

[h] Adverſ. Hæreſ. l. 5. c. 33. p. 498.

[i] Lib. 3. cap. 39. p. 110.

[k] Ap. Euſeb. lib. 2. c. 15. p. 53.

reſt of the diſciples of our Lord, had either ſaid or done. Which ſufficiently ſhews what care he took to derive the moſt accurate notices of theſe matters.

3. Next Papias comes Irenæus, a man, as St. Jerom ſtiles [l] him, of the Apoſtolick times; and was, he tells us, Papias his own ſcholar: however, it is certain from his own account [m] that he was diſciple to St. Polycarp, a man famous for his learning, prudence, gravity and piety, throughout the whole Chriſtian world. About the year one hundred ſeventy nine, he was made biſhop of the metropolitan church of Lyons in France; a little before which he had been diſpatched upon a meſſage to Rome, and had converſed with the great men there. Now his teſtimony in this caſe is uncontrollable; for he ſays [n] that Peter and Paul preached the goſpel at Rome, and founded a church there; and elſewhere, [o] that the great and moſt ancient church of Rome was founded and conſtituted by the two glorious Apoſtles, Peter and Paul: And that theſe bleſſed Apoſtles having founded this church, delivered the epiſcopal care of it over unto Linus. Contemporary with Irenæus, or rather a little before him, was Dionyſius biſhop of Corinth, a man of ſingular eminency and authority in thoſe times; who in an epiſtle which he wrote [p] to the church of Rome, compares the plantation of Chriſtianity, which Peter and Paul had made both at Rome and Corinth; and ſays farther, that after they had ſown the ſeeds of the evangelical doctrine at Corinth, they went together into Italy, where they taught the faith, and ſuffered martyrdom.

4. Towards the latter end of the ſecond century flouriſhed Clemens of Alexandria, preſbyter of that church, and regent of the catechetick ſchool there; who in his book of *Inſtitutions*, gives the very ſame teſtimony which we quoted from Papias before [q]; they being both brought in by Euſebius as joint-evidence in this matter. Tertullian, who lived much about the ſame time at Carthage, that Clemens did at Alexandria, and had been, as is probable, more than once at Rome, affirms moſt expreſly [r] more than once and again, that the church of Rome was happy in having its doctrine ſealed with Apoſtolick blood; and that Peter was crucified in that place, or, as he expreſſes it, *Paſſioni Dominicæ adæquatus*: That [ſ] Peter baptized in Tiber, as John the Baptiſt had done in Jordan, and elſewhere; [t] that when Nero firſt dyed the yet tender faith at Rome with the blood of its profeſſors, then it was that Peter was girt by another, and bound to the croſs.

5. Next to Tertullian ſucceeds Caius, an eccleſiaſtical perſon, as Euſebius calls him, flouriſhing in the year two hundred and four, in the time of pope Zephyrin; who in a book which he wrote againſt Proclus, one of the heads of the Cataphrygian ſect, ſpeaking concerning the places where the bodies of St. Peter and St. Paul were buried, has theſe words, [v] "I am able to ſhew the very tombs of the Apoſtles; "for whether you go into the Vatican, or into the Via Oſtienſis, you will meet "with the ſepulchres of thoſe that founded that church," meaning the church of Rome. The laſt witneſs whom I ſhall produce in this caſe is Origen, a man juſtly reverenced for his great learning and piety, and who took a journey to Rome while pope Zephyrin yet lived, on purpoſe, as himſelf tells [w] us, to behold that church, ſo venerable for its antiquity; and therefore cannot but be ſuppoſed very inquiſitive to ſatisfy himſelf in all, eſpecially the eccleſiaſtical antiquities of that place. Now he expreſly ſays [x] of Peter, that after he had preached to the diſperſed Jews of the eaſtern parts, he came at laſt to Rome, where, according to his own requeſt, he was crucified with his head downwards. Lower than Origen I need not deſcend, it being granted by thoſe [y] who oppoſe this ſtory, that in the time of Origen, the report of St. Peter's going to, and ſuffering martyrdom at Rome, was commonly received in the Chriſtian church. And now I would fain know, what one paſſage of thoſe ancient times can be proved either by more, or by more conſiderable evidence than this is: And indeed, conſidering how ſmall a portion of the writings of thoſe firſt ages of the church have been tranſmitted to us, there is much greater cauſe rather to wonder that we ſhould have ſo many witneſſes in this caſe, than that we have no more.

6. Secondly, I obſerve that the arguments brought to ſhake the credit of this ſtory, and the exceptions made to theſe ancient teſtimonies, are very weak and trifling,

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[l] Epiſt. ad Theodor. p. 196.

[m] Ap. Euſeb. l. 5. c. 20. p. 188.

[n] Adv. Hæreſ. l. 3. c. 1. p. 229. [o] Ibid. c. 3. p. 232.

[p] Ap. Euſeb. l. 2. c. 25. p. 66.

[q] Loc. ſupra citato.

[r] De Præſcript. Hæret. cap. 36. p. 215.

[ſ] De Baptiſm. cap. 4. p. 225.

[t] Scorpia. cap. ult. p. 500.

[v] Ap. Euſeb. lib. 2. c. 25. p. 67.

[w] Ibid. lib. 6. c. 14. p. 216.

[x] Tom. 3. Expoſit. in Gen. ap. Euſeb. lib. 3. c. 1. p. 71.

[y] Span. ib. c. 3. n. 35. p. 130.

fling, and altogether unbecoming the learning and gravity of thoſe that make them. For arguments againſt it, what can be more weak and inconcluding than to aſſert the [z] fabulouſneſs of this ſtory, becauſe no mention is made of it by St. Luke in the Apoſtolical hiſtory, no footſteps of it to be found in any of St. Paul's Epiſtles written from Rome: as if he might not come thither time enough after the accounts of the ſacred ſtory do expire. That [a] St. Peter was never at Rome, becauſe Clemens Romanus ſays nothing of it in his Epiſtle to the Corinthians, when yet he mentions St. Paul's coming to the bounds of the weſt: And what yet is more abſurd, becauſe no [b] notice is taken of it by the Roman hiſtorians, who wrote the acts of that age, eſpecially Tacitus, Suetonius and Dio: as if theſe great writers had had nothing elſe to do, but to fill their commentaries with accounts concerning Chriſtians, whom it is plain they deſpiſed and ſcorned, and looked upon as a contemptible, execrable ſort of men; and therefore very little beſide the bare mention of them, and that too but rarely, is to be met with in any of their writings; much leſs can it be expected that they ſhould give an account of the accidents and circumſtances of particular Chriſtians: beſides that, this whole way of reaſoning is negative, and purely depends upon the ſilence of ſome few authors, which can ſignify nothing where there is ſuch a current and uncontrollable tradition, and ſo many poſitive authorities to the contrary. And yet theſe are the beſt, and almoſt only arguments that are offered in this matter.

7. AND of no greater force or weight are the exceptions made to the teſtimonies of the ancients, which we have produced, as will appear by a ſummary enumeration of the moſt material of them. Againſt Papias his evidence it is excepted, that he [c] was Σφόδρα σμικρὸς τὸν νοῦν, as Euſebius characters him, "a man of a very weak and undiſcerning judgment," and that he derived ſeveral things ſtrange and unheard-of from mere tradition. But all this is ſaid of him by Euſebius, only upon the account of ſome doctrinal principles and opinions, and ſome raſh and abſurd expoſitions of our Saviour's doctrine, careleſly taken up from others, and handed down without due examination; particularly his millennary, or Chiliaſtick notions; but what is this to invalidate his teſtimony in the caſe before us, a matter of a quite different nature from thoſe mentioned by Euſebius? May not a man be miſtaken in abſtruſe ſpeculations, and yet be fit enough to judge in ordinary caſes? As if none but a man of acute parts and a ſubtil apprehenſion, one able to pierce into the reaſons, conſiſtency and conſequences of doctrinal concluſions, were capable to deliver down matters of fact, things freſh in memory, done within much leſs than an hundred years, in themſelves highly probable, and wherein no intereſt could be ſerved, either for him to deceive others, or for others to deceive him.

8. AGAINST Irenæus it is put in bar, that [d] he gave not this teſtimony till after his return from Rome, that is, about an hundred and forty years after St. Peter's firſt pretended coming thither; which is no great abatement in a teſtimony of ſo remote antiquity, when they had ſo many evidences and opportunities of ſatisfying themſelves in the truth of things, which to us are utterly loſt: That before his time many frivolous traditions began to take place, and that he himſelf is ſometimes miſtaken; the proper inference from which, if purſued to its juſt iſſue, muſt be this, either that he is always miſtaken, or at leaſt that he is ſo in this.

9. THE authority of Dionyſius of Corinth is thrown off with this, [e] that it is of no greater value than that of Irenæus: that churches then began to emulate each other, by pretending to be of Apoſtolical foundation; and that Dionyſius herein conſulted the honour of his own church, by deriving upon it the authority of thoſe two great Apoſtles, Peter and Paul; and in that reſpect ſetting it on the ſame level with Rome: which yet is a mere ſuggeſtion of his own, and ſo far as it reſpects Dionyſius, is ſaid without any juſt warrant from antiquity. Beſides, his teſtimony it ſelf is called in [f] queſtion, for affirming that Peter and Paul went together from Corinth into Italy, and there taught, and ſuffered martyrdom at the ſame time. Againſt their coming together to Corinth, and thence paſſing into Italy, nothing is brought, but that the account St. Luke gives of the travels and preachings of theſe Apoſtles, is not conſiſtent with St. Peter's coming to Rome under Claudius; which let them look to whoſe intereſt it is that it ſhould be ſo, I mean them of the church of Rome. And for his ſaying that they ſuffered martyrdom κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν, *at the ſame*

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[z] Id. ib. c. 2. n. 3. p. 22.
[b] Ib. n. 17. p. 47.
[a] Ib. n. 16. p. 45.
[c] Id. ib. c. 3. n. 8. p. 79.
[d] Ib. n. 20. p. 100.
[f] Ib. n. 27. p. 113.
[e] Ib. n. 26. p. 113.

ſame time; it does not neceſſarily imply their ſuffering the ſame day and year, but admits of ſome conſiderable diſtance of time: it being elſewhere granted by our [g] author, that this phraſe, κτ' τȣ̃τον τ̃ χρόνον, is often uſed by Joſephus in a lax ſenſe, as including what happened within the compaſs of ſome years.

10. TO enervate the teſtimony of Clemens Alexandrinus; it is [h] ſaid, (with how little pretence of reaſon, let any man judge) that Euſebius quotes it out of a book of Clemens, that is now loſt; and that he tells us not whence St. Clemens derived the report: that abundance of apocryphal writings were extant in his time; and that he himſelf inſerts a great many frivolous traditions into his writings. Which if it were granted, would do no ſervice in this cauſe; unleſs it were aſſerted, that all things he ſays are doubtful or fabulous, becauſe ſome few are ſo.

11. MUCH after the ſame rate it is argued [i] againſt Tertullian, that he was a man of great credulity; that he ſets down ſome paſſages concerning St. John, which are not related by other writers of thoſe times; that [k] he was miſtaken in our Saviour's age at the time of his paſſion; that he was impoſed upon in the account he ſays Tiberius the emperor ſent to the ſenate concerning Chriſt; which, forſooth, muſt needs be falſe, becauſe no mention is made of it by Suetonius, Tacitus, or Dio.

12. THE exceptions to Caius are no whit ſtronger than the former, *viz.* [l] that he flouriſhed but in the beginning of the third century, when many falſe reports were ſet on foot; and that it is not reaſonable to believe, that in thoſe times of perſecution the tombs of the Apoſtles ſhould be undefaced, and had in ſuch publick honour and veneration. As if the places where the Apoſtles were buried could not be familiarly known to Chriſtians, without being commonly ſhewn to their heathen perſecutors, or without erecting pompous and ſtately monuments over their graves, to provoke the rage and malice of their enemies to fall foul upon them.

13. AGAINST Origen, nothing is pretended, [m] but what is notoriouſly vain and frivolous; as, that perhaps his reports concerning the travels of the Apoſtles are not ſufficiently certain: that in ſome other caſes he produces teſtimonies out of apocryphal writings; and that many things are reported concerning himſelf, which are at beſt obſcure and ambiguous; and that Baronius and Valeſius cannot agree about the time of his journey to Rome. I have but lightly touched upon moſt of theſe exceptions, becauſe the very mention of them is enough to ſuperſede a ſtudied and operoſe confutation: and indeed, they are generally ſuch as may with equal force be levelled almoſt againſt any ancient hiſtory.

14. THIRDLY, I obſerve how far zeal, even for the beſt cauſe, may ſometimes tranſport learned men to ſecure it by undue and imprudent methods; and ſuch as one would think were made uſe of rather to ſhew the acumen and ſubtilty of the author, than any ſtrength or cogency in the arguments. Plain it is, that they who ſet themſelves to undermine this ſtory, deſign therein to ſerve the intereſts of the proteſtant cauſe, againſt the vain and unjuſt pretences of the ſee of Rome, and utterly to ſubvert the very foundations of that title whereby they lay claim to St. Peter's power. This indeed, could it be fairly made good, and without offering violence to the authority of thoſe ancient and venerable ſages of the Chriſtian church, would give a mortal blow to the Romiſh cauſe, and free us from ſeveral of their groundleſs and ſophiſtical allegations. But when this cannot be done without calling in queſtion the firſt and moſt early records of the church, and throwing off the authority of the ancients, *Non tali auxilio*— Truth needs no ſuch weapons to defend itſelf, but is able to ſtand up, and triumph in its own ſtrength, without calling in ſuch indirect artifices to ſupport it. We can ſafely grant the main of the ſtory, that St. Peter did go to Rome, and came thither ἐν τέλει, (as [n] Origen expreſly ſays he did) about the latter end of his life, and there ſuffered martyrdom for the faith of Chriſt; and yet this no diſadvantage to ourſelves, nay it is that which utterly confounds all their accounts of things, and proves their pretended ſtory of St. Peter's being twenty five years biſhop of that ſee, to be not only vain, but falſe, as has been ſufficiently ſhewn in the foregoing ſection. [o] But to deny that St. Peter ever was at Rome, contrary to the whole ſtream and current of antiquity, and the unanimous conſent of the moſt

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[g] Diſſert. de Anno Converſ. Paul. n. 17. p. 202.

[h] Ubi ſupra, n. 18. p. 97.

[i] Ib. n. 31. p. 123.

[k] Ib. n. 32. p. 125.

[l] Ib. n. 28, 29.

[m] Ib. n. 34. p. 129.

[n] Expoſit. in Gen. ubi ſupra.

[o] Non habere mihi frontem videntur, qui hæc negant, repugnante omni antiquitate: quaſi in hiſtoria aliunde ſapere poſſimus, quam ex antiquorum monumentis. J. G. Voſſ. Harm. Evangel. l. 3. c. 4. p. 407.

Omnes patres magno conſenſu aſſeruerunt Petrum Romam eſſe profectum, eámque eccleſiam adminiſtrâſſe. Et mihi quidem non facile vellicandus videtur tantus conſenſus. Chamier. Panſtrat. Cath. de Rom. Pontif. lib. 13. c. 4. pag. 483.

early writers, and that merely upon little ſurmiſes, and trifling cavils; and in order thereunto to treat the reverend fathers, whoſe memories have ever been dear and ſacred in the Chriſtian church, with rude reflections and ſpiteful inſinuations, is a courſe, I confeſs, not over-ingenuous, and might give too much occaſion to our adverſaries of the church of Rome, to charge us (as they ſometimes do, falſly enough) with a neglect of antiquity, and contempt of the fathers; but that it is notoriouſly known, that all the great names of the proteſtant party, men moſt celebrated for learning and piety, have always paid a moſt juſt deference and veneration to antiquity; and upon that account have freely allowed this ſtory of St. Peter's going to Rome, as our author, who oppoſes it, is forced to grant [p].

15. FOURTHLY, It deſerves to be conſidered, whether the needleſs queſtioning a ſtory ſo well atteſted, may not in time open too wide a gap to ſhake the credit of all hiſtory. For if things done at ſo remote a diſtance of time, and which have all the evidence that can be deſired to make them good, may be doubted of or denied, merely for the ſake of ſome few weak and inſignificant exceptions which may be made againſt them, what is there that can be ſecure? There are few paſſages of ancient hiſtory, againſt which a man of wit and parts may not ſtart ſome objections, either from the writers of them, or from the account of the things themſelves; and ſhall they therefore be preſently diſcarded, or condemned to the number of the falſe or fabulous? If this liberty be indulged, farewel church hiſtory; nay it is to be feared whether the ſacred ſtory will be able long to maintain its divine authority. We live in an age of great ſcepticiſm and infidelity, wherein men have in a great meaſure put off the reverence due to ſacred things; and witty men ſeem much delighted to hunt out objections, beſtow their cenſures, expoſe the credit of former ages, and to believe little but what themſelves either ſee or hear. And therefore it will become wiſe and good men to be very tender how they looſen, much more *remove the old land-marks* which the fathers have ſet, leſt we run ourſelves before we be aware into a labyrinth and confuſion, from whence it will not be eaſy to get out.

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[p] Ibid. c. 1, n. 11. p. 17.

The End of St. Peter's Life.

THE

BRITISH MUSEUM 5 AU 70

S.t Paul the Apostle.

St. PAUL the APOSTLE.

THE LIFE OF ST. PAUL.

SECT. I.

Of St. Paul, from his Birth till his Converſion.

St. Paul, why placed next Peter. Tarſus, the place of his birth, an univerſity, and a Roman corporation. His parents of the old ſtock of Iſrael; deſcended of the tribe of Benjamin. Jacob's prophecy applied to him by the ancients. His names; Saul, whence; Paul, when aſſumed, and why. His education in the ſchools of Tarſus, and in the trade of tent-making. The cuſtom of the Jews in bringing up their youth to manual trades. His ſtudy of the law under the tutorage of Gamaliel. This Gamaliel, who. Why ſaid to have been a Chriſtian. Sitting at the feet of their maſters the poſture of learners. His joining himſelf to the ſect of the Phariſees. An enquiry into the temper and manners of that ſect. The fiery zeal and activity of his temper. His being engaged in Stephen's martyrdom. His violent perſecution of the church. His journey to Damaſcus. His converſion by the way, and the manner of it. His blindneſs. His rapture into the third heaven, when (probably.) His ſight reſtored. His being baptized, and preaching Chriſt.

1. THOUGH St. Paul was none of the twelve apoſtles, yet had he the honour of being an apoſtle extraordinary, and to be immediately called in a way peculiar to himſelf. He juſtly deſerves a place next St. Peter; for as *in their lives they were pleaſant and lovely*, ſo *in their death they were not divided*; eſpecially if it be true, that they both ſuffered not only for the ſame cauſe, but at the ſame time as well as place. St. Paul was born at Tarſus, the metropolis of Cilicia; a city infinitely rich and populous: and what contributed more to the fame and honour of it, an academy furniſhed with ſchools of learning, where the ſcholars ſo cloſely plied their ſtudies, that, as [q] Strabo informs us, they excelled in all arts of polite learning and philoſophy thoſe of other places, yea, even of Alexandria and Athens itſelf; and that even Rome was beholden to it for many of its beſt profeſſors. It was a Roman municipium, or free corporation, inveſted with many franchiſes and privileges by Julius Cæſar and Auguſtus, who granted to the inhabitants of it the honours and immunities of citizens of Rome. In which reſpect

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[q] Geographi. lib. 14. p. 403.

St. Paul owned and aſſerted it as the privilege of his birthright, that he was a [r] Roman, and thereby free from being bound or beaten. True it is that [s] St. Hierom, (followed herein by [t] one who himſelf travelled in thoſe parts) makes him born at Giſchalis, a well fortified town in Judæa, which being beſieged and taken by the Roman army, his parents fled away with him and dwelt at Tarſus. But beſides that this contradicts St. Paul, who expreſly affirms that he was born at Tarſus, there needs no more to confute this opinion, than that [v] St. Hierom elſewhere ſlights it as a fabulous report.

2. HIS parents were Jews, and that of the ancient ſtock, not entring in by the gate of proſelytiſm, but originally deſcended from that nation; which ſurely he means when he ſays, that he was *an Hebrew of the Hebrews*; either becauſe both his parents were Jews, or rather that all his anceſtors had been ſo. They belonged to the tribe of Benjamin, whoſe founder was the youngeſt ſon of the old patriarch Jacob, who thus propheſied of him: [w] *Benjamin ſhall raven as a wolf, in the morning he ſhall devour the prey, and at night he ſhall divide the ſpoil.* This prophetical character, [x] Tertullian, and others after him, will have to be accompliſhed in our apoſtle. As a *ravening wolf in the morning devouring the prey*; that is, as a perſecutor of the churches in the firſt part of his life, deſtroying the flock of God: *In the evening dividing the ſpoil*; that is, in his declining and reduced age, as doctor of the nations, feeding and diſtributing to Chriſt's ſheep.

3. WE find him deſcribed by two names in ſcripture, one Hebrew and the other Latin; probably referring both to his Jewiſh and Roman capacity and relation. The one, Saul, a name frequent and common in the tribe of Benjamin ever ſince the firſt king of Iſrael, who was of that name, was choſen out of that tribe. In memory whereof, they were wont to give their children this name at their circumciſion. His other was Paul, aſſumed by him, as ſome think, at his converſion, to denote his humility; as others, in memory of his converting Sergius Paulus, the Roman governor; in imitation of the generals and emperors of Rome, who were wont from the places and nations that they conquered to aſſume the name, as an additional honour and title to themſelves, as Scipio Africanus, Cæſar Germanicus, Parthicus, Sarmaticus, *&c.* But this ſeems no way conſiſtent with the great humility of this apoſtle. More probable therefore it is, what [y] Origen thinks, that he had a double name given him at his circumciſion; Saul, relating to his Jewiſh original, and Paul, referring to the Roman corporation where he was born. And this the ſcripture ſeems to favour, when it ſays, [z] *Saul, who alſo is called Paul.* And this perhaps may be the reaſon why St. Luke, ſo long as he ſpeaks of him as converſant among the Jews in Syria, ſtiles him Saul: but afterwards, when he left thoſe parts and went among the Gentiles, he gives him the name of Paul, as a name more frequent and familiarly known to them. And for the ſame reaſon no doubt he conſtantly calls himſelf by that name in all his Epiſtles written to the Gentile churches. Or if it was taken up by him afterwards, it was probably done at his converſion, according to the cuſtom and manner of the Hebrews, who uſed many times upon ſolemn and eminent occaſions, eſpecially upon their entering upon a more ſtrict and religious courſe of life, to change their names, and aſſume one which they had not before.

4. IN his youth he was brought up in the ſchools of Tarſus, fully inſtructed in all the liberal arts and ſciences, whereby he became admirably acquainted with foreign and external authors. Together with which he was brought up to a particular trade and courſe of life; according to the great maxim and principle of the Jews, that [a] "He who teaches not his ſon a trade, teaches him to be a thief." They thought it not only fit, but a neceſſary part of education, for their wiſeſt and moſt learned rabbins to be brought up to a manual trade, whereby, if occaſion was, they might be able to maintain themſelves. Hence, as [b] Druſius obſerves, nothing more common in their writings, than to have them denominated from their callings, Rabbi Joſe the tanner, Rabbi Jochanan the ſhoemaker, Rabbi Juda the baker, *&c.* A cuſtom taken up by the Chriſtians, eſpecially the [c] monks and aſceticks of the primitive times, who together with their ſtrict profeſſion, and almoſt incredible exerciſes

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[r] Acts xxii. 25, 26.

[s] De ſcript. Eccl. in Paul.

[t] Bellon. Obſerv. lib. 2. c. 99. p. 366.

[v] Com. in Philem. p. 263. tom. 9.

[w] Gen. xlix. 27.

[x] Adv. Marc. lib. 5. c. 1. p. 461.

[y] Præfat. in Ep. ad Rom. fol. 132. tom. 3.

[z] Vid. D. Lightf. Hor. Heb. in 1 ad Cor. c. 1. v. 1.

[a] כל שאינו מלמד את בנו אומנות כאילו מלמדו ליסטנות Talm. Tract. Kidduſch. c. 1. apud Buxtorf. in voc. אומנות

[b] Annot. in Acts xviii. 3.

[c] Epiph. 80. p. 451.

of devotion, each took upon him a particular trade, whereat he daily wrought, and by his own hand-labour maintained himſelf. And this courſe of life the Jews were very careful ſhould be free from all ſuſpicion of ſcandal אומנות נקייה (as they call [d] it) a clean, that is, honeſt trade; being wont to ſay, "That he was happy that had his parents employed in an honeſt and commendable calling;" as he was miſerable, who ſaw them converſant in any ſordid and diſhoneſt courſe of life. The trade our apoſtle was put to, was that of [e] tent-making; whereat he wrought, for ſome particular reaſons, even after his calling to the apoſtolate. An honeſt but mean courſe of life: and, as [f] Chryſoſtom obſerves, an argument that his parents were not of the nobler and better rank: However, it was an uſeful and gainful trade, eſpecially in thoſe warlike countries, where armies had ſuch frequent uſe of tents.

5. HAVING run through the whole circle of the ſciences, and laid the ſure foundations of human learning at Tarſus; he was by his parents ſent to Jeruſalem, to be perfected in the ſtudy of the law, and put under the tutorage of Rabban Gamaliel. This Gamaliel was the ſon of Rabban Symeon (probably preſumed to be the ſame Symeon that came into the [g] temple, and took Chriſt into his arms) preſident of the court of the Sanhedrim: he was a doctor of the law, a perſon of great wiſdom and prudence, and head at that time of one of the families of the ſchools at Jeruſalem. A man of chief eminency and authority in the Jewiſh Sanhedrim, and preſident of it at that very time when our bleſſed Saviour was brought before it. He lived to a great age, and was buried by Onkelos the proſelyte, author of the Chaldee paraphraſe, (one who infinitely loved and honoured him) at his own vaſt expence and charge. He it was that made that wiſe and excellent ſpeech in the Sanhedrim, in favour of the apoſtles and their religion. Nay, he himſelf is [h] ſaid (though I know not why) to have been a Chriſtian, and his ſitting among the ſenators to have been connived at by the apoſtles, that he might be the better friend to their affairs. [i] Chryſippus, preſbyter of the church of Jeruſalem, adds, that he was brother's ſon to Nicodemus, together with whom he and his ſon Abib were baptized by Peter and John. This account he derives from Lucian, a preſbyter alſo of that church, under John patriarch of Jeruſalem; who in an epiſtle of his ſtill extant, tells us, that he had this, together with ſome other things, communicated to him in a viſion by Gamaliel himſelf, which, if true, no better evidence could be deſired in this matter. At the feet of this Gamaliel, St. Paul tells us, he was *brought up*; alluding to the cuſtom of the Jewiſh maſters, who were wont to ſit, while their diſciples and ſcholars ſtood at their feet. Which honorary cuſtom continued till the death of this Gamaliel, and was then left off. Their own [k] Talmud telling us, "That ſince our old Rabban "Gamaliel died, the honour of the law was periſhed, purity and phariſaiſm were "deſtroyed:" Which the gloſs thus explains; "That whilſt he lived, men were "ſound, and ſtudied the law ſtanding; but he being dead, weakneſs crept into the "world, and they were forced to ſit.

6. UNDER the tuition of this great [l] maſter, St. Paul was educated in the knowledge of the law, wherein he made ſuch quick and vaſt improvements, that he ſoon out-ſtripped his fellow diſciples. Amongſt the various ſects at that time in the Jewiſh church, he was eſpecially educated in the principles and inſtitutions of the Phariſees; of which ſect was both his father and his maſter; whereof he became a moſt earneſt and zealous profeſſor: This being, as himſelf tells us, the *ſtricteſt ſect of their religion*. For the underſtanding whereof, it may not be amiſs, a little to enquire into the temper and manner of this ſect. [m] Joſephus, though himſelf a Phariſee, gives this character of them, "That they were a crafty and ſubtil generation of "men; and ſo perverſe, even to princes themſelves, that they would not fear many "times openly to affront and oppoſe them." And ſo far had they inſinuated themſelves [n] into the affections and eſtimations of the populacy, that their good or ill word was enough to make, or blaſt any one with the people; who would implicitly believe them, let their report be never ſo falſe or malicious. And therefore Alexander Jannæus, when he lay a-dying, wiſely adviſed his queen by all means to comply with them, and to ſeem to govern by their counſel and direction; affirming, that this had been the greateſt cauſe of his fatal miſcarriage, and that which had de-

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[d] Buxtorf. ubi ſupra.

[e] Acts xviii. 3.

[f] De Laud. S. Paul. tom. 5. p. 512.

[g] Acts xxii. 3. and iv. 34.

[h] Clem. Recognit. lib. 1. p. 16, 17.

[i] Ap. Phot. Cod. 171. col. 384. extat Luciani hac de re Epiſt. ap. Sur. ad 3 Aug. p. 31. & Baron. ad Ann. 415.

[k] Sotah. c. 9. halac. 15. apud Lightf. in Hor. H. in Matth. xiii. 2.

[l] Gal. i. 14.

[m] Antiq. Jud. lib. 17. cap. 3. p. 585.

[n] Id. ibid. lib. 13. c. 23. p. 463.

rived the odium of the nation upon him, that he had offended this ſort of men. Certain it is, that they were infinitely proud and inſolent, ſurly and ill-natured; that they hated all mankind but themſelves, and cenſured whoever would not be of their way, as a villain and reprobate: greatly zealous to gather proſelytes to their party, not to make them more religious, but more fierce and cruel, more carping and cenſorious, more heady and high-minded, in ſhort, *twofold more the children of the devil than they were before.* All religion and kindneſs was confined within the bounds of their own party; and the firſt principles wherewith they inſpired their new converts were, That none but they were the godly party, and that all other perſons were ſlaves and ſons of the earth; and therefore eſpecially endeavoured to inſpire them with a mighty zeal and fierceneſs againſt all that differed from them; ſo that if any one did but ſpeak a good word of our Saviour, he ſhould be preſently excommunicated and caſt out, perſecuted and devoted to the death. To this end, they were wont not only to ſeparate, but diſcriminate themſelves from the herd and community, by ſome peculiar notes and badges of diſtinction; ſuch as their long robes, broad phylacteries, and their large fringes and borders of their garments, whereby they made themſelves known from the reſt of men. Theſe dogged and ill-natured principles, together with their ſeditious, unnatural, unjuſt, unmerciful, and uncharitable behaviour, which otherwiſe would have made them ſtink above-ground in the noſtrils of men, they ſought to palliate and varniſh over with a more than ordinary pretence and profeſſion of religion; but were eſpecially active and diligent in what coſt them little, the outward inſtances of religion, ſuch duties eſpecially as did more immediately refer to God, as frequent faſting and praying, which they did very often and very long, with demure and mortified looks, in a whining and an affected tone, and this in almoſt every corner of the ſtreets: and indeed ſo contrived the ſcheme of their religion, that what they did might appear above-ground, where they might be ſeen of men to the beſt advantage.

7. THOUGH this ſeems to have been the general temper and diſpoſition of the party, yet doubtleſs there were ſome amongſt them of better and honeſter principles than the reſt: In which number we have juſt reaſon to reckon our apoſtle; who yet was deeply leavened with the active and fiery genius of the ſect; not able to brook any oppoſite party in religion, eſpecially if late and novel. Inſomuch that when the Jews were reſolved to do execution upon Stephen, he ſtood by, and kept the clothes of them that did it. Whether he was any farther engaged in the death of this innocent and good man, we do not find. However, this was enough loudly to proclaim his approbation and conſent. And therefore elſewhere we find him indicting himſelf for this fact, and pleading guilty: [o] *When the blood of thy martyr Stephen was ſhed, I alſo was ſtanding by, and conſenting unto his death, and kept the raiment of them that ſlew him.* God chiefly inſpects the heart, and if the vote be paſſed there, writes the man guilty, though he ſtir no farther. It is eaſy to murder another by a ſilent wiſh, or a paſſionate deſire. In all moral actions God values the will for the deed, and reckons the man a companion in the ſin, who, though poſſibly he may never actually join in it, does yet inwardly applaud and like it. The ſtorm thus begun encreaſed apace, and a violent perſecution began to ariſe, which miſerably afflicted and diſperſed the Chriſtians at Jeruſalem. In which our apoſtle was a prime agent and miniſter, raging about in all parts with a mad and ungovernable zeal, ſearching out the ſaints, beating them in the ſynagogues, compelling many to blaſpheme, impriſoning others, and procuring them to be put to death. Indeed he was a kind of *Inquiſitor hæreticæ pravitatis* to the high prieſt, by whom he was employed to hunt and find out theſe upſtart [p] hereticks, who preached againſt the law of Moſes and the traditions of the fathers. Accordingly having made ſtrange havock at Jeruſalem, he addreſſed himſelf to the Sanhedrim, and there took out a warrant and commiſſion to go down and ranſack the ſynagogues at Damaſcus. How eternally inſatiable is fury and a miſguided zeal! how reſtleſs and unwearied in its deſigns of cruelty! It had already ſufficiently haraſſed the poor Chriſtians at Jeruſalem; but not content to have vexed them there, and to have driven them thence, it perſecuted them unto *ſtrange cities*, following them even to Damaſcus itſelf, whither many of theſe perſecuted Chriſtians had fled for ſhelter; reſolving to bring up thoſe whom he found there to Jeruſalem, in order to their puniſhment and execution. For the Jewiſh Sanhedrim had not only power of ſeizing and ſcourging offenders againſt

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[o] Acts xxii. 20.

[p] Chap. ix. 1.

BRITISH MUSEUM 5 AU 70

Pag. 485.

LX.

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And suddenly there shined round about him a Light from Heaven, and he fell to the Earth and heard a Voice saying unto him Saul, Saul, *why persecutest thou me? And he said who art thou,* Lord? *Acts Chap. 9th. V. 3d. 4th. 5th.*

againſt their law, within the bounds of their own country, but by the connivance and favour of the Romans, might ſend into other countries, where there were any ſynagogues that acknowledged a dependance in religious matters upon the council at Jeruſalem, to apprehend them; as here they ſent Paul to Damaſcus to fetch up what Chriſtians he could find, to be arraigned and ſentenced at Jeruſalem.

8. BUT God, who had deſigned him for work of another nature, and [q] *ſeparated him from his mother's womb to the preaching of the goſpel*, ſtopped him in his journey. For while he was together with his company travelling on the road, not far from Damaſcus, on a ſudden a gleam of light beyond the ſplendor and brightneſs of the ſun, was darted from heaven upon them; whereat being ſtrangely amazed and confounded, they all fell to the ground, a voice calling to him, *Saul, Saul, why perſecuteſt thou me?* To which he replied, *Lord, who art thou?* Who told him, that *he was Jeſus whom he perſecuted*; that what was done to the members was done to the head; that it was hard for him *to kick againſt the pricks*; that he now appeared to him to make choice of him for a *miniſter* and a *witneſs* of what he had now ſeen and ſhould after hear: that he would ſtand by him, and preſerve him, and make him a great inſtrument in the converſion of the Gentile world. This ſaid, he aſked our Lord *what he would have him to do?* who bad him go into the city, where he ſhould receive his anſwer. St. Paul's companions, who had been preſent [r] at this tranſaction, heard the voice, but ſaw not him that ſpoke to him: though elſewhere the apoſtle himſelf affirms, that they *ſaw the light, but heard not the voice* of him that ſpake; that is, they heard a confuſed ſound, but not a diſtinct and articulate voice; or, more probably, being ignorant of the Hebrew language, wherein our Lord ſpake to St. Paul, they heard the words, but knew not the ſenſe and meaning of them.

9. St. PAUL by this time was gotten up, but though he found his feet, yet he had loſt his eyes, being ſtricken blind with the extraordinary brightneſs of the light, and was accordingly led by his companions into Damaſcus. In which condition he there remained, faſting three days together. At this time we may probably ſuppoſe it was, that he had that viſion and ecſtaſy, wherein he was taken up into the *third heaven*, [s] where he ſaw and heard things great and unutterable, and was fully inſtructed in the myſteries of the goſpel; and hence expreſly affirms, that he was not [t] *taught the goſpel which he preached by man, but by the revelation of Jeſus Chriſt.* There was at this time at Damaſcus one Ananias, a very devout and religious man, (one of the ſeventy diſciples, as the ancients inform us, and probably the firſt planter of the Chriſtian church in this city) and though a Chriſtian, yet of great reputation amongſt all the Jews. To him our Lord appeared, commanding him to go into ſuch a ſtreet, and to ſuch an houſe, and there *enquire for one Saul of Tarſus*, who was now at prayer, and had ſeen him in a viſion coming to him, to lay his hands upon him, that he might receive his ſight. Ananias ſtartled at the name of the man, having heard of his bloody temper and practices, and upon what errand he was now come down to the city. But our Lord, to take off his fears, told him, that he miſtook the man, that he had now taken him to be a choſen veſſel, to preach the goſpel both to Jews and Gentiles, and before the greateſt potentates upon earth, acquainting him with what great things he ſhould both do and ſuffer for his ſake, what chains and impriſonments, what racks and ſcourges, what hunger and thirſt, what ſhipwracks and death he ſhould undergo. Upon this Ananias went, laid his hands upon him, told him that our Lord had ſent him to him that he might receive his ſight, and be filled with the holy Ghoſt: which was no ſooner done, but thick films like ſcales fell from his eyes, and his ſight returned. And the next thing he did was to be baptized, and ſolemnly initiated into the Chriſtian faith. After which he joined himſelf to the diſciples of that place, to the equal joy and wonder of the church; that the wolf ſhould ſo ſoon lay down its fierceneſs, and put on the meek nature of a lamb; that he who had lately been ſo violent a perſecutor, ſhould now become not a profeſſor only, but a preacher of that faith, which before he had routed and deſtroyed.

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[q] Gal. i. 15. [r] Acts xxii. 9. [s] 2 Cor. xii. 1. [t] Gal. i. 10, 11.

SECT. II.

Of St. Paul, from his Converſion till the Council at Jeruſalem.

St. Paul's leaving Damaſcus, and why. His three years miniſtry in Arabia. His return to Damaſcus. The greatneſs of that city. The deſign of the Jews to ſurprize St. Paul, and the manner of his eſcape. His coming to Jeruſalem, and converſe with Peter and James. His departure thence. The diſciples firſt ſtiled Chriſtians at Antioch. This when done, and by whom. The importance of the word χρηματίσαι. Χρηματισμὸς Ἀντιοχείων, *what. St. Paul's journey to Jeruſalem with contributions. His voyage to Cyprus, and planting Chriſtianity there. The oppoſition made by Elymas, and his ſevere puniſhment. The proconſul's converſion. His preaching to the Jews at Antioch of Piſidia. His curing a cripple at Lyſtra; and diſcourſe to the people about their idolatry. The apoſtle's way of arguing noted, and his diſcourſe concerning the being and providence of God illuſtrated. His confirming the churches in the faith. The controverſy at Antioch, and St. Paul's account of it in the ſynod at Jeruſalem.*

1. SAINT Paul ſtaid not long at Damaſcus after his converſion, but having received an immediate intimation from heaven, probably in the ecſtaſy wherein he was caught up thither, he waited for no other counſel or direction in the caſe, leſt he ſhould ſeem to derive his miſſion and authority from men, and *being not diſobedient to the heavenly viſion* he preſently retired out of the city; and the ſooner, probably, to decline the odium of the Jews, and the effects of that rage and malice, which he was ſure would purſue and follow him. He withdrew into the parts of Arabia, (thoſe parts of it that lay next to the [v] χώρα Δαμασκηνή, the *region of Damaſcus*; nay Damaſcus itſelf was ſometimes accounted part of Arabia, as we ſhall note by and by from Tertullian) where he ſpent the firſt-fruits of his miniſtry, preaching up and down for three years together. After which he returned back to Damaſcus, [w] preached openly in the ſynagogues, and convinced the Jews of Chriſt's Meſſiahſhip, and the truth of his religion. Angry and enraged hereat, they reſolved his ruin; which they knew no better way to effect, than by exaſperating and incenſing the civil powers againſt him. Damaſcus was a place not more venerable for its antiquity, (if not built by, at leaſt it gave title to Abraham's ſteward, hence called Eliezer of Damaſcus) than it was conſiderable for its ſtrength, ſtatelineſs and ſituation: It was the nobleſt city of all Syria (as [x] Juſtin of old, and the Arabian [y] geographer has ſince informed us; and the prophet [z] Iſaiah before both calls it ראש ארם "the head of Syria") ſeated in a moſt healthful air, in a moſt fruitful ſoil, watered with moſt pleaſant fountains and rivers, rich in merchandize, adorned with ſtately buildings, goodly and magnificent temples, and fortified with ſtrong guards and garriſons: in all which reſpects [a] Julian calls it the holy and great Damaſcus, καὶ τὸ τῆς Ἑῴας ἁπάσης ὀφθαλμὸν, "the eye of the whole eaſt." Situate it was between Libanus and mount Hermon; and though probably belonging to Syria, yet *Arabiæ retro deputabatur* (as [b] Tertullian tells us) was anciently reckoned to Arabia. Accordingly at this time it was under the government of [c] Aretas (father-in-law to Herod Antipas the tetrarch, whoſe daughter the ſaid Herod had married, but afterwards turned off; which became the occaſion of a war between thoſe two princes) king of Arabia Petræa, a prince tributary to the Roman empire. By him there was an ἐθνάρχης, or governor, who had juriſdiction over the whole Syria Damaſcena,

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[v] Gal. i. 17, 18. [w] Acts ix. 23. 2 Cor. xi. 32, 33. [z] Iſa. vii. 7. [a] Epiſt. xxiv. p. 145.

[x] Juſtin. lib. 36. c. 2. p. 425. [b] Adv. Marc. lib. 3. c. 13. p. 404.

[y] Geograph. Nub. clim. 3. part. 5. p. 116. [c] Vid. Joſeph. Antiq. lib. 18. c. 7. p. 626.

ſcena, placed over it, who kept conſtant reſidence in the city, as a place of very great importance. To him the Jews made their addreſs, with crafty and cunning inſinuations perſuading him to apprehend St. Paul, poſſibly under the notion of a ſpy, there being war at this time between the Romans and that king. Hereupon the gates were ſhut, and extraordinary guards ſet, and all engines that could be laid to take him. But the diſciples, to prevent their cruel deſigns, at night put him into a baſket, and let him down over the city wall. And the place, we are [d] told, is ſtill ſhewed to travellers, not far from the gate, thence called St. Paul's gate at this day.

2. HAVING thus made his eſcape, he ſet forwards for Jeruſalem, [e] where when he arrived, he addreſſed himſelf to the church. But they knowing the former temper and principles of the man, univerſally ſhunned his company; till Barnabas brought him to Peter, who was not yet caſt into priſon, and to James, our Lord's brother, biſhop of Jeruſalem, acquainting them with the manner of his converſion, and by them he was familiarly entertained. Here he ſtaid fifteen days, preaching Chriſt, and confuting the Helleniſt Jews with a mighty courage and reſolution. But ſnares were here again laid to entrap him, as malice can as well ceaſe to be, as to be reſtleſs and active. Whereupon he was warned by God in a viſion, that his teſtimony would not find acceptance in that place; that therefore he ſhould leave it, and betake himſelf to the Gentiles. Accordingly being conducted by the brethren to [f] Cæſarea, he ſet ſail for Tarſus, his native city; from whence not long after he was fetched by Barnabas to [g] Antioch, to aſſiſt him in propagating Chriſtianity in that place. In which employment they continued there a whole year. And now it was that the diſciples of the religion were at this place firſt called *Chriſtians*; according to the manner of all other inſtitutions, who were wont to take their denominations from the firſt authors and founders of them. Before this they were uſually ſtiled [h] *Nazarenes*, as being the diſciples and followers of Jeſus of Nazareth, a name by which the Jews in ſcorn call them to this day, with the ſame intent that the Gentiles of old uſed to call them *Galileans*. The name of Nazarenes was henceforward fixed upon thoſe Jewiſh converts, who mixed the Law and the Goſpel, and compounded a religion out of Judaiſm and Chriſtianity. The fixing this honourable name upon the diſciples of the crucified Jeſus was done at Antioch (as an ancient [i] hiſtorian informs us) about the beginning of Claudius his reign, ten years after Chriſt's aſcenſion; nay, he farther adds, that Euodius, lately ordained biſhop of that place, was the perſon that impoſed this name upon them, ſtiling them *Chriſtians*, who before were called Nazarenes and Galileans; Τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐπισκόπου Εὐοδίου προσομιλήσαντος αὐτοῖς, καὶ ἐπιθήσαντος αὐτοῖς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦτο. πρώην γὰρ Ναζαραῖοι ἐκαλοῦντο, καὶ Γαλιλαῖοι ἐκαλοῦντο οἱ χριστιανοί, as my author's words are. I may not omit, what a learned [k] man has obſerved, that the word χρηματίσαι, uſed by St. Luke *(they were called)* implies the thing to have been done by ſome publick and ſolemn act and declaration of the whole church; ſuch being the uſe of the word in the imperial edicts and proclamations of thoſe times, the emperors being ſaid χρηματίζειν, *to ſtile themſelves*, when they publickly proclaimed by what titles they would be called. When any province ſubmitted itſelf to the Roman empire, the emperor was wont by publick edict χρηματίζειν ἑαυτὸν, to entitle himſelf to the government and juriſdiction of it, and the people to ſeveral great privileges and immunities. In a grateful ſenſe whereof, the people uſually made this time the ſolemn date of their common epocha, or computation. Thus (as the forementioned [l] hiſtorian informs us) it was in the particular caſe of Antioch; and thence their publick æra was called χρηματισμὸς τῶν Ἀντιοχέων, "the aſcription of the people at Antioch." Such being the general acceptation of the word, St. Luke (who was himſelf a native of this city) makes uſe of it to expreſs that ſolemn declaration, whereby the diſciples of the religion entitled themſelves to the name of *Chriſtians*.

3. IT happened about this time that a terrible famine, foretold by [m] Agabus, afflicted ſeveral parts of the Roman empire, but eſpecially Judæa: the conſideration whereof made the Chriſtians at Antioch compaſſionate the caſe of their ſuffering brethren, and accordingly raiſed conſiderable contributions for their relief and ſuc-

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[d] G. Sion. & J. Heſron. de Urb. Orient. c. 4. p. 11.

[e] Acts ix. 26. Gal. i. 18, 19.

[f] Acts ix. 30. [g] Chap. xi. 26.

[h] Ναζαραῖοι τὸ παλαιὸν ἡμεῖς οἱ νῦν χριστιανοί. Euſeb. de loc. Hebr. in voc. Ναζαρίθ.

[i] Joan. Antiochen. in Chronol. MS. à Selden. cit. de Synedr. l. 1. c. 8. p. 226. Vid. Suid. in voc. Ναζαραῖος.

[k] Greg. not. & obſ. cap. 36.

[l] J. Antioch. Chron. lib. 9.

[m] Acts xi. 27.

cour, which they ſent to Jeruſalem by Barnabas and Paul; who having diſpatched their errand in that city, went back to Antioch. Where while they were joining in the publick exerciſes of their religion, it was revealed to them by the holy Ghoſt, that they ſhould [n] *ſet apart Paul and Barnabas* to preach the goſpel in other places. Which was done accordingly, and they by prayer, faſting, and impoſition of hands, immediately deputed for that ſervice. Hence they departed to Seleucia, and thence ſailed to Cyprus, where at Salamis, a great city in that iſland, they preached in the ſynagogues of the Jews. Hence they removed to Paphos, the reſidence of Sergius Paulus the proconſul of the iſland, a man of great wiſdom and prudence, but miſerably ſeduced by the wicked artifices of Bar-Jeſus, a Jewiſh impoſtor, who called himſelf Elymas, or the magician, vehemently oppoſed the apoſtles, and kept the proconſul from embracing of the faith. Nay, [o] one who pretends to be ancient enough to know it, ſeems to intimate, that he not only ſpake, but wrote againſt St. Paul's doctrine, and the faith of Chriſt. However, the proconſul calls for the apoſtles, and St. Paul firſt takes Elymas to taſk, and having ſeverely checked him for his malicious oppoſing of the truth, told him, that the divine vengeance was now ready to ſeize upon him. Upon which he was immediately ſtruck blind. The vengeance of God obſerving herein a kind of juſt proportion, that he ſhould be puniſhed with the loſs of his bodily eyes, who had ſo wilfully and maliciouſly ſhut the eyes of his mind againſt the light of the goſpel, and had endeavoured to keep not only himſelf but others under ſo much blindneſs and darkneſs. This miracle turned the ſcale with the proconſul, and quickly brought him over a convert to the faith.

4. After this ſucceſs in Cyprus, he went to Perga in Pamphylia, [p] where taking Titus along with him in the room of Mark, who was returned to Jeruſalem, they went to Antioch, the metropolis of Piſidia. Where entering into the Jewiſh ſynagogue on the ſabbath day, after ſome ſections of the law were read, they were invited by the rulers of the ſynagogue to diſcourſe a little to the people. Which St. Paul did in a large and eloquent ſermon, wherein he put them in mind of the many great and particular bleſſings which God had heaped upon the Jews, from the firſt originals of that nation: that he had crowned them all with the ſending of his Son to be the Meſſiah and the Saviour; that though the Jews had ignorantly crucified this juſt, innocent perſon, yet that God, according to his own predictions, had raiſed him up from the dead; that through him they preached forgiveneſs of ſins, and that by him alone it was that men, if ever, muſt be juſtified and acquitted from that guilt and condemnation, which all the pompous ceremonies and miniſtries of the Moſaick law could never do away: That therefore they ſhould do well to take heed, leſt by their oppoſing this way of ſalvation, they ſhould bring upon themſelves that prophetical curſe, which God had threatned to the Jews of old for their great contumacy and neglect. This ſermon wanted not its due effects. The proſelyte Jews deſired the apoſtles to diſcourſe again to them of this matter the next ſabbath day; the apoſtles alſo perſuading them to continue firm in the belief of theſe things. The day was no ſooner come, but the whole city almoſt flocked to be their auditors; which when the Jews ſaw, acted by a ſpirit of envy, they began to blaſpheme, and to contradict the apoſtles: who, nothing daunted, told them, that our Lord had charged them firſt to preach the goſpel to the Jews, which ſince they ſo obſtinately rejected, they were now to addreſs themſelves to the Gentiles; who hearing this, exceedingly rejoiced at the good news, and magnified the Word of God; and as many of them as were thus prepared and diſpoſed towards eternal life, heartily cloſed with it and embraced it: The apoſtles preaching not there only, but through the whole country round about. The Jews, more exaſperated than before, reſolved to be rid of their company, and to that end perſuaded ſome of the more devout and honourable women, to deal with their huſbands, perſons of prime rank and quality in the city, by whoſe means they were driven out of thoſe parts. Whereat St. Paul and Barnabas ſhaking off the duſt of their feet, as a teſtimony againſt their ingratitude and infidelity, departed from them.

5. The next place they went to, was Iconium; [q] where at firſt they found kind entertainment and good ſucceſs, God ſetting a ſeal to their doctrine by the teſtimony of his miracles. But here the Jewiſh malice began again to ferment, exciting the people

[n] Acts xiii. 2.

[o] *Dionyſ.* Areop. de divin. nomin. c. 8. p. 623.

[p] Acts xiii. 13, 14.

[q] Chap. xiv. 1.

people to ſedition, and a mutiny againſt them. Inſomuch that hearing of a deſign to ſtone them, they ſeaſonably withdrew to Lyſtra; where they firſt made their way by a miraculous cure. For St. Paul ſeeing an impotent cripple that had been lame from his mother's womb, cured him with the ſpeaking of a word. The people who beheld the miracle, had ſo much natural logick, as to infer, that there was a Divinity in the thing; though, miſtaking the author, they applied it to the inſtruments, crying out, that the gods in human ſhape were come down from heaven: Paul, as being chief ſpeaker, they termed Mercury, the god of ſpeech and eloquence; Barnabas, by reaſon of his age and gravity, they called Jupiter, the father of their gods; accordingly the Syriack interpreter here renders Jupiter by ܡܳܪܐ ܕܐܠܗ̈ܐ "the Lord, or ſovereign of the gods." The fame of this being ſpread over the city, the prieſt of Jupiter brought oxen dreſſed up with garlands, after the Gentile rites, to the houſe where the apoſtles were, to do ſacrifice to them. Which they no ſooner underſtood, but in deteſtation of thoſe undue honours offered them, they rent their clothes, and told them that they were men of the ſame make and temper, of the ſame paſſions and infirmities with themſelves; that the deſign of their preaching was to convert them from theſe vain idolatries and ſuperſtitions, to the worſhip of the true God, the great Parent of the world, who though heretofore he had left men to themſelves, to go on in their own ways of idolatrous worſhip, yet had he given ſufficient evidence of himſelf in the conſtant returns of a gracious and benign providence, in crowning the year with fruitful ſeaſons, and other acts of common kindneſs and bounty to mankind.

6. A SHORT diſcourſe, but very rational and convictive, which it may not be amiſs a little more particularly to conſider, and the method which the apoſtle uſes to convince theſe blind idolaters. He proves divine honours to be due to God alone, as the ſovereign Being of the world; and that there is ſuch a ſupreme infinite Being, he argues from his works both of creation and providence. Creation: [r] "He is "the living God that made heaven and earth, the ſea, and all things that are "therein." Providence: "He left not himſelf without witneſs, in that he did "good, and gave rain from heaven, and fruitful ſeaſons, filling our hearts with "food and gladneſs." Than which no argument can be more apt and proper to work upon the minds of men. *That which may be known of God is manifeſt to the Gentiles, for God hath ſhewed it unto them. For the inviſible things of him, from the creation of the world, even his eternal power and godhead, are clearly ſeen and underſtood by the things that are made:* It being impoſſible impartially to ſurvey the ſeveral parts of the creation, and not ſee in every place evident footſteps of an infinite wiſdom, power and goodneſs. Who can look up unto the heavens, and not there diſcern an almighty wiſdom beautifully garniſhing thoſe upper regions, diſtinguiſhing the circuits, and perpetuating the motions of the heavenly lights? placing the ſun in the middle of the heavens, that he might equally diſpenſe and communicate his light and heat to all parts of the world, and not burn the earth with the too near approach of his ſcorching beams: by which means the creatures are refreſhed and cheared, the earth impregnated with fruits and flowers by the benign influence of a vital heat, and the viciſſitudes and ſeaſons of the year regularly diſtinguiſhed by their conſtant and orderly revolutions. Whence are the great orbs of heaven kept in continual motion, always going in the ſame tract, but becauſe there is a ſuperior power that keeps theſe great wheels a going? Who is it that *poiſes the balancings of the clouds; that divides a water-courſe for the overflowing of waters, and a way for the lightning of the thunder?* Who can *bind the ſweet influences of the Pleiades, or looſe the bands of Orion?* Or who can *bring forth Mazaroth in his ſeaſon, or guide Arcturus with his ſons?* Do theſe come by chance? or by the ſecret appointment of infinite wiſdom? Who can conſider the admirable thinneſs and purity of the air, its immediate ſubſerviency to the great ends of the creation, its being the treaſury of vital breath to all living creatures, without which the next moment muſt put a period to our days, and not reflect upon that divine wiſdom that contrived it? If we come down upon the earth, there we diſcover a divine providence,

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[r] Καί τοι νὴ τὸν Δία ϗ τοὺς Θεοὺς, ἓν τῶν γεγονότων ἀπήρκει πρὸς τὸ αἰσθέσθαι τῆς προνοίας, τῷ γε αἰδήμονι ϗ εὐχαρίστῳ ϗ μὴ τοίνυν τὰ μεγάλα, αὐτὸ τοῦτο τὸ ἐκ πόας γάλα γεννᾶσθαι, ϗ ἐκ γάλακτος τυρὸν, ϗ ἐκ δέρματος ἔρια· τίς ἐστιν ὁ πεποιηκὼς ταῦτα, ἢ ἐπινενοηκώς; οὐδὲ εἷς φησιν· ὢ μεγάλης ἀναισχυντίας, ϗ ἀναισθησίας. Arrian. diſſert. lib. 1. c. 16. p. 126.

dence, ſupporting it with the pillars of an inviſible power, *ſtretching the north over the empty ſpace, and hanging the earth upon nothing*; filling it with great variety of admirable and uſeful creatures, and maintaining them all according to their kinds at his own coſt and charges. It is he that clothes the graſs with a delightful verdure, that *crowns the year with his loving-kindneſs*, and *makes the valleys ſtand thick with corn*; that *cauſes the graſs to grow for the cattle, and herb for the ſervice of man; that he may bring forth food out of the earth, and wine that maketh glad the heart of man, and oil to make his face to ſhine, and bread which ſtrengthneth man's heart*; that beautifies the lilies that neither toil nor ſpin, and that with a glory that outſhines Solomon in all his pomp and grandeur. From land let us ſhip our obſervations to ſea, and there we may deſcry the wiſe effects of infinite underſtanding: A wide ocean fitly diſpoſed for the mutual commerce and correſpondence of one part of mankind with another; filled with great and admirable fiſhes, and enriched with the treaſures of the deep. What but an almighty arm can ſhut in the ſea with doors, bind it by a perpetual decree that it cannot paſs, and tie up its wild raging waves with no ſtronger cordage than ropes of ſand? Who but he commands the ſtorm, and ſtills the tempeſt? and brings the mariner, when at his wits-end in the midſt of the greateſt dangers, to his deſired haven? *They that go down to the ſea in ſhips, and do buſineſs in great waters; theſe ſee the works of the Lord, and his wonders in the deep.* So impoſſible is it for a man to ſtand in any part of the creation, wherein he may not diſcern evidences enough of an infinitely wiſe, gracious, and omnipotent Being. Thus much I thought good to add, to illuſtrate the apoſtle's argument; whence he ſtrongly infers, that it is very reaſonable that we ſhould worſhip and adore this great creator and benefactor, and not transfer the honours due to him alone upon men of frail and ſinful paſſions, and much leſs upon dumb idols, unable either to make or to help themſelves. An argument, which though very plain and plauſible, and adapted to the meaneſt underſtandings, yet was all little enough to reſtrain the people from offering ſacrifice to them. But how ſoon was the wind turned into another corner? The old ſpirit of the Jews did ſtill haunt and purſue them; who coming from Antioch and Iconium, exaſperated and ſtirred up the multitude. And they who juſt before accounted them as gods, uſed them now worſe, not only than ordinary men, but ſlaves. For in a mighty rage they fall upon St. Paul, ſtone him, (as they thought, dead) and then drag him out of the city: whither the Chriſtians of that place coming, probably to interr him, he ſuddenly revived, and roſe up amongſt them, and the next day went thence to Derbe.

7. HERE they preached the goſpel, and then returned to Lyſtra, Iconium, and Antioch of Piſidia, confirming the Chriſtians of thoſe places in the belief and profeſſion of Chriſtianity, earneſtly perſuading them to perſevere, and not be diſcouraged with thoſe troubles and perſecutions which they muſt expect would attend the profeſſion of the goſpel. And that all this might ſucceed the better, with faſting and prayer they ordained governors and paſtors in every church, and having recommended them to the grace of God, departed from them. From hence they paſſed through Piſidia, and thence came to Pamphylia; and having preached to the people at Perga, they went down to Attalia. And thus having at this time finiſhed the whole circuit of their miniſtry, they returned back to Antioch in Syria, the place whence they had firſt ſet out. Here they acquainted the church with the various tranſactions and ſucceſſes of their travels, and how great a door had thereby been opened to the converſion of the Gentile world.

8. WHILE St. Paul ſtaid at Antioch, there aroſe that famous controverſy about the obſervation of the [f] Moſaick rites, ſet on foot and brought in by ſome Jewiſh converts that came down thither, whereby great diſturbances and diſtractions were made in the minds of the people. For the compoſing whereof, the church of Antioch reſolved to ſend Paul and Barnabas to conſult with the apoſtles and church at Jeruſalem. In their way thither, they declared to the brethren, as they went along, what ſucceſs they had had in the converſion of the Gentiles. Being come to Jeruſalem, they firſt addreſſed themſelves to Peter, James and John, the pillars and principal perſons in that place; by whom they were kindly entertained, and admitted to the *right hand of fellowſhip*. And perceiving by the account which St. Paul gave them, that the *goſpel of the uncircumciſion was committed* to him, as that of the *circumciſion* was to Peter, they ratified it by compact and agreement, that Peter

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[f] Acts xv. 1.

ſhould preach to the Jews, and Paul unto the Gentiles. Hereupon a council was ſummoned, wherein Peter having declared his ſenſe of things, Paul and Barnabas acquainted them what great things God by their miniſtry had done among the Gentiles. A plain evidence, that, though uncircumciſed, they were accepted by God as well as the Jews with all their legal rites and privileges. The iſſue of the debate was, that the Gentiles were not under the obligation of the law of Moſes; and that therefore ſome perſons of their own ſhould be joined with Paul and Barnabas, to carry the canons and decrees of the council down to Antioch, for their fuller ſatisfaction in this matter. But of this affair we ſhall give the reader a more diſtinct and particular account in another place.

SECT. III.

Of St. Paul, from the time of the ſynod at Jeruſalem, till his departure from Athens.

St. Paul's carrying the apoſtolick decree to Antioch. His conteſt with Peter. The diſſenſion between him and Barnabas. His travels to confirm the new planted churches. The converſion of Lydia at Philippi. The Jewiſh proſeuchæ, *what; the frequency of them in all places. The diſpoſſeſſing of a Pythoneſs. St. Paul's impriſonment and ill uſage at Philippi. The great proviſion made by the Roman law for the ſecurity of its ſubjects. His preaching at Theſſalonica and Berœa. His going to Athens. The fame of that place. His doctrine oppoſed by the Stoics and Epicureans, and why. The great idolatry and ſuperſtition of that city. The altar to the* unknown God. *This* unknown God, *who. The ſuperſtition of the Jews in concealing the name of God. This imitated by the Gentiles. Their general forms of invocating their Deities noted. The particular occaſion of theſe altars at Athens, whence. St. Paul's diſcourſe to the philoſophers in the Areopagus concerning the divine Being and providence. The different entertainment of his doctrine. Dionyſius the Areopagite, who. His learning, converſion, and being made biſhop of Athens. The difference between him and St. Denys of Paris. The books publiſhed under his name.*

1. SAINT Paul and his companions having received the decretal epiſtle, returned back to Antioch; where they had not been long before Peter came thither to them: and according to the decree of the council freely and inoffenſively converſed with the Gentiles; till ſome of the Jews coming down thither from Jeruſalem, he withdrew his converſe, as if it were a thing unwarrantable and unlawful. By which means the minds of many were diſſatisfied, and their conſciences very much enſnared. Whereat St. Paul being exceedingly troubled, publickly rebuked him for it, and that as the caſe required, with great ſharpneſs and ſeverity. It was not long after, that St. Paul and Barnabas reſolved upon viſiting the churches, which they had lately planted among the[t] Gentiles. To which end Barnabas determined to take his couſin Mark along with them. This Paul would by no means agree to, he having deſerted them in their former journey. A little ſpark, which yet kindled a great feud and diſſenſion between theſe two good men, and aroſe to that heighth, that in ſome diſcontent they parted from each other. So natural is it for the beſt of men ſometimes to indulge an unwarrantable paſſion, and ſo far to eſpouſe the intereſt of a private and particular humour, or rather to hazard the great law of charity, and violate the bands of friendſhip, than to recede from it. The effect was, Barnabas taking his nephew, went for Cyprus, his native country. St. Paul made choice of Silas: and the ſucceſs of his undertaking being firſt recommended to the divine care and goodneſs, they ſet forwards on their journey.

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[t] Acts xv. 3.

2. **Their** firſt paſſage was into Syria and Cilicia, confirming the churches as they went along. And to that end they left with them copies of the ſynodical decrees, lately ordained in the council at Jeruſalem. Hence we may ſuppoſe it was that he ſet ſail for Crete, where he preached and propagated Chriſtianity, and conſtituted Titus to be the firſt biſhop and paſtor of that iſland, whom he left there, to ſettle and diſpoſe thoſe affairs, which the ſhortneſs of his own ſtay in thoſe parts would not ſuffer him to do. Hence he returned back unto Cilicia, and came to Lyſtra, where he found Timothy, whoſe father was a Greek, his mother a Jewiſh convert, by whom he had been brought up under all the advantages of a pious and religious education, and eſpecially an incomparable ſkill and dexterity in the holy ſcriptures. St. Paul deſigned him for the companion of his travels, and a ſpecial inſtrument in the miniſtry of the goſpel; and knowing that his being uncircumciſed would be a mighty prejudice in the opinion and eſtimation of the Jews, cauſed him to be circumciſed: being willing in all lawful and indifferent matters (ſuch was circumciſion now become) to accommodate himſelf to mens humours and apprehenſions for the ſaving of their ſouls.

3. **From** hence with his company he paſſed through Phrygia, [v] and the country of Galatia, where he was entertained by them with as mighty a kindneſs and veneration, as if he had been an angel immediately ſent from heaven. And being by revelation forbidden to go into Aſia, by a ſecond viſion he was commanded to direct his journey for Macedonia. And here it was that St. Luke joined himſelf to his company, and became ever after his inſeparable companion. Sailing from Troas, they arrived at the iſland Samothracia, and thence to Neapolis, from whence they went to Philippi, the chief city of that part of Macedonia, and a Roman colony: where he ſtaid ſome conſiderable time to plant the Chriſtian faith, and where his miniſtry had more particular ſucceſs on Lydia, a purple ſeller, born at Thyatira, baptized together with her whole family; and with her the apoſtle ſojourned during his reſidence in that place. A little without this city there was a *proſeucha*, ܒܝܬ ܨܠܘܬܐ as the Syriack renders it, "an oratory, or houſe of prayer," whereto the apoſtle and his company uſed frequently to retire, for the exerciſe of their religion, and for preaching the goſpel to thoſe that reſorted thither. The Jews had three ſorts of places for their publick worſhip: The temple at Jeruſalem, which was like the cathedral, or mother-church, where all ſacrifices and oblations were offered, and where all males were bound three times a year perſonally to pay their devotions: Their ſynagogues (many whereof they had almoſt in every place, not unlike our parochial churches) where the ſcriptures were read and expounded, and the people taught their duty. [w] *Moſes of old time hath in every city them that preach him, being read in the ſynagogues every ſabbath-day.* And then they had their *proſeuchæ*, (τὰ κατὰ πόλεις προσευκτήρια, as [x] Philo ſometimes calls them) or *oratories*, which were like chapels of eaſe to the temple and ſynagogues, whither the people were wont to come ſolemnly to offer up their prayers to heaven. They were built (as [y] Epiphanius informs us) ἔξω τῆς πόλεως, ἐν ἀέρι ϗ αἰθρίῳ τόπῳ, without the city, in the open air, and uncovered; τόπους πλατεῖς φόρων δίκην, προσευχὰς ταύτας ἐκάλουν, being large ſpacious places, after the manner of *fora*, or market-places, and theſe they called *proſeucha's*. And that the Jews and Samaritans had ſuch places of devotion, he proves from this very place at Philippi, where St. Paul preached. For they had them not in Judæa only, but [z] even at Rome itſelf, where Tiberius (as [a] Philo tells Caius the emperor) ſuffered the Jews to inhabit the Tranſ-tiberine Region, and undiſturbedly to live according to the rites of their inſtitutions: ϗ προσευχὰς ἔχειν, ϗ συνιέναι εἰς αὐτάς, ϗ μάλιστα ἐν ταῖς ἱεραῖς ἑβδόμαις, ὅτε δημοσίᾳ τὴν πάτριον παιδεύονται φιλοσοφίαν, and alſo to have their *proſeucha's*, and to meet in them, eſpecially upon their holy ſabbaths, that they might be familiarly inſtructed in the laws and religion of their country. Such they had alſo in other places, eſpecially where they had not, or were not ſuffered to have ſynagogues for their publick worſhip. But to return.

4. As they were going to this oratory, they were often followed by a Pythoneſs, a maid-ſervant, acted by a ſpirit of divination, who openly cried out, that "theſe

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[v] Acts xvi. 6. [w] Chap. xv. 21.

[x] De Vit. Moſ. lib. 3. p. 685.

[y] Adv. Maſſal. Hæreſ. lxxx. p. 450.

[z] In qua te quæro proſeucha? Juv. Sat. 3. v. 296.

Proſeucha] Locus Judæorum, ubi orant. Vet. Schol. ib.

[a] De Legat. ad Caium, p. 1014.

"men were the ſervants of the moſt high God, who came to ſhew the way of ſal-"vation to the world:" So eaſily can heaven extort a teſtimony from the mouth of hell. But St. Paul, to ſhew how little he needed Satan to be his witneſs, commanded the dæmon to come out, which immediately left her. The evil ſpirit thus thrown out of poſſeſſion, preſently raiſed a ſtorm againſt the apoſtles; for the maſters of the damſel, who uſed by her diabolical arts to raiſe great advantages to themſelves, being ſenſible that now their gainful trade was ſpoiled, reſolved to be revenged on them that had ſpoiled it. Accordingly they laid hold upon them, and dragged them before the ſeat of judicature, inſinuating to the governors that theſe men were Jews, and ſought to introduce different cuſtoms and ways of worſhip, contrary to the laws of the Roman empire. The magiſtrates and people were ſoon agreed, the one to give ſentence, the other to ſet upon the execution. In fine, they were ſtript, beaten, and then commanded to be thrown into priſon; and the gaoler charged to keep them with all poſſible care and ſtrictneſs. Who to make ſure of his charge thruſt them into the inner dungeon, and made their feet faſt in the ſtocks. But a good man can turn a priſon into a chapel, and make a den of thieves to be an houſe of prayer. Our feet cannot be bound ſo faſt to the earth, but that ſtill our hearts may mount up to heaven. At midnight the apoſtles were overheard by their fellow-priſoners, praying, and ſinging hymns to God. But after the ſtill voice came the tempeſt. An earthquake ſuddenly ſhook the foundations of the priſon, the doors flew open, and their chains fell off. [aa] The gaoler awaking with this amazing accident, concluded with himſelf that the priſoners were fled; and to prevent the ſentence of publick juſtice, was going to lay violent hands upon himſelf: which St. Paul eſpying, called out to him to hold his hand, and told him they were all there. Who thereupon came in to them with a greater earthquake in his own conſcience, and falling down before them, aſked them, *What he ſhould do to be ſaved?* They told him, there was no other way of ſalvation for him or his, than an hearty and ſincere embracing of the faith of Chriſt. What an happy change does Chriſtianity make in the minds of men! How plain does it ſmooth the roughest tempers, and inſtil the ſweeteſt principles of civility and good-nature! He who a little before had tyrannized over the apoſtles with the moſt mercileſs and cruel uſage, began now to treat them with all the arts of kindneſs and charity; bringing them out of the dungeon, and waſhing their ſtripes and wounds, and being more fully inſtructed in the principles of Chriſtianity, was together with his whole family immediately baptized by them. Early in the morning, the magiſtrates ſent officers privately to releaſe them; which the apoſtles refuſed, telling them, that they were not only innocent perſons, but Romans: that they had been illegally condemned and beaten; that therefore their delivery ſhould be as publick as the injury, and an open vindication of their innocency; and that they themſelves, who had ſent them thither, ſhould fetch them thence. For the Roman government was very tender of the lives and liberties of its own ſubjects, thoſe eſpecially that were free denizens of Rome; [b] every injury offered to a Roman being looked upon as an affront againſt the majeſty of the whole people of Rome. Such a one might not be beaten: but to be ſcourged, or bound, without being firſt legally heard and tried, was not only againſt the Roman, but the laws of all other nations: [c] and the more publick any injury was, the greater was its aggravation, and the laws required a more ſtrict and ſolemn reparation. St. Paul, who was a Roman, and very well underſtood the laws and privileges of Rome, inſiſted upon this, to the great ſtartling and affrighting of the magiſtrates, who ſenſible of their error, came to the priſon, and entreated them to depart. Whereupon going to Lydia's houſe, and having ſaluted and encouraged the brethren, they departed from that place.

5. LEAVING Philippi, they came next to Theſſalonica, the metropolis of Macedonia; where Paul, according to his cuſtom, preſently went to the Jewiſh ſynagogue, for three ſabbath-days, reaſoning and diſputing with them; proving from the predictions of the Old Teſtament, that the Meſſiah was to ſuffer, and to riſe again; and that the bleſſed Jeſus was this Meſſiah. Great numbers, eſpecially of re-

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[aa] Milites, ſi amiſerint cuſtodias, ipſi in periculum deducuntur. L. 12. ff. de cuſtod. & exhib. reor. tit. 3.

[b] Iſta laus primum eſt majorum noſtrorum, Quirites, qui lenitate legum veſtram libertatem munitam eſſe voluerunt. Quamobrem inviolatum corpus omnium civium Romanorum integrum libertatis defendo ſervari oportere. Porcia lex virgas ab omnium civium Rom. corpore amovit. C. Gracchus legem tulit, ne de capite civium Rom, injuſſu veſtro judicaretur. Cic. Orat. pro C. Rabir. p. 314. tom. 2.

[c] L. 7. ff. de injuriis, lib. 49. tit. 10.

ligious proſelytes, were converted by his preaching: while, like the ſun which melts wax but hardens clay, it wrought a quite contrary effect in the unbelieving Jews, who preſently ſet themſelves to blow up the city into a tumult and an uproar, and miſſing St. Paul, (who had withdrawn himſelf) they fell foul upon Jaſon, in whoſe houſe he lodged; repreſenting to the magiſtrates that they were enemies to Cæſar, and ſought to undermine the peace and proſperity of the Roman empire. At night Paul and Silas were conducted by the brethren to Berœa: where going to the ſynagogue, they found the people of a more noble and generous, a more pliable and ingenuous temper, ready to entertain the Chriſtian doctrine, but yet not willing to take it meerly upon the apoſtle's word, till they had firſt compared his preaching with what the ſcriptures ſay of the Meſſiah and his doctrine. And the ſucceſs was anſwerable in thoſe great numbers that came over to them. But the Jewiſh malice purſued them ſtill; for hearing at Theſſalonica what entertainment they had found in this place, they preſently came down, to exaſperate and ſtir up the people. To avoid which, St. Paul, leaving Silas and Timothy behind him, thought good to withdraw himſelf from that place.

6. FROM Berœa he went to Athens, [d] one of the moſt renowned cities in the world, excelling all others (ſays an ancient [e] hiſtorian) in antiquity, humanity and learning. Indeed it was the great ſeat of arts and learning; and as [f] Cicero will have it, the fountain whence civility, learning, religion, arts and laws, were derived into all other nations. So univerſally flocked to by all that had but the leaſt kindneſs for the Muſes, or good manners, that he who had not ſeen Athens was accounted a block; he who having ſeen it, was not in love with it, a dull ſtupid aſs; and he who after he had ſeen it could be willing to leave it, fit for nothing but to be a pack-horſe [g]. Here among the ſeveral ſects of philoſophers, he had more particular conteſts with the Stoics and Epicureans, who beyond all the reſt ſeemed enemies to Chriſtianity. The Epicureans, becauſe they found their pleaſure and jovial humour, and their looſe and exorbitant courſe of life, ſo much checked and controlled by the ſtrict and ſevere precepts of Chriſt; and that Chriſtianity ſo plainly and poſitively aſſerted a divine providence, that governs the world, and that will adjudge to men ſuitable rewards and puniſhments in another world. The Stoics, on the other hand, though pretending to principles of great and uncommon rigour and ſeverity, and ſuch as had neareſt affinity to the doctrines of the Chriſtian religion, yet found themſelves aggrieved with it: That meek and humble temper of mind, that modeſty and ſelf-denial, which the goſpel ſo earneſtly recommends to us, and ſo ſtrictly requires of us, being ſo directly contrary to the immoderate pride and ambition of that ſect, who beyond all proportions of reaſon, were not aſhamed to make their wiſe man equal to, and in ſome things to exceed God himſelf [h].

7. WHILE St. Paul ſtaid at Athens in expectation of Silas and Timothy to come to him, he went up and down to take a more curious view and ſurvey of the city; which he found miſerably overgrown with ſuperſtition and idolatry; as indeed Athens was noted by all their own writers for far greater numbers of deities and idols than all [i] Greece beſides. They were ὥσπερ περὶ τὰ ἄλλα φιλοξενοῦντες, οὕτω καὶ περὶ τοὺς Θεούς· πολλὰ γὰρ τῶν ξενικῶν ἱερῶν παρεδέξαντο, as [k] Strabo notes; not more fond of ſtrangers and novelties in other things, than forward to comply with novelties in religion, ready to entertain any foreign deities and rites of worſhip; no divinity that was elſewhere adored, coming amiſs to them. Whence Athens is by [l] one of their own orators ſtiled, τὸ μέγιστον τῆς εὐσεβείας κεφάλαιον, "the great ſum and centre of piety and religion." And he there aggravates the impiety of Epicurus, in ſpeaking unworthily and irreverently of the gods, from the place where he did it; at Athens, a place ſo pious, ſo devoted to them.

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[d] Acts xvii 15.

[e] Cornel. Nep. in Vit. Attic. c. 3. p. 267.

[f] Orat. pro Flacc. tom. 2.

[g] Εἰ μὴ τεθέασαι τὰς Ἀθήνας, στέλεχος εἶ.
Εἰ δὲ τεθέασαι, μὴ τεθήρευσαι δ', ὄνος.
Εἰ δ' εὐαρεστῶν ἀποτρέχεις, κανθήλιος.
Lyſipp. comic. apud Dicæarch. de vit. Græc. à Steph. edit. cap. 3. p. 18.

[h] Tantum ſapienti ſua quantum deo omnis ætas patet. Eſt aliquid quo ſapiens antecedat Deum. Ille naturæ beneficio non timet, ſuo ſapiens. Ecce res magna, habere imbecillitatem hominis, ſecuritatem Dei. Senec. Epiſt. 53. p. 131. Solebat Sextius dicere, Jovem plus non poſſe, quam bonum virum. Plura Jupiter habet, quæ præſtat hominibus: ſed inter duos bonos non eſt melior, qui locupletior. Jupiter quo antecedit virum bonum? diutius bonus eſt. Sapiens nihilo ſe minoris æſtimat, quod virtutes ejus ſpatio breviore clauduntur. Id. Epiſt. 73. p. 203.

[i] Δέδεκται δέ μοι καὶ πρότερον ὡς Ἀθηναίοις περισσότερόν τι ἢ τοῖς ἄλλοις εἰς τὰ θεῖα ἐστι σπουδῆς. Pauſan. lib. 1. p. 42. Τούτους δὲ οὐ τὰ εἰς φιλανθρωπίαν μόνον καθέστηκεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς Θεοὺς εὐσεβεῖν ἄλλων πλέον. Id.

Θεοὶ ξενικοὶ παρὰ Ἀθηναίοις τιμῶνται, οὓς καταλέγει Ἀπολλοφάνης ἐν Κρησί. Heſych. in voc. Θεοί. p. 438.

——— αἰεὶ δὲ θεορρήτων περὶ μύθων
Ἀτθίδος ἀρχαίης φιλοπευθέες εἰσὶ πολῖται.
Nonn. Dionyſ. lib. 38. p. 542.

[k] Geograph. lib. 10. p. 325.

[l] Himer. Orat. in Epicur. ap. Phot. cod. 243. col. 1086.

Indeed herein juſtly commendable, that they could not brook the leaſt diſhonourable reflection upon any deity, and therefore [a] Apollonius Tyaneus tells Timaſion, that the ſafeſt way was to ſpeak well of all the gods, and eſpecially at Athens, where Altars were dedicated even to unknown gods. And ſo St. Paul here found it, for among the ſeveral ſhrines and places of worſhip and devotion, he took more particular notice of one altar inſcribed to the unknown God. The intire inſcription, whereof the apoſtle quotes only part of the laſt words, is thought to have been this,

[b] ΘΕΟΙΣ ΑΣΙΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΕΥΡΩΠΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΛΙΒΥΗΣ ΘΕΩι. ΑΓΝΩΣΤΩι ΚΑΙ ΞΕΝΩι.

To the gods of Aſia, Europe and Africa, to the ſtrange and UNKNOWN GOD.

[c] St. Hierom repreſents it in the ſame manner, only makes it gods in the plural number, which becauſe, ſays he, St. Paul needed not, he only cited it in the ſingular. Which ſurely he affirms without any juſt ground and warrant: though it cannot be denied, but that Heathen writers make frequent mention of the altars of unknown gods, that were at Athens, as there want not others who ſpeak of ſome erected there to an unknown god. This notion the Athenians might probably borrow from the Hebrews, who had the name of God in great ſecrecy and veneration. This being one of the titles given him by the prophet אֵל מִסְתַּתֵּר *a hidden God*, [d] or *a God that hides himſelf*. Sure I am that [e] Juſtin Martyr tells us, that one of the principal names given to God by ſome of the Heathens, was Πάγκρυφος *one altogether hidden*. Hence the Egyptians [f] probably derived their great God Ammon, or more truly Amun, which ſignifies *occult*, or *hidden*. Accordingly in this paſſage of St. Paul the Syriack interpreter renders it, the *altar* ܕܐܠܗܐ ܟܣܝܐ *of the hidden God*. The Jews were infinitely ſuperſtitious in concealing the name of God, not thinking it lawful ordinarily to pronounce it. This made the Gentiles, ſtrangers at beſt both to the language and religion of the Jews, at a great loſs by what name to call him, one ſtiling him in general an *uncertain*, *unſpeakable*, *inviſible Deity*; whence [g] Caligula in his ranting oration to the Jews, told them, that wretches as they were, though they refuſed to own him, whom all others had confeſſed to be a Deity, yet they could worſhip τὸν ἀκατονόμαστον ὑμῖν, *their own nameleſs God*. And hence the Gentiles derived their cuſtom of keeping ſecret the name of their Gods; thus [h] Plutarch tell us of the Tutelar Deity of Rome, that it was not lawful to name it, or ſo much as to enquire what ſex it was of, whether god or goddeſs; and that for once revealing it, Valerius Soranus, though tribune of the people, came to an untimely end, and was crucified, the vileſt and moſt diſhonourable kind of death. Whereof among other reaſons he aſſigns this, that by concealing the author of their publick ſafety, μὴ μόνον τοῦτον, ἀλλὰ πάντας ὑπὸ τῶν πολιτῶν τοὺς θεοὺς τιμᾶσθαι, not he only, but all the other gods might have due honour and worſhip paid to them. Hence in their publick adorations, after the invocation of particular deities, they were wont to add ſome more general and comprehenſive form, as when Cicero had been making his addreſs to moſt of their particular gods, he concludes with a [i] *Cæteros item Deos, Deáſque omnes imploro atque obteſtor.* Uſually the form was *DII DEÆQUE OMNES.* The reaſon whereof was this, that not being aſſured many times what that peculiar Deity was, that was proper to their purpoſe, or what numbers of gods there were in the world, they would not affront or offend any, by ſeeming to neglect and paſs them by. And this [k] Chryſoſtom thinks to have been particularly deſigned in the erection of this Athenian altar, μήποτε καὶ ἄλλος τις ᾖ αὐτοῖς μὲν οὐδέπω γνώριμος, θεραπευόμενος δὲ ἀλλαχοῦ, they were afraid leſt there might be ſome other Deity (beſides thoſe whom they particularly worſhipped) as yet unknown to them, though honoured and adored elſewhere, and therefore ὑπὲρ πλείονος ἀσφαλείας, *for the more ſecurity*, they dedicated an altar to the unknown God. As for the particular occaſion of erecting theſe altars at Athens (omitting that of Pan's appearing to Philippides, mentioned by Oecumenius) the moſt probable

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[a] Philoſtor. de vit. Apollon. lib. 6. cap. 2. p. 262. & ex eo, Suid. in voc. Τιμασίων.

[b] Oecumen. Schol. in Act. 17. p. 137.

[c] Com. in Tit. cap. 1. ad Paul. & Euſtoch. p. 248. Tom. 9.

[d] Iſai. xlv. 14.

[e] Paræn. ad Græc. p. 37.

[f] Ἔτι δὲ τῶν πολλῶν νομιζόντων ἴδιον παρ' Αἰγυπτίοις ὄνομα τοῦ Διὸς τὸν Ἀμοῦν (ὃν παράγοντες ἡμεῖς Ἄμμωνα λέγομεν) Μανεθὼς μὲν ὁ Σεβεννίτης τὸ κεκρυμμένον οἴεται, καὶ τὴν κρύψιν ὑπὸ ταύτης δηλοῦσθαι τῆς φωνῆς. Plutarch. lib. de Iſid. & Oſir. p. 354.

——— dedita ſacris Incerti Judæa Dei. Lucan. Pharſal. lib. 2. incertum Moſis numen. Trebel. Poll. in vit. Claud. c. 2. p. 800. Judæi mente ſolâ, unúmque numen intelligunt; ſummum illud & æternum, neque mutabile, neque interiturum. Tacit. Hiſtor. lib. 5. c. 5. p. 535.

[g] Phil. de legat. ad Cai. p. 1041.

[h] Quæſt. Rom. p. 279. vid. Serv. ad illud Virgilii Georgic. lib. 1. Dii patrii indigites, &c.

[i] In Verr. Actio. 7. p. 223. Poſt ſpecialem invocationem, tranſit ad generalitatem, ne quod numen prætereat, more Pontificum per quos ritu veteri in omnibus ſacris, poſt ſpeciales Deos, quos ad ipſum ſacrum, quod fiebat, neceſſe erat invocari, generaliter omnia numina invocabantur. Serv. in illud Virgil. Georg. lib. 1. Diique Deæque omnes.

[k] Homil. 38. in Act. p. 705.

probable ſeems to be this. When a great plague raged at [l] Athens, and ſeveral means had been attempted for the removal of it, they were adviſed by Epimenides the philoſopher, to build an altar, and dedicate it τῷ προσήκοντι Θεῷ, *to the proper and peculiar Deity, to whom it did appertain*, be he what he would. A courſe which proving ſucceſsful, no doubt gave occaſion to them by way of gratitude to erect more ſhrines to this unknown God. And accordingly Laertius who lived long after St. Paul's time, tells us that there were ſuch nameleſs altars (he means ſuch as were not inſcribed to any particular Deity) in and about Athens in his days, as monuments of that eminent deliverance.

7. But whatever the particular cauſe might be, hence it was that St. Paul took occaſion to diſcourſe of the true, but to them unknown God. For the philoſophers had before treated him with a great deal of ſcorn and deriſion, asking what that idle and prating fellow had to ſay to them? Others looking upon him as a propagator of new and ſtrange gods, becauſe he preached to them Jeſus and Anaſtaſis, or the reſurrection, which they looked upon as two upſtart deities, lately come into the world. Hereupon they brought him to the place, where ſtood the famous ſenate-houſe of the Areopagites, and according to the Athenian humour, which altogether delighted in curious novelties, running up and down the forum, and places of publick concourſe to ſee any ſtrange accident, or hear any new report (a vice which their own great [m] orator long ſince taxed them with) they asked him, what that new and ſtrange doctrine was, which he preached to them? Whereupon, in a neat and elegant diſcourſe he began to tell them, he had obſerved how much they were over-run with ſuperſtition, that their zeal for religion was indeed generous and commendable, but which miſerably over-ſhot its due meaſures and proportions; that he had taken notice of an altar among them inſcribed, to the unknown God, and therefore in compaſſion to their blind and miſguided zeal, he would declare unto them the Deity which they ignorantly worſhipped; and that this was no other than the great God, the creator of all things, the ſupreme governor and ruler of the world, who was incapable of being confined within any temple or human fabrick: that no image could be made as a proper inſtrument to repreſent him; that he needed no gifts or ſacrifices, being himſelf the fountain, from whence life, breath, and all other bleſſings were derived to particular beings: that from one common original he had made the whole race of mankind, and had wiſely fixed and determined the times and bounds of their habitation; and all to this end, that men might be the ſtronglier obliged to ſeek after him, and ſincerely to ſerve and worſhip him. A duty which they might eaſily attain to (though otherwiſe ſunk into the deepeſt degeneracy, and overſpread with the groſſeſt darkneſs) he every where affording ſuch palpable evidences of his own being and providence, that he ſeemed to ſtand near, and touch us; it being intirely from him, that we derive our life, motion and ſubſiſtence. A thing acknowledged even by their own Poet, [n] that *we alſo are his offspring*. If therefore God was our creator, it was highly unreaſonable to think that we could make any image or repreſentation of him: that it was too long already, that the divine patience had born with the manners of men, and ſuffered them to go on in their blind idolatries, that now he expected a general repentance and reformation from the world, eſpecially having by the publiſhing of his goſpel put out of all diſpute the caſe of a future judgment, and particularly appointed the Holy Jeſus to be the perſon that ſhould ſentence and judge the world: by whoſe reſurrection he had given ſufficient evidence and aſſurance of it. No ſooner had he mentioned the reſurrection, but ſome of the philoſophers (no doubt Epicureans, who were wont to laugh at the notion of a future ſtate) mocked and derided him, others more gravely anſwered, that they would hear him again concerning this matter. But his diſcourſe, however ſcorned and ſlighted, did not wholly want its deſired effect, and that upon ſome of the greateſt quality and rank among them. In the number of whom was Dionyſius one of the grave ſenators and judges of the Areopagus, and Damaris, whom the antients [o] not improbably make his wife.

8. This Dionyſius was bred at Athens, in all the learned arts and ſciences; at five and twenty years of age, he is ſaid to have travelled into Egypt, to perfect himſelf in the ſtudy of Aſtrology, for which that nation had the credit and renown. Here beholding the miraculous eclipſe that was at the time of our Saviour's paſſion, [p] he concluded that ſome

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[l] Laert. lib. 1. in vit. Epimen. p. 78.

[m] Τοσοῦτον χρόνον σπουδάζετε, ὅσον ἂν καθῆσθε, ἀκούοντες ἂν προσαγγελθῇ τι νεώτερον. Demoſth. Philip. 4. p. 53.

[n] —— πάντη δὲ Διὸς κεχρήμεθα πάντες.
ΤΟΥ ΓΑΡ ΚΑΙ ΓΕΝΟΣ ΕΣΜΕΝ. ὁ δ' ἤπιος
Δέξια σημαίνει. Arat. Phæn. in prin. ἀνθρώποισι. πρὸς τὸ πατὴρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε εἰ γὰρ αὐτὸς ταῦτα ἐδημιούργησε πρὸς τὸ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις βιωφελὲς, αὐτοῦ ἂν κληθείημεν, αὐτὸν πατέρα καὶ δημιουργὸν ἐπιγραφόμενοι. Schol. ibid.

[o] Chryſoſt. de Sacerdot. lib. 4. c. 7. p. 67. T. 4.

[p] Vid. inter alios Suid. in voc. Διονύσιος.

Pag. 496. LXI.

I. Clark sculp.

Then Paul *stood in the midst of Mars-hill and said ye Men of* Athens *I percieve that in all things ye are too Superstitious, &c.*

Acts. Chap. 17th. Ver. 22d.

BRITISH MUSEUM 5 AU 70

ſome great accident muſt needs be coming upon the world. Returning to Athens, he became one of the ſenators of the Areopagus, diſputed with St. Paul, and was by him converted from his errors and idolatry; and being throughly inſtructed, was by him (as the [q] antients inform us) made the firſt biſhop of Athens. As for [r] thoſe that tell us, that he went afterwards into France by the direction of Clemens of Rome, planted chriſtianity at, and became biſhop of Paris, of his ſuffering martyrdom there under Domitian, his carrying his head for the ſpace of two miles in his hand, after it had been cut off, and the reſt of his miracles done before, and after his death, I have as little leiſure to enquire into them, as I have faith to believe them. Indeed the foundation of all is juſtly denied, *viz.* that ever he was there, a thing never heard of till the times of Charles the Great, though ſince that, volumes have been written of this controverſy, both heretofore and of later times, among which J. Sirmondus the jeſuit, and Monſieur Launoy, one of the learned doctors of the Sorbon, have unanſwerably proved the Athenian and Pariſinian Dionyſius, to be diſtinct perſons. For the books that go under his name, M. Daille has ſufficiently evinced them to be of a date many hundred years younger than St. Denys, though I doubt not but they may claim a greater antiquity, than what he allows them. But whoever was their author, I am ſure Suidas has over-ſtretched the praiſe of them beyond all proportion, when he gives them this character, εἴ τις ἀπίδοι πρὸς τὰ κάλλη τῶν αὐτῶν λόγων, καὶ τὰ βάθη τῶν νοημάτων, οὐκ ἀνθρωπίνης φύσεως ταῦτα νομίσοι γεννήματα, ἀλλά τινος ἀκηράτου καὶ θείας δυνάμεως, that whoever conſiders the elegancy of his diſcourſes, and the profoundneſs of his notions and ſpeculations, muſt needs conclude that they are not the iſſue of any human underſtanding, but of ſome divine and immaterial power. But to return to our apoſtle.

SECT. IV.

Of St. Paul's Acts at Corinth and Epheſus.

St. Paul's arrival at Corinth. The oppoſition made by the Jews. The ſucceſs of his preaching upon others. His firſt epiſtle to the Theſſalonians, when written. His arraignment before Gallio. The ſecond epiſtle to the Theſſalonians, and the deſign of it. St. Paul's voyage to Jeruſalem. His coming to Epheſus. Diſciples baptized into John's baptiſm. St. Paul's preaching at Epheſus, and the miracles wrought by him. Epheſus noted for the ſtudy of magick. Jews eminently verſed in charms and inchantments. The original of the myſtery, whence pretended to have been derived. The ill attempt of the ſons of Scæva to diſpoſſeſs dæmons in the name of Chriſt. St. Paul's doctrine greatly ſucceſsful upon this ſort of men. Books of magick forbidden by the Roman laws. St. Paul's epiſtle to the Galatians, why, and when written. Diana's temple at Epheſus, and its great ſtatelineſs and magnificence. The mutiny againſt St. Paul raiſed by Demetrius, and his party. St. Paul's firſt epiſtle to the Corinthians, upon what occaſion written. His epiſtle to Titus. Apollonius Tyaneus, whether at Epheſus at the ſame time with St. Paul. His miracles pretended to be done in that city.

1. AFTER his departure from Athens,[s] he went to Corinth, the metropolis of Greece, and the reſidence of the Proconſul of Achaia: where he found Aquila and Priſcilla lately come from Italy, baniſhed out of Rome by the decree of Claudius: And they being of the ſame trade and profeſſion, wherein he had been educated in his youth, he wrought together with them, leſt he ſhould be unneceſſarily burthenſome unto any, which for the ſame reaſon he did in ſome other places. Hither, after ſome time, Silas and Timothy came to him. In the ſynagogue he frequently diſputed with the Jews and proſelytes, reaſoning and proving, that Jeſus was the true Meſſiah. They, according

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[q] Dionyſ. Corinth. Epiſc. ap. Euſeb. lib. 3. c. 4. p. 74. lib. 4. c. 22. p. 144.

[r] Martyrium S. Dionyſ. per S. Metaph. ap. Sur. ad diem 9. Octob. Epiſt. Hilduin. Abb & Hincm. Rhem. item paſſio ejus aliáque ibid. Niceph. lib. 2. c. 20. p. 167.

[s] Acts xviii. 1.

ing to the nature of the men, made head and oppoſed him, and what they could not conquer by argument and force of reaſon, they endeavoured to carry by noiſe and clamour, mixed with blaſphemies and revilings, the laſt refuges of an impotent and baffled cauſe. Whereat to teſtify his reſentment, he ſhook his garments and told them, ſince he ſaw them reſolved to pull down vengeance and deſtruction upon their own heads, he for his part was guiltleſs and innocent, and would henceforth addreſs himſelf unto the Gentiles. Accordingly he left them, and went into the houſe of Juſtus, a religious proſelyte, where by his preaching, and the many miracles which he wrought, he converted great numbers to the faith. Amongſt which were Criſpus the chief ruler of the ſynagogue, Gaius and Stephanus, who together with their families embraced the doctrine of the goſpel, and were baptized into the Chriſtian faith. But the conſtant returns of malice and ingratitude are enough to tire the largeſt charity, and cool the moſt generous reſolution: Therefore that the apoſtle might not be diſcouraged by the reſtleſs attempts and machinations of his enemies, our Lord appeared to him in a viſion, told him that notwithſtanding the bad ſucceſs he had hitherto met with, there was a great harveſt to be gathered in that place, that he ſhould not be afraid of his enemies, but go on to preach confidently and ſecurely, for that he himſelf would ſtand by him and preſerve him.

2. About this time, as is moſt probable, he wrote his firſt epiſtle to the Theſſalonians, Silas and Timothy being lately returned from thence, and having done the meſſage for which he had ſent them thither. The main deſign of the epiſtle, is to confirm them in the belief of the Chriſtian religion, and that they would perſevere in it, notwithſtanding all the afflictions and perſecutions, which he had told them would enſue upon their profeſſion of the goſpel, and to inſtruct them in the main duties of a Chriſtian and religious life. While the apoſtle was thus employed, the malice of the Jews was no leſs at work againſt him, and univerſally combining together, they brought him before Gallio the Proconſul of the province, elder brother to the famous Seneca: before him they accuſed the apoſtle as an innovator in religion, that ſought to introduce a new way of worſhip contrary to what was eſtabliſhed by the Jewiſh law, and permitted by the Roman powers. The apoſtle was ready to have pleaded his own cauſe, but the proconſul told them, that had it been a matter of right or wrong, that had fallen under the cognizance of the civil judicature, it had been very fit and reaſonable that he ſhould have heard and determined the caſe, but ſince the controverſy was only concerning the punctilioes and niceties of their religion, it was very improper for him to be a judge in ſuch matters. And when they ſtill clamoured about it, he threw out their indictment, and commanded his officers to drive them out of court. Whereupon ſome of the townſmen ſeized upon Soſthenes, one of the rulers of the Jewiſh conſiſtory, a man active and buſy in this inſurrection, and beat him even before the court of judicature, the proconſul not at all concerning himſelf about it. A year and an half St. Paul continued in this place, and before his departure thence, wrote his ſecond epiſtle to the Theſſalonians, to ſupply the want of his coming to them, which in his former he had reſolved on, and for which, in a manner, he had engaged his promiſe. In this therefore he endeavours again to confirm their minds in the truth of the goſpel, and that they would not be ſhaken with thoſe troubles which the wicked unbelieving Jews would not ceaſe to create them; a loſt and undone race of men, and whom the divine vengeance was ready finally to overtake. And becauſe ſome paſſages in his former letter, relating to this deſtruction, had been miſunderſtood, as if this day of the Lord were juſt then at hand, he rectifies thoſe miſtakes, and ſhews what muſt precede our Lord's coming unto judgment.

3. St. Paul [t] having thus fully planted and cultivated the church at Corinth, reſolved now for Syria. And taking along with him Aquila and Priſcilla, at Cenchrea, the port and harbour of Corinth, Aquila (for of him it is certainly to be underſtood) ſhaved his head, in performance of a Nazarite vow he had formerly made, the time whereof was now run out. In his paſſage into Syria he came to Epheſus, where he preached a while in the ſynagogue of the Jews. And though deſired to ſtay with them, yet having reſolved to be at Jeruſalem at the paſſover (probably that he might have the fitter opportunity to meet his friends, and preach the goſpel to thoſe vaſt numbers that uſually flocked to that great ſolemnity) he promiſed that in his return he would come again to them. Sailing thence, he landed at Cæſarea, and thence went up to Jeruſalem, where having viſited the church, and kept the feaſt, he went down to Antioch. Here having ſtaid ſome time, he traverſed the countries of Galatia, and Phrygia, confirming, as he went,

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[t] Acts xviii. 18.

the new-converted Chriſtians, and ſo came to Epheſus; where finding certain Chriſtian diſciples, he enquired of them, whether, ſince their converſion, they had received the miraculous gifts and powers of the Holy Ghoſt.[t] They told him, that the doctrine which they had received had nothing in it of that nature, nor had they ever heard that any ſuch extraordinary ſpirit had of late been beſtowed upon the church. Hereupon he farther enquired, unto what they had been baptized? (the Chriſtian baptiſm being adminiſtred in the name of the Holy Ghoſt:) They anſwered, they had received no more than John's baptiſm; which though it obliged men to repentance, yet did it explicitly ſpeak nothing of the Holy Ghoſt, or its gifts and powers. To this the apoſtle replied, that though John's baptiſm did openly oblige to nothing but repentance, yet that it did implicitly acknowledge the whole doctrine concerning Chriſt and the Holy Ghoſt. Whereto they aſſenting, were ſolemnly initiated by Chriſtian baptiſm, and the apoſtle laying his hands upon them, they immediately received the Holy Ghoſt, in the gift of tongues, prophecy, and other miraculous powers conferred upon them.

4. After this he entred into the Jewiſh ſynagogues, where for the firſt three months he contended and diſputed with the Jews, endeavouring with great earneſtneſs and reſolution to convince them of the truth of thoſe things that concerned the Chriſtian religion. But when inſtead of ſucceſs, he met with nothing but refractorineſs and infidelity, he left the ſynagogue, and taking thoſe with him whom he had converted, inſtructed them, and others that reſorted to him, in the ſchool of one Tyrannus, a place where ſcholars were wont to be educated and inſtructed. In this manner he continued for two years together: In which time the Jews and proſelytes of the whole proconſular Aſia had opportunity of having the goſpel preached to them. And becauſe miracles are the cleareſt evidence of a divine commiſſion, and the moſt immediate credentials of heaven, thoſe which do neareſt affect our ſenſes, and conſequently have the ſtrongeſt influence upon our minds, therefore God was pleaſed to ratify the doctrine which St. Paul delivered by great and miraculous operations; and thoſe of ſomewhat a more peculiar and extraordinary nature. Inſomuch that he did not only heal thoſe that came to him, but if napkins or handkerchiefs were but touched by him, and applied unto the ſick, their diſeaſes immediately vaniſhed, and the dæmons and evil ſpirits departed out of thoſe that were poſſeſſed by them.

5. Ephesus,[u] above all other places in the world, was noted of old for the ſtudy of magick, and all ſecret and hidden arts, whence the Ἐφέσια γράμματα ſo often ſpoken of by the antients, which were certain obſcure and myſtical ſpells and charms, by which they endeavoured to heal diſeaſes and drive away evil ſpirits, and do things beyond the reach and apprehenſions of common people. Beſides other profeſſors of this black art, there were at this time at Epheſus certain Jews, who dealt in the arts of exorciſm and incantation; a craft and myſtery which [x] Joſephus affirms to have been derived from Solomon; who, he tells us, did not only find it out, but compoſed forms of exorciſm and inchantment, whereby to cure diſeaſes, and expel dæmons, ſo as they ſhould never return again; and adds, καὶ αὕτη μέχρι νῦν παρ' ἡμῖν ἡ θεραπεία πλεῖστον ἰσχύει, *that this art was ſtill in force among the Jews:* inſtances whereof, he tells us, he himſelf had ſeen, having beheld one Eleazar a Jew, in the preſence of Veſpaſian, his ſons, and the great officers of his army, curing Demoniacks, by holding a ring to their noſe, under whoſe ſeal was hid the root of a certain plant, preſcribed by Solomon, at the ſcent whereof the dæmon preſently took leave and was gone, the patient falling to the ground, while the exorciſt, by mentioning Solomon, and reciting ſome charms made by him, ſtood over him, and charged the evil ſpirit never to return. And to let them ſee that he was really gone, he commanded the dæmon as he went out to overturn a cup full of water, which he had cauſed to be ſet in the room before them. In the number of theſe conjurers now at Epheſus, there were the ſeven ſons of Sceva, one of the chief heads of the families of the prieſts, who ſeeing what great things were done by calling over dæmoniacks the name of Chriſt, attempted themſelves to do the like, conjuring the evil ſpirit in the name of that Jeſus, whom Paul preached, to depart. But the ſtubborn dæmon would not obey the warrant, telling them, he knew who Jeſus and Paul were, but did not underſtand what authority they had to uſe his name. And not content with this, forced the dæmoniack violently to fall upon them, to tear their clothes, and wound their bodies, ſcarce ſuffering them to eſcape with the ſafety of their lives. An accident that

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[t] Acts xix. 1.

[u] Ἐφέσια γράμματα, ἐπῳδαί τινες δυσπαρακολούθητοι. Suid. in voc. Ἐφέσ. γράμμ. vid. Clem. Alex. Strom. l. 1. p. 305, 306.

[x] Antiq. Jud. l. 8. cap. 2. p. 257.

begot great terror in the minds of men, and became the occaſion of converting many to the faith, who came to the apoſtle, and confeſſed the former courſe and manner of their lives. Several alſo, who had traded in curious arts, and the myſterious methods of ſpells and charms, freely brought their books of magick rites[y] (whoſe price, had they been to be ſold, according to the rates which men who dealt in thoſe curſed myſteries put upon them, would have amounted to the value of above one thouſand five hundred pounds) and openly burnt them before the people, themſelves adjudging them to thoſe flames, to which they were condemned by the laws of the empire. For ſo we find the [z] Roman laws prohibiting any to keep books of magick arts, and that where any ſuch were found, their goods ſhould be forfeited, the books publickly burned, the perſons baniſhed, and if of a meaner rank, beheaded. Theſe books the penitent converts did of their own accord ſacrifice to the fire, not tempted to ſpare them either by their former love to them, or the preſent price and value of them. With ſo mighty an efficacy did the goſpel prevail over the minds of men.

6. ABOUT this time it was that the apoſtle writ his epiſtle to the Galatians. For he had heard that ſince his departure, corrupt opinions had got in amongſt them about the neceſſary obſervation of the legal rites, and that ſeveral impoſtors were crept into that church, who knew no better way to undermine the doctrine he had planted there, than by vilifying his perſon, ſlighting him as an apoſtle only at the ſecond hand, not to be compared with Peter, James and John, who had familiarly converſed with Chriſt in the days of his fleſh, and been immediately deputed by him. In this epiſtle therefore he reproves them with ſome neceſſary ſmartneſs and ſeverity, that they had been ſo ſoon led out of that right way, wherein he had ſet them, and had ſo eaſily ſuffered themſelves to be impoſed upon by the crafty artifices of ſeducers. He vindicates the honour of his apoſtolate, and the immediate receiving his commiſſion from Chriſt, wherein he ſhews, that he came not behind the very beſt of thoſe apoſtles. He largely refutes thoſe Judaical opinions that had tainted and infected them, and in the concluſion inſtructs them in the rules and duties of an holy life. While the apoſtle thus ſtaid at Epheſus, he reſolved with himſelf to paſs through Macedonia and Achaia, thence to Jeruſalem, and ſo to Rome. But for the preſent altered his reſolution, and continued ſtill at Epheſus.

7. DURING his ſtay in this place, an accident happened, that involved him in great trouble and danger. Epheſus, above all the cities of the Eaſt, was renowned for the famous temple of Diana, one of the ſtatelieſt temples of the world. It was (as [a] Pliny tells us) the very wonder of magnificence, built at the common charges of all Aſia properly ſo called, 220 years (elſewhere[b] he ſays 400) in building, which we are to underſtand of its ſucceſſive rebuildings and reparations, being often waſted and deſtroyed. It was 425 foot long, 220 broad, ſupported by 127 pillars, 60 foot high; for its antiquity, it was in ſome degree before the times of Bacchus, equal to the reign of the Amazons (by whom it is generally ſaid to have been firſt built) as the [c] Epheſian ambaſſadors told Tiberius, till by degrees it grew up into that greatneſs and ſplendor, that it was generally reckoned one of the ſeven wonders of the world. But that which gave the greateſt fame and reputation to it, was an image of Diana kept there, made of no very coſtly materials, but which the crafty prieſts perſuaded the people was beyond all human artifice or contrivement, and that it was immediately formed by Jupiter, and dropt down from heaven, having firſt killed, or baniſhed the artiſts that made it (as [d] Suidas informs us) that the cheat might not be diſcovered, by which means they drew not Epheſus only, but the whole world into a mighty veneration of it. Beſides there were within this temple multitudes of ſilver cabinets, or chappelets, little ſhrines, made in faſhion of the temple, wherein was placed the image of Diana. For the making of theſe holy ſhrines, great numbers of ſilverſmiths were employed and maintained, among whom one Demetrius was a leading man, who foreſeeing that if the Chriſtian religion

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[y] Acts xix. 19. συνεψήφισαν τὰς τιμὰς αὐτῶν, ϗ εὗρον ἀργυρίου μυριάδας πέντε. Ἀργύριον Græcorum valuit Drachmam Atticam, adeóque noſtri 7d. ob. Ac proinde Ἀργυρίου myriades quinque nummi noſtri ſummam conficiunt 1562 l. 10s.

[z] Paul. J. C. Sentent. lib. 5. Sent. 21. Sect. 4. Tit. 23. ad leg. Cornel. de Sicar. & Venefic. vid. leg. 4. ff. famil. hereiſc. Sect. 1. lib. 10. T. 2. & l. 12. C. Theod. de Maleſ. & Mathem. lib. 9. Tit. 16.

[a] H. Natur. lib. 36. c. 14. p. 716.

[b] Lib. 16. c. 40. p. 336.

Σοὶ ϗ Ἀμαζονίδες ——— ———

Ἔγκατε παρραλίῃ Ἐφέσῳ βρέτας ἱδρύσαντο.

——— τοῦ δ' ὔτι θεώτερον ὄψεται ἠώς,

Οὐδ' ἀφνειότερον· ῥέα κεν Πυθῶνα παρέλθοι.

Callim. in Dian. Hymn. 2. p. 23.

——— περιώσιον ἀνδράσι θαῦμα. Dionyſ. Perieg. v. 829.

[c] Tacit. Annal. lib. 3. cap. 61. p. 117.

[d] Suid. in voc. Διοπετές.

ſtill got ground, their gainful trade would ſoon come to nothing, preſently called together the men of his profeſſion, eſpecially thoſe whom he himſelf ſet on work, told them, that now their welfare and livelihood were concerned, and that the fortunes of their wives and children lay at ſtake, that it was plain that this Paul had perverted city and country, and perſuaded the people that the images which they made and worſhipped, were no real gods; by which means their trade was not only like to fall to the ground, but alſo the honour and magnificence of the great goddeſs Diana, whom not Aſia only, but the whole world did worſhip and adore. Enraged with this diſcourſe, they cried out with one voice, that *Great was Diana of the Epheſians.* The whole city was preſently in an uproar, and ſeizing upon two of St. Paul's companions, hurried them into the theatre, probably with a deſign to have caſt them to the wild beaſts. St. Paul hearing of their danger, would have ventured himſelf among them, had not the Chriſtians, nay, ſome even of the Gentile prieſts, governors of the popular games and ſports, earneſtly diſſuaded him from it; well knowing that the people were reſolved, if they could meet with him, to throw him to the wild beaſts, that were kept there for the diſport and pleaſure of the people. And this doubtleſs he means, when elſewhere he tells us, that *he fought with beaſts at Epheſus*, probably intending what the people deſigned, though he did not actually ſuffer; though the brutiſh rage, the ſalvage and inhuman manners of this people did ſufficiently deſerve that the cenſure and character ſhould be fixed upon themſelves.

8. Great was the confuſion of the multitude, the major part not knowing the reaſon of the concourſe. In which diſtraction Alexander, a Jewiſh convert, being thruſt forward by the Jews, to be queſtioned and examined about this matter, he would accordingly have made his apology to the people, intending no doubt to clear himſelf by caſting the whole blame upon St. Paul; this being very probably that Alexander the copperſmith, of whom our apoſtle elſewhere complains, [*] *That he did him much evil, and greatly withſtood his words*, and *whom he delivered over unto ſatan* for his apoſtaſy, for blaſpheming Chriſt, and reproaching chriſtianity. But the multitude perceiving him to be a Jew, and thereby ſuſpecting him to be one of St. Paul's aſſociates, began to raiſe an outcry for near two hours together, wherein nothing could be heard, but *Great is Diana of the Epheſians.* The noiſe being a little over, the recorder, a diſcreet and prudent man, came out and calmly told them, that it was ſufficiently known to all the world, what a mighty honour and veneration the city of Epheſus had for the great goddeſs Diana, and the famous image, which fell from heaven, that therefore there needed not this ſtir to vindicate and aſſert it: that they had ſeized perſons, who were not guilty either of ſacrilege or blaſphemy towards their goddeſs; that if Demetrius and his company had any juſt charge againſt them, the courts were ſitting, and they might prefer their indictment: or if the controverſy were about any other matter, it might be referred to ſuch a proper judicature as the law appoints for the determination of ſuch caſes: That therefore they ſhould do well to be quiet, having done more already than they could anſwer, if called in queſtion, (as it is like they would) there being no cauſe ſufficient to juſtify that day's riotous aſſembly. With which prudent diſcourſe he appeaſed and diſmiſſed the multitude.

9. It was about this time that St. Paul heard of ſome diſturbance in the church at Corinth, hatched and fomented by a pack of falſe heretical teachers, crept in among them, who endeavoured to draw them into parties and factions, by perſuading one party to be for Peter, another for Paul, a third for Apollos, as if the main of religion conſiſted in being of this or that denomination, or in a warm active zeal to decry and oppoſe whoever is not of our narrow ſect. It is a very weak and ſlender claim, when a man holds his religion by no better a title than that he has joined himſelf to this man's church, or that man's congregation, and is zealouſly earneſt to maintain and promote it, to be childiſhly and paſſionately clamorous for one man's mode and way of adminiſtration, or for ſome particular humour or opinion, as if religion lay in nice and curious diſputes, or in ſeparating from our brethren, and not rather *in righteouſneſs, peace, and joy in the Holy Ghoſt.* By this means ſchiſms and factions broke into the Corinthian church, whereby many wild and extravagant opinions, and ſome of them ſuch as undermined the fundamental articles of chriſtianity, were planted, and had taken root there. As the envious man never fiſhes more ſucceſsfully than in troubled waters. To cure theſe diſtempers St. Paul (who had received an account of all theſe by letters which Apollos, and

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[*] 2 Tim. iv. 14. 1 Tim. i. 20.

ſome others had brought to him from the church of Corinth) writes his firſt epiſtle to them. Wherein he ſmartly reproves them for their ſchiſms and parties, conjures them to peace and unity, corrects thoſe groſs corruptions that were introduced among them, and particularly reſolves thoſe many caſes and controverſies, wherein they had requeſted his advice and counſel. Shortly after Apollos deſigning to go for Crete, by him and Zenas St. Paul ſends his epiſtle to Titus, whom he had made biſhop of that iſland, and had left there for the propagating of the goſpel. Herein he fully inſtructs him in the execution of his office, how to carry himſelf, and what directions he ſhould give to others, to all particular ranks and relations of men, eſpecially thoſe who were to be advanced to places of office and authority in the church.

10. A little before St. Paul's departure from Epheſus, we may not improbably ſuppoſe, that Apollonius Tyaneus, the famous philoſopher and magician of the Heathen world, (a man remarkable for the ſtrictneſs of his manners, and his ſober and regular courſe of life, but eſpecially for the great miracles ſaid to have been done by him; whom therefore the Heathens generally ſet up as the great corrival of our Saviour; though ſome of his own party, and particularly [f] Euphratus the philoſopher, who lived with him at the ſame time at Rome, accuſed him for doing his ſtrange feats by magick) came to Epheſus. The enemy of mankind probably deſigning to obſtruct the propagation of chriſtianity, by ſetting up one who by the arts of magick might, at leaſt in the vogue and eſtimation of the people, equal, or eclipſe the miracles of St. Paul. Certain it is, if we compare times and actions ſet down by the writer [g] of his life, we ſhall find that he came hither about the beginning of Nero's reign, and he particularly ſets down the ſtrange things that were done by him, eſpecially his clearing the city of a grievous plague, for which the people of Epheſus had him in ſuch veneration, that they erected a ſtatue to him as to a particular deity, and did divine honour to it. But whether this was before St. Paul's going thence, I will not take upon me to determine; it ſeems moſt probable to have been done afterwards.

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[f] Euſeb. lib. 4. contra Hierocl. p. 530. ad calc. Demonſtr. Evang.

[g] Philoſtr. de vit. Apoll. Tyan. l. 4. cap. 1. p. 159. & c. 12. p. 194. confer. lib. 5. Ibid. lib. 4. c. 3. p. 164. vid. Euſeb. in Hierocl. lib. 4. apud Philoſtr. p. 457.

SECT. V.

St. Paul's acts, from his departure from Epheſus, till his arraignment before Felix.

St. Paul's journey into Macedonia. His preaching as far as Illyricum, and return into Greece. His ſecond epiſtle to the Corinthians, and what the deſign of it. His firſt epiſtle to Timothy. His epiſtle to the Romans, whence written, and with what deſign. St. Paul's preaching at Troas, and raiſing Eutychus. His ſummoning the Aſian biſhops to Miletus, and pathetical diſcourſe to them. His ſtay at Cæſarea with Philip the deacon. The churches paſſionate diſſuading him from going to Jeruſalem. His coming to Jeruſalem, and compliance with the indifferent rites of the Moſaick law, and why. The tumults raiſed againſt him by the Jews, and his reſcue by the Roman captain. His aſſerting his Roman freedom. His carriage before the Sanhedrim. The difference between the Phariſees and Sadducees about him. The Jews conſpiracy againſt his life diſcovered. His being ſent unto Cæſarea.

1. IT was not long after the tumult at Epheſus, when St. Paul having called the church together, and conſtituted Timothy biſhop of that place, took his leave, and departed by Troas for Macedonia. And at this time it was, that, as he himſelf tells us, he *preached the goſpel round about unto Illyricum,*[a] ſince called Sclavonia, ſome parts of Macedonia, bordering on that province. From Macedonia he returned back unto Greece, where he abode three months, and met with Titus, lately come with great contributions from the church at Corinth. By whoſe example he ſtirred up the liberality of the Macedonians, who very freely, and ſomewhat beyond their ability contributed to the poor Chriſtians at Jeruſalem. From Titus he had an account of the preſent ſtate of the church at Corinth; and by him at his return, together with St. Luke, he ſent his ſecond epiſtle to them. Wherein he endeavours to ſet right what his former epiſtle had not yet effected, to vindicate his apoſtleſhip from that contempt and ſcorn, and himſelf from thoſe ſlanders and aſperſions, which the ſeducers, who had found themſelves laſht by his firſt epiſtle, had caſt upon him, together with ſome other particular caſes relating to them. Much about the ſame time he writ his firſt epiſtle to Timothy, whom he had left at Epheſus, wherein at large he counſels him, how to carry himſelf in the diſcharge of that great place and authority in the church, which he had committed to him; inſtructs him in the particular qualifications of thoſe whom he ſhould make choice of, to be biſhops and miniſters in the church. How to order the deaconeſſes, and to inſtruct ſervants, warning him withal of that peſtilent generation of hereticks and ſeducers, that would ariſe in the church. During his three months ſtay in Greece, he went to Corinth, whence he wrote his famous epiſtle to the Romans, which he ſent by Phœbe, a deaconeſs of the church of Cenchrea, nigh Corinth: wherein his main deſign is fully to ſtate and determine the great controverſy between the Jews and Gentiles, about the obligation of the rites and ceremonies of the Jewiſh law, and thoſe main and material doctrines of chriſtianity, which did depend upon it, ſuch as of chriſtian liberty, the uſe of indifferent things, &c. And which is the main end of all religion, inſtructs them in, and preſſes them to the duties of an holy and good life, ſuch as the Chriſtian doctrine does naturally tend to oblige men to.

2. St. Paul being now reſolved for Syria, to convey the contributions to the brethren at Jeruſalem, was a while diverted from that reſolution, by a deſign he was told of which the Jews had to kill and rob him by the way. Whereupon he went back into Macedonia, and ſo came to Philippi, and thence went to Troas, where having ſtaid a week, on the Lord's-Day the church met together to receive the holy ſacrament. Here St. Paul preached to them, and continued his diſcourſe till midnight, the longer probably, being the next day to depart from them. The length of his diſcourſe, and the time of the night had cauſed ſome of his auditors to be overtaken with ſleep and drowzineſs, among whom a young man called Eutychus, being faſt aſleep, fell down

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[a] Acts xx. 1.

from the third ſtory, and was taken up dead, but whom St. Paul preſently reſtored to life and health. How indefatigable was the induſtry of our apoſtle: how cloſe did he tread in his maſter's ſteps, who *went about doing good!* He compaſſed ſea and land, preached and wrought miracles where-ever he came. In every place like a wiſe maſter-builder, he either laid a foundation, or raiſed the ſuperſtructure. He was *inſtant in ſeaſon and out of ſeaſon*, and ſpared not his pains, either night or day, that he might do good to the ſouls of men. The night being thus ſpent in holy exerciſes, St. Paul in the morning took his leave, and went on foot to Aſſos, a ſea-port town, whither he had ſent his company by ſea. Thence they ſet ſail to Mitylene; from thence to Samos, and having ſtaid ſome little time at Trogyllium, the next day came to Miletus, not ſo much as putting in at Epheſus, becauſe the apoſtle was reſolved, if poſſible, to be at Jeruſalem at the feaſt of Pentecoſt.

3. At Miletus he ſent to Epheſus,[b] to ſummon the biſhops and governors of the church, who being come, he put them in mind with what uprightneſs and integrity, with what affection and humility, with how great trouble and danger, with how much faithfulneſs to their ſouls he had been converſant among them, and had preached the goſpel to them, ever ſince his firſt coming into thoſe parts: That he had not failed to acquaint them both publickly and privately with whatever might be uſeful and profitable to them, urging both upon Jews and Gentiles repentance and reformation of life, and an hearty entertainment of the faith of Chriſt: That now he was reſolved to go to Jeruſalem, where he did not know what particular ſufferings would befal him, more than this, that it had been foretold him in every place by thoſe who were endued with the prophetical gifts of the Holy Ghoſt, that afflictions and impriſonment would attend him there: But that he was not troubled at this, no nor unwilling to lay down his life, ſo he might but ſucceſsfully preach the goſpel, and faithfully ſerve his Lord in that place and ſtation wherein he had ſet him: that he knew that henceforth they ſhould ſee his face no more, but that this was his encouragement and ſatisfaction, that they themſelves could bear him witneſs, that he had not by concealing from them any parts of the Chriſtian doctrine, betrayed their ſouls: that as for themſelves, whom God had made biſhops and paſtors of his church, they ſhould be careful to feed, guide and direct thoſe Chriſtians under their inſpection, and be infinitely tender of the good of ſouls, for whoſe redemption Chriſt laid down his own life: that all the care they could uſe was no more than neceſſary, it being certain, that after his departure, heretical teachers would break in among them, and endanger the ruin of men's ſouls; nay, that even among themſelves, there would ſome ariſe, who by ſubtil and crafty methods, by corrupt and pernicious doctrines would gain proſelytes to their party, and thereby make rents and ſchiſms in the church: that therefore they ſhould watch, remembring with what tears and ſorrow he had for three years together warned them of theſe things: that now he recommended them to the divine care and goodneſs, and to the rules and inſtructions of the goſpel, which if adhered to, would certainly diſpoſe and perfect them for that ſtate of happineſs which God had prepared for good men in heaven. In ſhort, that he had all along dealt faithfully and uprightly with them, they might know from hence, that in all his preaching he had no crafty or covetous deſigns upon any man's eſtate or riches, having (as themſelves could witneſs) induſtriouſly laboured with his own hands, and by his own work maintained both himſelf and his company: herein leaving them an example, what pains they ought to take to ſupport the weak, and relieve the poor, rather than to be themſelves chargeable unto others; according to that incomparable ſaying of our Saviour (which ſurely St. Paul had received from ſome of thoſe that had converſed with him in the days of his fleſh) *It is more bleſſed to give, than to receive.* This *Concio ad Clerum*, or *viſitation ſermon* being ended, the apoſtle kneeled down, and concluded all with prayer. Which done they all melted into tears, and with the greateſt expreſſions of ſorrow attended him to the ſhip, though that which made the deepeſt impreſſion upon their minds was, that he had told them, *That they ſhould ſee his face no more.*

4. Departing from Miletus,[c] they arrived at Coos, thence came to Rhodes, thence to Patara, thence to Tyre; where meeting with ſome Chriſtians, he was adviſed by thoſe among them, who had the gift of prophecy, that he ſhould not go up to Jeruſalem: with them he ſtaid a week, and then going all together to the ſhore, he kneeled down and prayed with them, and having mutually embraced one another, he went on board, and came to Ptolemais, where only ſaluting the brethren, they came

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[b] Acts xxi. 17.

[c] Acts xx. 1.

next day unto Cæſarea. Here they lodged in the houſe of Philip the evangeliſt, one of the ſeven deacons that were at firſt ſet apart by the apoſtles, who had four virgin-daughters, all endued with the gift of prophecy. During their ſtay in this place, Agabus a Chriſtian prophet came down hither, from Judæa, who taking Paul's girdle, bound with it his own hands and feet, telling them, that by this external ſymbol the Holy Ghoſt did ſignify and declare, that St. Paul ſhould be thus ſerved by the Jews at Jeruſalem, and be by them delivered over into the hands of the Gentiles. Whereupon they all paſſionately beſought him, that he would divert his courſe to ſome other place. The apoſtle aſked them, what they meant by theſe compaſſionate diſſuaſives to add more affliction to his ſorrow? that he was willing and reſolved not only to be impriſoned, but if need were, to die at Jeruſalem for the ſake of Chriſt and his religion. Finding his reſolution fixed and immoveable, they importuned him no farther, but left the event to the divine will and pleaſure. All things being in readineſs, they ſet forwards on their journey, and being come to Jeruſalem, were kindly and joyfully entertained by the Chriſtians there.

5. The next day after their arrival, St. Paul [d] and his company went to the houſe of St. James the apoſtle, where the reſt of the biſhops and governors of the church were met together; after mutual ſalutations, he gave them a particular account with what ſucceſs God had bleſſed him in propagating chriſtianity among the Gentiles, for which they all heartily bleſſed God, but withal told him, that he was now come to a place, where there were many thouſands of Jewiſh converts, who all retained a mighty zeal and veneration for the law of Moſes, and who had been informed of him, that he taught the Jews, whom he had converted, in every place, to renounce circumciſion, and the ceremonies of the law: that as ſoon as the multitude heard of his arrival, they would come together to ſee how he behaved himſelf in this matter; and therefore to prevent ſo much diſturbance, it was adviſable, that there being four men there at that time, who were to accompliſh a vow, (probably not the Nazarite vow, but ſome other, which they had made for deliverance from ſickneſs, or ſome other imminent danger and diſtreſs; for ſo [e] Joſephus tells us, they were wont to do in ſuch caſes, and before they came to offer the accuſtomed ſacrifices, to abſtain for ſome time from wine, and to ſhave their heads) he would join himſelf to them, perform the uſual rites and ceremonies with them, and provide ſuch ſacrifices for them, as the law required in that caſe; and that in diſcharge of their vow, they might ſhave their heads. Whereby it would appear, that the reports which were ſpread concerning him were falſe and groundleſs, and that he himſelf did ſtill obſerve the rites and orders of the Moſaical inſtitution: that as for the Gentile converts, they required no ſuch obſervances at their hands, nor expected any thing more from them in theſe indifferent matters, than what had been before determined by the apoſtolical ſynod in that place. St. Paul (who in ſuch things was willing *to become all things to all men, that he might gain the more*) conſented to the counſel which they gave him, and taking the perſons along with him to the temple, told the prieſts, that the time of a vow which they had made being now run out, and having purified themſelves, as the nature of the caſe required, they were come to make their offerings according to the law.

6. The ſeven days wherein thoſe ſacrifices were to be offered being now almoſt ended, ſome Jews that were come from Aſia (where, probably, they had oppoſed St. Paul) now finding him in the temple, began to raiſe a tumult and uproar, and laying hold of him, called out to the reſt of the Jews for their aſſiſtance: telling them, that this was the fellow, that every where vented doctrines derogatory to the prerogative of the Jewiſh nation, deſtructive to the inſtitutions of the law, and to the purity of that place, which he had profaned by bringing in uncircumciſed Greeks into it: poſitively concluding, that becauſe they had ſeen Trophimus a Gentile convert of Epheſus with him in the city, therefore he had brought him alſo into the temple. So apt is malice to make any premiſſes, from whence it may infer its own concluſion. Hereupon the whole city was preſently in an uproar, and ſeizing upon him, they dragged him out of the temple, the doors being preſently ſhut againſt him. Nor had they failed there to put a period to all his troubles, had not Claudius Lyſias, commander of the Roman garriſon in the tower of Antonia, come in with ſome ſoldiers to his reſcue and deliverance; and ſuppoſing him to be a more than ordinary malefactor, commanded a double chain to be put upon him, though as yet altogether ignorant, either who he, or what his crime was, and wherein he could receive little ſatiſfaction from the clamorous multitude, who called for nothing but his death, following the cry with ſuch crouds and numbers, that the ſoldiers were forced to

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[d] Acts xxi. 18.

[e] De Bell. Jud. lib. 2. c. 15.

take him into their arms, to ſecure him from the preſent rage and violence of the people. As they were going up into the caſtle, St. Paul aſked the governor, whether he might have the liberty to ſpeak to him, who finding him to ſpeak Greek, enquired of him, whether he was not that Egyptian, which a few years before had raiſed a ſedition in Judæa, and headed a party of four thouſand debauched and profligate wretches. The apoſtle replied, that he was a Jew of Tarſus, a freeman of a rich and honourable city, and therefore begged of him, that he might have leave to ſpeak to the people. Which the captain readily granted; and ſtanding near the door of the caſtle, and making ſigns that they would hold their peace, he began to addreſs himſelf to them in the Hebrew language: which when they heard, they became a little more calm and quiet, while he diſcourſed to them to this effect.

7. HE gave them an account of himſelf from his birth, [f] of his education in his youth, of the mighty zeal which he had for the rites and cuſtoms of their religion, and with what a paſſionate earneſtneſs he perſecuted and put to death all the Chriſtians that he met with, whereof the high-prieſt and the Sanhedrim could be ſufficient witneſſes. He next gave them an entire and punctual relation of the way and manner of his converſion, and how that he had received an immediate command from God himſelf to depart Jeruſalem, and preach unto the Gentiles. At this word the patience of the Jews could hold no longer, but they unanimouſly cried out, to have him put to death, it not being fit that ſuch a villain ſhould live upon the earth. And the more to expreſs their fury, they threw off their cloaths, and caſt duſt into the air, as if they immediately deſigned to ſtone him. To avoid which the captain of the guard commanded him to be brought within the caſtle, and that he ſhould be examined by whipping, till he confeſſed the reaſon of ſo much rage againſt him. [g] While the Lictor was binding him in order to it, he aſked the Centurion that ſtood by, whether they could juſtify the ſcourging a citizen of Rome, and that before any ſentence legally paſſed upon him. This the Centurion preſently intimated to the governor of the caſtle, bidding him have a care what he did, for the priſoner was a Roman. Whereat the governor himſelf came, and aſked him, whether he was a free Denizon of Rome? and being told that he was, he replied, that it was a great priviledge, a privilege which he himſelf had purchaſed at a conſiderable rate. To whom St. Paul anſwered, that it was his birth-right, and the privilege of the place where he was born and bred. Hereupon they gave over their deſign of whipping him, the commander himſelf being a little ſtartled, that he had bound and chained a denizon of Rome.

8. THE next day the governor commanded his chains to be knocked off, and that he might throughly ſatiſfy himſelf in the matter, commanded the Sanhedrim to meet, and brought down Paul before them: where being ſet before the council, he told them, that in all paſſages of his life he had been careful to act according to the ſevereſt rules and conſcience of his duty. [h] *Men and brethren, I have lived in all good conſcience before God until this day.* Behold here the great ſecurity of a good man, and what inviſible ſupports innocency affords under greateſt danger.[i] With how generous a confidence does virtue and honeſty guard the breaſt of a good man! as indeed nothing elſe can lay a firm baſis and foundation for ſatisfaction and tranquillity, when any miſery or calamity does overtake us. Religion and a good conſcience beget peace and a heaven in the man's boſom, beyond the power of the little accidents of this world to ruffle and diſcompoſe. Whence [k] Seneca compares the mind of a wiſe and good man to the ſtate of the upper region, which is always ſerene and calm. The high-prieſt Ananias being offended at the holy and ingenuous freedom of our apoſtle, as if by aſſerting his own innocency, he had reproached the juſtice of their tribunal, commanded thoſe that ſtood next him, to ſtrike
him

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[f] Acts xxii. 1.

[g] Cædebatur virgis in medio foro Meſſanæ Civis Romanus, cum interea nullus gemitus, nulla vox alia iſtius miſeri audiebatur, niſi hæc, Civis Romanus ſum. Hac ſe commemoratione Civitatis omnia verbera depulſurum arbitrabatur. —O nomen dulce libertatis! O jus eximium noſtræ civitatis! O lex Porcia, legéſque Semproniæ! Cicer. in Ver. lib. 7. Tom. 2. p. 218. Facinus eſt vincire Civem Romanum, ſcelus verberare. Id. ib. p. 220. vid. ſuprà Sect. 3. Num. 4.

[h] Acts xxiii. 1.

[i] Εἰς αὐτὸν συνειλοῦ, φύσιν ἔχει τὸ λογικὸν ἡγεμονικὸν, ἑαυτῷ ἀρκεῖσθαι δικαιοπραγοῦντι, ϗ παρ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο γαλήνην ἔχοντι. M. Ant. τῶν εἰς ἑαυτ. lib. 7. Sect. 28. p. 63.

Juſtum & tenacem propoſiti Virum,
Non Civium ardor prava jubentium,
Non vultus inſtantis tyranni
Mente quatit ſolida: neque Auſter
Dux inquieti turbidus Adriæ,
Nec fulminantis magna Jovis manus.
Si fractus illabatur orbis,
Impavidum ferient ruinæ.

Horat. Carm. l. 3. Od. 3. p. 154.

[k] Sapiens ille eſt plenus gaudio, hilaris, & placidus, inconcuſſus, cum diis ex pari vivit: per dies noctéſque par & æqualis animi tenor erecti & placentis ſibi eſt. — Talis eſt ſapientis animus, qualis mundi ſtatus ſuper Lunam, ſemper illic ſerenum eſt, nunquam ſine gaudio eſt. Gaudium hoc non naſcitur, niſi ex virtutum conſcientia.

Senec. Epiſt. 59. p. 152.

him in the face; whereto the apoſtle tartly replied, that God would ſmite him, hypocrite as he was, who under a pretence of doing juſtice, had illegally commanded him to be puniſhed, before the law condemned him for a malefactor. Whereupon they that ſtood by asked him, how he durſt thus affront ſo ſacred and venerable a perſon as God's high-prieſt? He calmly returned, that he did not know [or own] Ananias to be an high-prieſt [of God's appointment.][1] However being a perſon in authority, it was not lawful to revile him, God himſelf having commanded, that *no man ſhould ſpeak evil of the ruler of the people.* The apoſtle, who as he never laid aſide the innocency of the dove, ſo knew how, when occaſion was, to make uſe of the wiſdom of the ſerpent, perceiving the council to conſiſt partly of Sadducees, and partly of Phariſees, openly told them, that he was a Phariſee, and the ſon of a Phariſee, and that the main thing he was queſtioned for, was his belief of a future reſurrection. This quickly divided the council, the Phariſees being zealous patrons of that article, and the Sadducees as ſtifly denying, that there is either angel (that is, of a ſpiritual and immortal nature, really ſubſiſting of itſelf; for otherwiſe they cannot be ſuppoſed to have utterly denied all ſorts of angels, ſeeing they owned the Pentateuch wherein there is frequent mention of them) or ſpirit, or that human ſouls do exiſt in a ſeparate ſtate, and conſequently that there is no reſurrection. Preſently the doctors of the law, who were Phariſees, ſtood up to acquit him, affirming he had done nothing amiſs, that it was poſſible he had received ſome intimation from heaven by an angel, or the revelation of the holy ſpirit; and if ſo, then in oppoſing his doctrine, they might fight againſt God himſelf.

9. GREAT were the diſſenſions in the council about this matter, inſomuch that the governor fearing St. Paul would be torn in pieces, commanded the ſoldiers to take him from the bar, and return him back into the caſtle. That night to comfort him after all his frights and fears, God was pleaſed to appear to him in a viſion, encouraging him to conſtancy and reſolution, aſſuring him that as he had born witneſs to his cauſe at Jeruſalem, ſo in deſpite of all his enemies he ſhould live to bear his teſtimony, even at Rome itſelf. The next morning the Jews, who could as well ceaſe to be, as to be miſchievous and malicious, finding that theſe dilatory proceedings were not like to do the work, reſolved upon a quicker diſpatch. To which end above forty of them entred into a wicked confederacy, which they ratified by oath and execration, never to eat or drink till they had killed him; and having acquainted the Sanhedrim with their deſign, they intreated them to importune the governor, that he might again the next day be brought down before them, under pretence of a more ſtrict trial of his caſe, and that they themſelves would lie in ambuſh by the way, and not fail to diſpatch him. But that Divine Providence that peculiarly ſuperintends the ſafety of good men, *diſappoints the devices of the crafty.* The deſign was diſcovered to St. Paul by a nephew of his, and by him imparted to the governor, who immediately commanded two parties of foot and horſe, to be ready by nine of the clock that night, and proviſion to be made for St. Paul's carriage to Felix the Roman governor of that province: to whom alſo he wrote, ſignifying whom he had ſent, how the Jews had uſed him, and that his enemies alſo ſhould appear before him to manage the charge and accuſation. Accordingly he was by night conducted to Antipatris, and afterwards to Cæſarea, where the letters being delivered to Felix, the apoſtle was preſented to him: and finding that he belonged to the province of Cilicia, he told him, that as ſoon as his accuſers were arrived he ſhould have an hearing, commanding him in the mean time to be ſecured in the place called Herod's Hall.

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[1] Hæc Pauli verba Ananias & apparitores ſic accipiebant, quaſi excuſaret Paulus quod ſibi in iſtis malis conſtituto non ſatis in mentem veniſſet, quicum ſibi res eſſet. Verum latentior ſenſus ſuberat, non eſſe eum ſacerdotem, aut principem Senatûs, qui eas dignitates pretio comparâſſet. Didicerat enim hoc à Gamaliele Paulus; Judicem qui honoris conſequendi causâ pecunias dederit, reverà neque judicem eſſe, neque honorandum, ſed aſini habendum loco, ut eſt in Titulo Talmudico de Synedrio. Grot. in loc.

SECT. VI.

Of St. Paul, from his firſt trial before Felix, till his coming to Rome.

St. Paul impleaded before Felix by Tertullus the Jewiſh advocate. His charge of ſedition, hereſy and profanation of the temple. St. Paul's reply to the ſeveral parts of the charge. His ſecond hearing before Felix and Druſilla. His ſmart and impartial reaſonings. Felix his great injuſtice and oppreſſion: his luxury and intemperance, bribery and covetouſneſs. St. Paul's arraignment before Feſtus, Felix his ſucceſſor, at Cæſarea. His appeal to Cæſar. The nature and manner of thoſe appeals. He is again brought before Feſtus and Agrippa. His vindication of himſelf, and the goodneſs of his cauſe. His being acquitted by his judges of any capital crime. His voyage to Rome. The trouble and danger of it. Their ſhipwreck, and being caſt upon the iſland Melita. Their courteous entertainment by the Barbarians, and their different cenſure of St. Paul. The civil uſage of the governor, and his converſion to chriſtianity. St. Paul met and conducted by chriſtians to Rome.

1. NOT many days after down comes Ananias[a] the high-prieſt, with ſome others of the Sanhedrim to Cæſarea, accompanied with Tertullus their advocate, who in a ſhort but neat ſpeech, ſet off with all the flattering and inſinuative arts of eloquence, began to implead our apoſtle, charging him with ſedition, hereſy, and the profanation of the temple: That they would have ſaved him the trouble of this hearing, by judging him according to their own law, had not Lyſias the commander violently taken him from them, and ſent both him and them down thither. To all which the Jews that were with him gave in their vote and teſtimony. St. Paul having leave from Felix to defend himſelf, and having told him, how much he was ſatisfied that he was to plead before one, who for ſo many years had been governor of that nation, diſtinctly anſwered to the ſeveral parts of the charge.

2. AND firſt for ſedition, he point-blank denied it, affirming that they found him behaving himſelf quietly and peaceably in the temple, not ſo much as diſputing there, nor ſtirring up the people either in the ſynagogues, or any other place of the city. And though this was plauſibly pretended by them, yet were they never able to make it good. As for the charge of Hereſy, that he was a ring-leader of the ſect of the Nazarenes, he ingenuouſly acknowledged that after the way which they counted hereſy, ſo he worſhiped God, the ſame way in ſubſtance wherein all the patriarchs of the Jewiſh nation had worſhipped God before him, taking nothing into his Creed, but what the authentick writers of the Jews themſelves did own and juſtify: that he firmly believed, what the better of themſelves were ready to grant, another life, and a future reſurrection: in the hope and expectation whereof he was careful to live unblameable, and conſcientiouſly to do his duty both to God and men. As for the third part of the charge, his profaning of the temple, he ſhews how little foundation there was for it, that the deſign of his coming to Jeruſalem was to bring charitable contributions to his diſtreſſed brethren, that he was indeed in the temple, but not as ſome Aſiatick Jews falſly ſuggeſted, either with tumult or with multitude, but only purifying himſelf according to the rites and cuſtoms of the moſaick law: and that if any would affirm the contrary, they ſhould now come into open court, and make it good. Nay, that he appealed to thoſe of the Sanhedrim that were there preſent, whether he had not been acquitted by their own great council at Jeruſalem, where nothing of moment had been laid to his charge, except by them of the Sadducean party, who quarrelled with him only for aſſerting the doctrine of the reſurrection. Felix having thus heard both parties argue, refuſed to make any final determination in the caſe, till he had more fully adviſed about it, and ſpoken with Lyſias, commander of the garriſon, who was beſt able to give an account of the ſedition and the

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[a] Acts xxiv. 1.

tumult; commanding in the mean time that St. Paul ſhould be under guard, but yet in ſo free a cuſtody, that none of his friends ſhould be hindred from viſiting him, or performing any office of kindneſs and friendſhip to him.

3. It was not long after this before his wife Druſilla (a Jeweſs, daughter of the elder Herod, and whom Tacitus, I fear by a miſtake for his former wife Druſilla, daughter to Juba king of Mauritania, makes niece to Anthony and Cleopatra) came to him to Cæſarea. Who being preſent, he ſent for St. Paul to appear before them, and gave him leave to diſcourſe concerning the doctrine of chriſtianity. In his diſcourſe he took occaſion particularly to inſiſt upon the great obligation, which the laws of Chriſt lay upon men to juſtice and righteouſneſs toward one another, to ſobriety and chaſtity both towards themſelves and others, withal urging that ſevere and impartial account that muſt be given in the judgment of the other world, wherein men ſhall be arraigned for all the actions of their paſt life, and be eternally puniſhed or rewarded according to their works. A diſcourſe wiſely adapted by the apoſtle to Felix his ſtate and temper. But corroſives are very uneaſy to a guilty mind: men naturally hate that which *brings their ſins to their remembrance*, and ſharpens the ſting of a violated conſcience. The prince was ſo netled with the apoſtle's reaſonings, that he fell a trembling, and cauſed the apoſtle to break off abruptly, telling him, he would hear the reſt at ſome other ſeaſon. And good reaſon there was that Felix's conſcience ſhould be ſenſibly alarmed with theſe reflections, being a man notoriouſly infamous for rapine and violence. [b] Tacitus tells us of him, that he made his will the law of his government, practiſing all manner of cruelty and injuſtice. And then for incontinency, he was given over to luxury and debauchery, for the compaſſing whereof he ſcrupled not to violate all laws both of God and man. Whereof this very wife Druſilla was a famous [c] inſtance. For being married by her brother to Azis king of the Emiſenes, Felix, who had heard of her incomparable beauty, by the help of Simon the magician, a Jew of Cyprus, raviſhed her from her huſband's bed, and in defiance of all law and right, kept her for his own wife. To theſe qualities he had added bribery and covetouſneſs, and therefore frequently ſent for St. Paul to diſcourſe with him, expecting that he ſhould have given him a conſiderable ſum for his releaſe; and the rather probably, becauſe he had heard that St. Paul had lately brought up great ſums of money to Jeruſalem. But finding no offers made, either by the apoſtle or his friends, he kept him priſoner for two years together, ſo long as himſelf continued procurator of that nation, when being diſplaced by Nero, he left St. Paul ſtill in priſon, on purpoſe to gratify the Jews, and engage them to ſpeak better of him after his departure from them.

4. To him ſucceeded Portius Feſtus [d] in the procuratorſhip of the province, at whoſe firſt coming to Jeruſalem, the high-prieſt and Sanhedrim preſently began to prefer to him an indictment againſt St. Paul, deſiring, that in order to his trial, he might be ſent for up from Cæſarea, deſigning under this pretence that ſome aſſaſſinates ſhould lie in the way to murder him. Feſtus told them, that he himſelf was going ſhortly for Cæſarea, and that if they had any thing againſt St. Paul, they ſhould come down thither and accuſe him. Accordingly being come to Cæſarea, and ſitting in open judicature, the Jews began to renew the charge which they had heretofore brought againſt St. Paul: of all which he cleared himſelf, they not being able to make any proof againſt him. However Feſtus, being willing to oblige the Jews in the entrance upon his government, aſked him, whether he would go up and be tried before him at Jeruſalem? The apoſtle well underſtanding the conſequences of that propoſal, told him that he was a Roman, and therefore ought to be judged by their laws, that he ſtood now at Cæſar's own judgment-ſeat (as indeed what was done by the emperor's procurator in any province, the [e] law reckoned as done by the emperor himſelf) and though he ſhould ſubmit to the Jewiſh tribunal, yet he himſelf ſaw, that they had nothing which they could prove againſt him; that if he had done any thing which really deſerved capital puniſhment, he was willing to undergo it; but if not, he ought not to be delivered over to his enemies, who were before-hand reſolved to take away his life. However, as the ſafeſt courſe, he ſolemnly made his appeal to the Roman emperor, who ſhould judge between them. Whereupon Feſtus adviſing with the Jewiſh Sanhedrim, received his appeal, and told him he ſhould go to Cæſar. This way of appealing was

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[b] Hiſtor. lib. 5. c. 9. p. 538. vid. Annal. lib. 12. c. 54. p. 234.

[c] Joſeph. Antiquit. Jud. lib. 20. c. 5. p. 693.

[d] Acts xxv. 1.

[e] L. 1. ff. de Offic. Procur. Cæſar. lib. 1. Tit. 19.

frequent among the Romans, introduced to defend and ſecure the lives and fortunes of the populacy from the unjuſt incroachments, and over-rigorous ſeverities of the magiſtrates, whereby it was lawful in caſes of oppreſſion to appeal to the people for redreſs and reſcue, a thing more than once and again ſettled by the ſanction of the Valerian laws. Theſe [f] appeals were wont to be made in writing, by appellatory libels given in, wherein was contained an account of the appellant, the perſon againſt whom, and from whoſe ſentence he did appeal. But where the caſe was done in open court, it was enough for the criminal verbally to declare that he did appeal: [g] in great and weighty caſes appeals were made to the prince himſelf, and that not only at Rome, but in the provinces of the empire, all proconſuls and governors of provinces being ſtrictly [h] forbidden to execute, ſcourge, bind, or put any badge of ſervility upon a citizen, or any that had the privilege of a citizen of Rome, who had made his appeal, or any ways to hinder him from going thither, to obtain juſtice at the hands of the emperor, who had as much regard to the liberty of his ſubjects (ſays the law itſelf) as they could have of their good-will and obedience to him. And this was exactly St. Paul's caſe, who knowing that he ſhould have no fair and equitable dealing at the hands of the governor, when once he came to be ſwayed by the Jews, his ſworn and inveterate enemies, appealed from him to the emperor, the reaſon why Feſtus durſt not deny his demand, it being a privilege ſo often, ſo plainly ſettled and confirmed by the Roman laws.

5. SOME time after king Agrippa, who ſucceeded Herod in the tetrarchate of Galilee, and his ſiſter Bernice came to Cæſarea, to make a viſit to the new-come governor. To him Feſtus gave an account of St. Paul, and the great ſtir and trouble that had been made about him, and how for his ſafety and vindication he had immediately appealed to Cæſar. Agrippa was very deſirous to ſee and hear him, and accordingly the next day the king and his ſiſter, accompanied with Feſtus the governor, and other perſons of quality, came into the court with a pompous and magnificent retinue, where the priſoner was brought forth before him. Feſtus having acquainted the king and the aſſembly, how much he had been ſollicited by the Jews both at Cæſarea and Jeruſalem, concerning the priſoner at the bar, that as a notorious malefactor he might be put to death, but that having found him guilty of no capital crime, and the priſoner himſelf having appealed to Cæſar, he was reſolved to ſend him to Rome; but yet was willing to have his caſe again diſcuſſed before Agrippa, that ſo he might be furniſhed with ſome material inſtructions to ſend along with him, ſince it was very abſurd to ſend a priſoner, without ſignifying what crimes were charged upon him.

6. HEREUPON Agrippa told the apoſtle, [i] he had liberty to make his own defence. To whom, after ſilence made, he particularly addreſſed his ſpeech; he tells him in the firſt place what a happineſs he had, that he was to plead before one ſo exactly verſed in all the rites and cuſtoms, the queſtions and the controverſies of the Jewiſh law, that the Jews themſelves knew what had been the courſe and manner of his life, how he had been educated under the inſtitutions of the Phariſees, the ſtricteſt ſect of the whole Jewiſh religion, and had been particularly diſquieted and arraigned for what had been the conſtant belief of all their fathers, what was ſufficiently credible in itſelf, and plainly enough revealed in the ſcripture, the reſurrection of the dead. He next gave him an account with what a bitter and implacable zeal he had formerly perſecuted chriſtianity, told him the whole ſtory and method of his converſion, and that in compliance with a particular viſion from heaven, he had preached repentance and reformation of life firſt to the Jews, and then after to the Gentiles: that it was for no other things than theſe that the Jews apprehended him in the temple, and deſigned to murder him; but being reſcued and upheld by a divine power, he continued in this teſtimony to this day, aſſerting nothing but what was perfectly agreeable to Moſes and the prophets, who had plainly foretold that the Meſſiah ſhould both be put to death and riſe again, and by his doctrine enlighten both the Jewiſh and the Gentile world. While he was thus diſcourſing, Feſtus openly cried out, that he talked like a mad-man, that his over-much ſtudy had put him beſide himſelf. The apoſtle calmly replied, he was far from being tranſported with idle and diſtracted humours, that he ſpake nothing but what was moſt true and real in itſelf, and what very well became that grave, ſober auditory. And then again, addreſſing himſelf to Agrippa, told him, that theſe things having been open and publick, he could not but be acquainted with them; that he was confident that he believed the prophets, and

[f] Leg. 1. Sect. 4. ff. de appellat. lib. 49. Tit. 1.

[g] Leg. 2 & 3. ibid.

[h] Ibid. Leg. 25. & l. 7. ff. ad Leg. Jul. de vi public. lib. 48. Tit. 6.

[i] Acts xxvi. 1.

and muſt needs therefore know that thoſe prophecies were fulfilled in Chriſt. Hereat Agrippa replied, that he had in ſome degree perſuaded him to imbrace the Chriſtian faith. To which the apoſtle returned, that he heartily prayed, that not only he, but the whole auditory were, not only in ſome meaſure, but altogether, though not priſoners, yet as much Chriſtians as he himſelf was. This done, the king and the governor, and the reſt of the council withdrew a-while, to confer privately about this matter. And finding by the accuſations brought againſt him, that he was not guilty by the Roman laws of any capital offence, no nor of any that deſerved ſo much as impriſonment, Agrippa told Feſtus, that he might have been releaſed, if he had not appealed unto Cæſar. For the appeal being once made, the judge had then no power either to abſolve or condemn, the cauſe being intirely reſerved to the cognizance of that ſuperior, to whom the criminal had appealed.

7. It was now finally reſolved that St. Paul ſhould be ſent to Rome:[k] in order whereunto he was, with ſome other priſoners of remark, committed to the charge of Julius, commander of a company belonging to the Legion of Auguſtus; accompanied in this voyage by St. Luke, Ariſtarchus, Trophimus, and ſome others. In September, Ann. Chr. LVI. or as others, LVII. they went on board a ſhip of Adramyttium, and ſailed to Sidon, where the captain civilly gave the apoſtle leave to go a-ſhoar to viſit his friends, and refreſh himſelf: Hence to Cyprus, till they came to the Fair-Havens, a place near Myra, a city of Lycia. Here, winter growing on, and St. Paul foreſeeing it would be a dangerous voyage, perſuaded them to put in, and winter. But the captain preferring the judgment of the maſter of the ſhip, and eſpecially becauſe of the incommodiouſneſs of the harbour, reſolved, if poſſible, to reach Phœnice, a port of Crete, and to winter there. But it was not long before they found themſelves diſappointed of their hopes: for the calm ſoutherly gale that blew before, ſuddenly changed into a ſtormy and bluſtring north-eaſt wind, which ſo bore down all before it, that they were forced to let the ſhip drive at the pleaſure of the wind; but as much as might be, to prevent ſplitting, or running a-ground, they threw out a great part of their lading, and the tackle of the ſhip. Fourteen days they remained in this deſperate and uncomfortable condition, neither ſun nor ſtars appearing for a great part of the time; the apoſtle putting them in mind how ill adviſed they were in not taking his counſel: howbeit they ſhould be of good cheer, for that that God whom he ſerved and worſhipped, had the laſt night purpoſely ſent an angel from heaven, to let him know, that notwithſtanding the preſent danger they were in, yet that he ſhould be brought ſafe before Nero; that they ſhould be ſhipwreck'd indeed, and caſt upon an iſland, but that for his ſake God had ſpared all in the ſhip, not one whereof ſhould miſcarry; and that he did not doubt, but that it would accordingly come to paſs. On the fourteenth night, upon ſounding they found themſelves nigh ſome coaſt; and therefore to avoid rocks, thought good to come to an anchor, till the morning might give them better information. In the mean time the ſea-men (who beſt underſtood the danger) were preparing to get into the ſkiff, to ſave themſelves; which St. Paul eſpying, told the captain, that unleſs they all ſtayed in the ſhip, none could be ſafe: whereupon the ſoldiers cut the ropes, and let the ſkiff fall off into the ſea. Between this and day-break the apoſtle adviſed them to eat and refreſh themſelves, having all this time kept no ordinary and regular meals, aſſuring them they ſhould all eſcape. Himſelf firſt taking bread, and having bleſſed God for it before them all, the reſt followed his example, and chearfully fell to their meat: which done, they lightned the ſhip of what remained, and endeavoured to put into a creek, which they diſcovered not far off. But falling into a place where two ſeas met, the fore-part of the ſhip ran aground, while the hinder-part was beaten in pieces with the violence of the waves. Awakened with the danger they were in, the ſoldiers cried out to kill the priſoners, to prevent their eſcape: which the captain, deſirous to ſave St. Paul, and probably in confidence of what he had told them, refuſed to do; commanding, that every one ſhould ſhift for himſelf: the iſſue was, that part by ſwimming, part on planks, part on pieces of the broken ſhip, they all, to the number of two hundred threeſcore and ſixteen (the whole number in the ſhip) got ſafe to ſhoar.

8. The iſland upon which they were caſt was Melita[l] (now Malta) ſituate in the Libyan ſea, between Syracuſe and Africk. Here they found civility among Barbarians, and the plain acknowledgments of a divine juſtice written among the naked and untutored notions of mens minds. The people treated them with great humanity, entertaining them with all neceſſary accommodations; but while St. Paul was throwing

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[k] Acts xxvii. 1.

[l] Acts xxviii. 1.

ſticks upon the fire, a viper diſlodged by the heat, came out of the wood, and faſtned on his hand. This the people no ſooner eſpied, but preſently concluded, that ſurely he was ſome notorious murderer, whom though the divine vengeance had ſuffered to eſcape the hue-and-cry of the ſea, yet had it only reſerved him for a more publick and ſolemn execution. But when they ſaw him ſhake it off into the fire, and not preſently ſwell, and drop down, they changed their opinions, and concluded him to be ſome God. So eaſily are light and credulous minds tranſported from one extreme to another. Not far off lived Publius, a man of great eſtate and authority, and (as we may probably gueſs from an inſcription found there, and ſet down by Grotius,[m] wherein the ΠΡΩΤΟΣ ΜΕΛΙΤΑΙΩΝ is reckoned amongſt the Roman officers) governor of the iſland, by him they were courteouſly entertained three days at his own charge, and his father lying at that time ſick of a fever and a dyſentery, St. Paul went in, and having prayed, and laid his hands upon him, healed him; as he did alſo many of the inhabitants, who by this miracle were encouraged to bring their diſeaſed to him: whereby great honours were heaped upon him, and both he and his company furniſhed with proviſions neceſſary for the reſt of their voyage. Nay Publius himſelf is ſaid by [n] ſome to have been hereby converted to the faith, and by St. Paul to have been conſtituted biſhop of the iſland, and that this was he that ſucceeded St. Denis the Areopagite in the ſee of Athens, and was afterwards crowned with martyrdom.

9. AFTER three months ſtay in this iſland, they went aboard the Caſtor and Pollux, a ſhip of Alexandria, bound for Italy. At Syracuſe they put in, and ſtayed three days; thence ſailed to Rhegium, and ſo to Puteoli, where they landed, and finding ſome Chriſtians there, ſtaid a week with them, and then ſet forward in their journey to Rome. The Chriſtians at Rome having heard of their arrival, ſeveral of them came part of the way to meet them, ſome as far as the Three Taverns, a place thirty three miles from Rome, others as far as Appii Forum, fifty one miles diſtant thence. Great was their mutual ſalutation, and the encouragement which the apoſtle received by it, glad no doubt to ſee that Chriſtians found ſo much liberty at Rome. By them he was conducted in a kind of triumph into the City, where when they were arrived, the reſt of the priſoners were delivered over to the captain of the guard, and by him diſpoſed in the common Jail, while St. Paul (probably at Julius's requeſt and recommendation) was permitted to ſtay in a private houſe, only with a ſoldier to ſecure and guard him.

SECT. VII.

St. Paul's acts, from his coming to Rome, till his martyrdom.

St. Paul ſummoning the chief of the Jews at Rome, and his diſcourſe to them. Their refractorineſs and infidelity. His firſt hearing before Nero. The ſucceſs of his preaching. Poppæa Sabina, Nero's concubine, one of his converts. Tacitus's character of her. Oneſimus converted by St. Paul at Rome, and ſent back with an epiſtle to Philemon his maſter. The great obligation which chriſtianity lays upon ſervants to diligence and fidelity in their duty. The rigorous and arbitrary power of maſters over ſervants by the Roman laws. This mitigated by the law of the goſpel. St. Paul's epiſtle to the Philippians, upon what occaſion ſent. His epiſtle to the Epheſians, and another to the Coloſſians. His ſecond epiſtle to Timothy written (probably) at his firſt being at Rome. The epiſtle to the Hebrews, by whom written; and in what language. The aim and deſign of it. St. Paul's preaching the goſpel in the weſt, and in what parts of it. His return to Rome, when. His impriſonment under Nero, and why. His being beheaded. Milk inſtead of blood ſaid to flow from his body. Different accounts of the time of his ſuffering. His burial where, and the great church erected to his memory.

1. THE firſt thing St. Paul did after he came to Rome, was to ſummon the heads of the Jewiſh Conſiſtory there, whom he acquainted with the cauſe and man-

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[m] Annot. in loc.

[n] Bar. ad Ann. LVIII. n. 173. vid. Adon. martyr. ad xii. Kal. Febr. Martyr. Rom. ad diem 21 Jan. Euſeb. l. 4. c. 23. p. 143.

ner of his coming; that though he had been guilty of no violation of the law of their religion, yet had he been delivered by the Jews into the hands of the Roman governors, who would have acquitted him once and again, as innocent of any capital offence; but by the perverſeneſs of the Jews he was forced, not with an intention to charge his own nation, (already ſufficiently odious to the Romans) but only to vindicate and clear himſelf, to make his appeal to Cæſar; that being come he had ſent for them, to let them know, that it was for his conſtant aſſerting the Reſurrection, the hope of all true Iſraelites, that he was bound with that chain which they ſaw upon him. The Jews replied, that they had received no advice concerning him, nor had any of the nation that came from Judæa, brought any charge againſt him: only for the religion which he had eſpouſed, they deſired to be a little better informed about it, it being every where decried both by Jew and Gentile. Accordingly upon a day appointed, he diſcourſed to them from morning to night concerning the religion and doctrine of the Holy Jeſus, proving from the promiſes and predictions of the Old Teſtament, that he was the true Meſſiah. His diſcourſe ſucceeded not with all alike, ſome being convinced, others perſiſted in their infidelity: and as they were departing in ſome diſcontent at each other, the apoſtle told them, it was now too plain, God had accompliſhed upon them the prophetical curſe, of being left to their own wilful hardneſs and impenitency, to be blind at noon-day, and to run themſelves againſt all means and methods into irrecoverable ruin: that ſince the caſe was thus with them, they muſt expect, that henceforth he ſhould turn his preaching to the Gentiles who would be moſt ready to entertain, what they had ſo ſcornfully rejected, the glad tidings of the Goſpel.

2. IT was not, probably, long after this, that he was brought to his firſt hearing before the emperor, where thoſe friends, whom he moſt expected ſhould ſtand by him, plainly deſerted him, afraid it ſeems of appearing in ſo tickliſh a cauſe before ſo unreaſonable a judge, who governed himſelf by no other meaſures, than the brutiſh and extravagant pleaſure of his luſt or humour. But God ſtood by him, and encouraged him; as indeed divine conſolations are many times then neareſt to us, when human aſſiſtances are fartheſt from us. This cowardiſe of theirs the apoſtle [o] had a charity large enough to cover, heartily praying, that it might not be brought in againſt them in the accounts of the great day. Two years he dwelt at Rome in an houſe which he hired for his own uſe, wherein he conſtantly employed himſelf in preaching and writing for the good of the church. He preached daily, without interruption, to all that came to him, and with good ſucceſs, yea, even upon ſome of the better rank and quality, and thoſe belonging to the court itſelf. Among which the Roman [p] martyrology reckons Torpes, an officer of prime note in Nero's palace, and afterwards a martyr for the faith; and Chryſoſtom (if Baronius [q] cites him right) tells us of Nero's cupbearer, and one of his concubines, ſuppoſed by ſome to have been Poppæa Sabina, of whom [r] Tacitus gives this character, that ſhe wanted nothing to render her one of the moſt accompliſhed ladies in the world, but a chaſt and a vertuous mind: and I know not how far it may ſeem to countenance her converſion, at leaſt inclination to a better religion than that of Paganiſm, that [s] Joſephus ſtiles her a pious woman, and tells us that ſhe effectually ſollicited the cauſe of the Jews with her huſband Nero; and what favours Joſephus himſelf received from her at Rome, he relates in his own life.

3. AMONGST other of our apoſtle's converts at Rome was Oneſimus, who had formerly been ſervant to Philemon, a perſon of eminency in Coloſſe; but had run away from his maſter, and taken things of ſome value with him. Having rambled as far as Rome, he was now converted by St. Paul, and by him returned with recommendatory letters to Philemon his maſter, to beg his pardon, and that he might be received into favour, being now of a much better temper, more faithful and diligent, and uſeful to his maſter than he had been before: as indeed chriſtianity, where it is heartily entertained, makes men good in all relations, no laws being ſo wiſely contrived for the peace and happineſs of the world, as the laws of the Goſpel, as may appear by this particular caſe of ſervants; what admirable rules, what ſevere laws does it lay upon them for the diſcharge of their duties! it commands them to honour their maſters as their ſuperiors, and to take heed of making their authority light and cheap by familiar and contemptible thoughts and carriages, to obey them in all honeſt and lawful things, and that *not with*

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[o] 1 Tim. iv. 16.

[p] Ad diem. XVII. Maii. p. 308.

[q] Ad An. 59. n. 9. vid. Chryſoſt. adv. vituper. vit. monaſt. lib. 1. c. 4. p. 361. Tom. 4.

[r] Annal. l. 13. c. 45. p. 263.

[s] Antiq. Jud. lib. 20. cap. 7. p. 697. De vit. ſua, p. 999.

eye-ſervice as men-pleaſers, but in ſingleneſs of heart as unto God; that they be faithful to the truſt committed to them, and manage their maſters intereſt with as much care and conſcience as if it were their own; that they entertain their reproofs, counſels, corrections with all ſilence and ſobriety, not returning any rude ſurly anſwers; and this carriage to be obſerved, not only to maſters of a mild and gentle, but of a croſs and peeviſh diſpoſition, that *whatever they do, they do it heartily, not as to men only, but to the Lord; knowing that of the Lord they ſhall receive the reward of the inheritance, for that they ſerve the Lord Chriſt.* Imbued with theſe excellent principles, Oneſimus is again returned unto his maſter; for Chriſtian religion, though it improves mens tempers, does not cancel their relations, it teaches them to abide in their callings, and *not to deſpiſe their maſters, becauſe they are brethren, but rather do them ſervice becauſe they are faithful.* And being thus improved St. Paul the more confidently begged his pardon. And indeed had not Philemon been a Chriſtian, and by the principles of his religion both diſpoſed and obliged to mildneſs and mercy, there had been great reaſon why St. Paul ſhould be thus importunate with him for Oneſimus's pardon, the caſe of ſervants in thoſe days being very hard, for all maſters were looked upon as having an unlimited power over their ſervants, and that not only by the [t] Roman, but by the laws of all nations, whereby without asking the magiſtrate's leave, or any publick and formal trial, they might adjudge and condemn them to what work or puniſhment they pleaſed, even to the taking away of life itſelf. But the ſeverity and exorbitancy of this power was afterwards ſomewhat curbed by the laws of ſucceeding emperors, eſpecially after the empire ſubmitted itſelf to chriſtianity, which makes better proviſion for perſons in that capacity and relation, and in caſe of unjuſt and over-rigorous uſage, enables them to appeal to a more righteous and impartial tribunal, where maſter and ſervant ſhall both ſtand upon even ground, *where he that doth wrong ſhall receive for the wrong which he hath done; and there is no reſpect of perſons.*

4. The Chriſtians at Philippi having heard of St. Paul's impriſonment at Rome, and not knowing what ſtraits he might be reduced to, raiſed a contribution for him, and ſent it by Epaphroditus their biſhop, who was now come to Rome, where he ſhortly after fell dangerouſly ſick: but being recovered, and upon the point to return, by him St. Paul ſent his epiſtle to the Philippians, wherein he gives them ſome account of the ſtate of affairs at Rome, gratefully acknowledges their kindneſs to him, and warns them of thoſe dangerous opinions, which the judaizing teachers began to vent among them. The apoſtle had heretofore for ſome years lived at Epheſus, and perfectly underſtood the ſtate and condition of that place; and therefore now by Tychicus writes his epiſtle to the Epheſians, endeavouring to countermine the principles and practices both of Jews and Gentiles, to confirm them in the belief and obedience of the Chriſtian doctrine, to repreſent the infinite riches of the divine goodneſs in admitting the Gentile world to the unſearchable treaſures of chriſtianity, eſpecially preſſing them to expreſs the life and ſpirit of it in the general duties of religion, and in the duties of their particular relations. Much about the ſame time, or a little after, he wrote his epiſtle to the Coloſſians, where he had never been, and ſent it by Epaphras, who for ſome time had been his fellow-priſoner at Rome. The deſign of it is for the greateſt part the ſame with that to the Epheſians, to ſettle and confirm them in the faith of the goſpel, againſt the errors both of Judaiſm, and the ſuperſtitious obſervances of the Heathen world, ſome whereof had taken root amongſt them.

5. It is not improbable but that about this, or rather ſome conſiderable time before, St. Paul wrote his ſecond epiſtle to Timothy. I know Euſebius, and the antients, and moſt moderns after them, will have it written a little before his martyrdom, induced thereunto by that paſſage in it, that he was then *ready to be offered, and that the time of his departure was at hand.* But ſurely it is moſt reaſonable to think, that it was written at his firſt being at Rome, and that at his firſt coming thither, preſently after his trial before Nero. Accordingly the paſſage before mentioned may import no more than that he was in imminent danger of his life, and had received the ſentence of death in himſelf, not hoping to eſcape out of the paws of Nero: but that *God had delivered him out of the mouth of the lion, i. e.* the great danger he was in at his coming thither: which exactly agrees to his caſe at his firſt being at Rome, but cannot be reconciled with his laſt coming thither; together with many more circumſtances in this epiſtle, which render it next door to certain. In it he appoints Timothy

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[t] L. 1. & 2. ff. de his, qui ſui vel alieni juris ſunt, lib. 1. Tit. 6. vid. Inſtit. lib. 1. Tit. 8.

ſhortly to come to him, who accordingly came, whoſe name is joined together with his in the front of ſeveral epiſtles, to the Philippians, Coloſſians, and to Philemon. The only thing that can be levelled againſt this is, that in his epiſtle to Timothy, he tells him, that he had ſent Tychicus to Epheſus, by whom it is plain that the epiſtles to the Epheſians and Philippians were diſpatched; and that therefore this to Timothy muſt be written after them. But I ſee no inconvenience to affirm, that Tychicus might come to Rome preſently after St. Paul's arrival there, be by him immediately ſent back to Epheſus upon ſome emergent affair of that church; and after his return to Rome be ſent with thoſe two epiſtles. The deſign of the epiſtle was to excite the holy man to a mighty zeal and diligence, care and fidelity in his office, and to antidote the people againſt thoſe poiſonous principles that in thoſe parts eſpecially began to debauch the minds of men.

6. AS for the epiſtle to the Hebrews, it is very uncertain when, or whence, and (for ſome ages doubted) by whom it was written. [a] Euſebius tells us, it was not received by many, becauſe rejected by the church of Rome, as none of St. Paul's genuine epiſtles. [b] Origen affirms the ſtile and phraſe of it to be more fine and elegant, and to contain in it a richer vein of purer Greek, than is uſually found in St. Paul's epiſtles; as every one that is able to judge of a ſtile, muſt needs confeſs: that the ſentences indeed are grave and weighty, and ſuch as breath the ſpirit and majeſty of an apoſtle: that therefore it was his judgment, that the matter contained in it had been dictated by ſome apoſtle, but that it had been put into phraſe, form, and order by ſome other perſon that did attend upon him: that if any church owned it for St. Paul's, they were not to be condemned, it not being without reaſon by the antients aſcribed to him; though God only knew who was the true author of it. He farther tells us, that report had handed it down to his time, that it had been compoſed partly by Clemens of Rome, partly by Luke the evangeliſt. [c] Tertullian adds, that it was writ by Barnabas. What ſeems moſt likely in ſuch variety of opinions is, that St. Paul originally wrote it in Hebrew, it being to be ſent to the Jews his countrymen, and by ſome other perſon, probably St. Luke, or Clemens Romanus tranſlated into Greek; eſpecially ſince both [d] Euſebius and [e] St. Hierom obſerved of old ſuch a great affinity both in ſtile and ſenſe between this and Clemens's epiſtle to the Corinthians, as thence poſitively to conclude him to be the Tranſlator of it. It was written as we may conjecture, a little after he was reſtored to his liberty, and probably while he was yet in ſome parts of Italy, whence he dates his ſalutations. The main deſign of it is to magnify Chriſt and the religion of the goſpel, [f] above Moſes and the Jewiſh œconomy and miniſtration, that by this means he might the better eſtabliſh and confirm the convert Jews in the firm belief and profeſſion of chriſtianity, notwithſtanding thoſe ſufferings and perſecutions that came upon them, endeavouring throughout to arm and fortify them againſt apoſtaſie from that noble and excellent religion, wherein they had ſo happily engaged themſelves. And great need there was for the Apoſtle ſeverely to urge them to it, heavy perſecutions both from Jews and Gentiles preſſing in upon them on every ſide, beſides thoſe trains of ſpecious and plauſible inſinuations that were laid to reduce them to their antient inſtitutions. Hence the apoſtle calls apoſtaſie [g] *the ſin which did ſo eaſily beſet them*, to which there were ſuch frequent temptations, and into which they were ſo prone to be betrayed in thoſe ſuffering times. And the more to deter them from it, he once and again ſets before them the dreadful ſtate and condition of apoſtates, thoſe who have been [h] *once enlightened*, and baptized into the chriſtian faith, *taſted* the promiſes of the goſpel, and been [i] *made partakers* of the miraculous gifts of the *Holy Ghoſt*, thoſe *powers* which in the *world to come*, or this new ſtate of things, were to be conferred upon the church, if after all this *theſe men fall away*, and renounce chriſtianity, it is very hard, and even *impoſſible to renew them again unto repentance*. For by this means *they trod under foot*, and *crucified the Son of God afreſh, and put him to an open ſhame*, profaned *the blood of the covenant*, and *did deſpite to the ſpirit of grace*. So that *to ſin* thus *wilfully after they had received the knowledge of the truth*, *there* could *remain* for them *no more ſacrifice for ſins*, nothing *but a certain fearful looking for of judgment and fiery indignation which ſhould devour* theſe *adverſaries*. And *a fearful thing it was* in ſuch circumſtances *to fall into the hands of the living God*, who had particularly ſaid of this ſort of ſinners, *that if any man drew back*, *his ſoul ſhould have no pleaſure in him*. Hence it is that every where in this epiſtle he mixes exhortations to this purpoſe, that *they would give earneſt heed to the things which they had heard*, *leſt*

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[a] Lib. 3. c. 3. p. 27.

[b] Apud Euſeb. lib. 6. c. 25. p. 227.

[c] De Pudic. c. 20. p. 582. Vid. Clem. Alex. in lib. Hyp. apud Euſeb. l. 6. c. 14. p. 215.

[d] Euſeb. lib. 3. c. 38. p. 110.

[e] Hier. de Scrip. Eccl. in Clem.

[f] Cap. xiii. 24.

[g] Heb. xii. 1.

[h] Cap. vi. 4, 5, 6.

[i] Cap. x. 26, 27, 28, 29.

at any time they ſhould let them ſlip, that *they would hold faſt the confidence, and the rejoicing of the hope firm unto the end*, and *beware leſt by an evil heart of unbelief they departed from the living God*; that they would *labour to enter into his reſt, leſt any man fall after the example of unbelief*; *that leaving the* firſt *principles of the doctrine of Chriſt, they would go on to perfection, ſhewing diligence to the full aſſurance of hope unto the end, not being ſlothful, but followers of them, who through faith and patience inherit the promiſes*; that they would *hold faſt the profeſſion of the faith without wavering, not forſaking the aſſembling of themſelves together* (*as the manner of ſome was*) nor *caſt away their confidence, which had great recompence of reward*; that *they had need of patience, that after they had done the will of God, they might receive the promiſe*; that they *would not be of them who drew back unto perdition, but of them that believed to the ſaving of the Soul*; that *being encompaſſed about with ſo great a cloud of witneſſes*, who with the moſt unconquerable conſtancy and reſolution had all holden on in the way to heaven, *they would lay aſide every weight, and the ſin which did ſo eaſily beſet them, and run with patience the race that was ſet before them*, eſpecially *looking unto Jeſus the author and finiſher of their faith, who endured the croſs, and deſpiſed the ſhame*, that therefore *they ſhould conſider him that endured ſuch contradiction of ſinners againſt himſelf, leſt they ſhould be wearied and faint in their minds*, for that *they had not yet reſiſted unto blood, ſtriving againſt ſin*; *looking diligently leſt any man ſhould fail of the grace of God, leſt any root of bitterneſs ſpringing up ſhould trouble them, and thereby many be defiled.* By all which, and much more that might be obſerved to this purpoſe, it is evident, what our Apoſtle's great deſign was in this excellent epiſtle.

7. Our apoſtle being now after two years cuſtody perfectly reſtored to liberty, remembred that he was the apoſtle of the Gentiles, and had therefore a larger dioceſe than Rome, and accordingly prepared himſelf for a greater circuit, though which way he directed his courſe, is not abſolutely certain. By ſome he is ſaid to have returned back into Greece, and the parts of Aſia, upon no other ground that I know of, than a few intimations in ſome of his epiſtles that he intended to do ſo. By others he is thought to have preached both in the eaſtern and weſtern parts, which is not inconſiſtent with the time he had after his departure from Rome. But of the latter we have better evidence. Sure I am, an author beyond all exception, St. Paul's contemporary and Fellow-labourer, I mean [k] Clemens, in his famous epiſtle to the Corinthians expreſſly tells us, that being a preacher both in the eaſt and weſt, he taught righteouſneſs to the whole world, and went to the utmoſt bounds of the weſt. Which makes me the more wonder at the confidence of [l] one (otherwiſe a man of great parts and learning) who ſo peremptorily denies that ever our apoſtle preached in the weſt, meerly becauſe there are no monuments left in primitive antiquity of any particular churches there founded by him. As if all the particular paſſages of his life, done at ſo vaſt a diſtance, muſt needs have been recorded, or thoſe records have come down to us, when it is ſo notoriouſly known, that almoſt all the writings and monuments of thoſe firſt ages of chriſtianity are long ſince periſhed: or as if we were not ſufficiently aſſured of the thing in general, though not of what particulars he did there. Probable it is, that he went into Spain, a thing which himſelf tells us he had formerly once and again reſolved on [m]. Certain it is that the [n] antients do generally aſſert it, without ſeeming in the leaſt to doubt of it. Theodoret and others tell us, that he preached not only in Spain, but that he went to other nations, and brought the goſpel into the Iſles of the Sea, by which he undoubtedly means Britain, and therefore elſewhere reckons the Gauls and Britains among the nations, which the apoſtles, and particularly the Tent-maker perſuaded to embrace the law of Chriſt. Nor is he the only man that has ſaid it, [o] others having given in their teſtimony and ſuffrage in this caſe.

8. To what other parts of the world St. Paul preached the goſpel, we find no certain foot-ſteps in antiquity, nor any farther mention of him, till his return to Rome, which probably was about the eighth or ninth year of Nero's reign. Here he met with Peter, and was together with him thrown into priſon, no doubt in the general perſecution raiſed againſt the Chriſtians, under the pretence that they had fired the city. Beſides the general, we may reaſonably ſuppoſe there were particular cauſes of his impriſonment. Some of the antients make him engaged with Peter in procuring the fall of Simon Magus, and

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[k] Κήρυξ γενόμενος ἐν τῇ ἀνατολῇ καὶ ἐν τῇ δύσει, δικαιοσύνην διδάξας ὅλον τὸν κόσμον, καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ τέρμα τῆς δύσεως ἐλθών. Ep. ad Cor. p. 8.

[l] L. Cappell. Append. ad Hiſt. App. p. 33.

[m] Rom. xv. 24 – 28.

[n] Epiphan. Hæreſ. 27. p. 51. Chryſoſt. de Laud. Paul. p. 536. T. 5. Cyril. Catech. 17. p. 457. Theod. in 2 Tim. iv. 16. & in Pſalm. cxvi. id. de cur. Græc. Affect. Serm. 9. p. 125. Athan. Epiſt. ad Dracont. p. 737.

[o] Sophron. Serm. de Natali App.

Tranſit & Oceanum, vel quà facit inſula portum,
Quaſque Britannus habet terras, atque ultima Thule.

Venant. Fortun. de vit. Martin. lib. 3. non procul à fine.

that that derived the emperor's fury and rage upon him. [p] St. Chryſoſtom gives us this account; that having converted one of Nero's concubines, a woman of whom he was infinitely fond, and reduced her to a life of great ſtrictneſs and chaſtity, ſo that now ſhe wholly refuſed to comply with his wanton and impure embraces; the emperor ſtormed hereat, calling the apoſtle a villain and impoſtor, a wretched perverter and debaucher of others, giving order that he ſhould be caſt into priſon, and when he ſtill perſiſted to perſuade the lady to continue her chaſt and pious reſolutions, commanding him to be put to death.

9. How long he remained in priſon is not certainly known; at laſt his execution was reſolved on; what his preparatory treatment was, whether ſcourged as malefactors were wont to be in order to their death, we find not. As a Roman citizen by the Valerian and the Porcian law he was exempted from it: though by the law of the twelve tables notorious malefactors, condemned by the Centuriate aſſemblies, were firſt to be ſcourged, and then put to death; and Baronius tells us [q] that in the church of St. Mary beyond the bridge in Rome, the pillars are yet extant, to which both Peter and Paul are ſaid to have been bound and ſcourged. As he was led to execution, he is ſaid to have converted three of the ſoldiers that were ſent to conduct and guard him, who within few days after by the emperor's command became martyrs for the faith. Being come to the place, which was the Aquæ Salviæ, three miles from Rome, after ſome ſolemn preparation, he chearfully gave his neck to the fatal ſtroke. As a Roman he might not be put upon the croſs, too infamous a death for any but the worſt of ſlaves and malefactors, and therefore was beheaded, accounted a more noble kind of death, not among the Romans [r] only, but among other nations, as being fitter for perſons of better quality, and more ingenuous education: And from this inſtrument of his execution the cuſtom, no doubt, firſt aroſe, that in all pictures and images of this apoſtle, he is conſtantly repreſented with a ſword in his right hand. Tradition reports (juſtified herein by the ſuffrage of many of the [ſ] fathers) that when he was beheaded, a liquor more like milk than blood flowed from his veins, and ſpirted upon the clothes of his executioner; and had I liſt or leiſure for ſuch things, I might entertain the reader with little gloſſes that are made upon it. St. Chryſoſtom adds, that it became a means of converting his executioner, and many more to the faith; and that the apoſtle ſuffered in the ſixty-eighth year of his age. Some queſtion there is whether he ſuffered at the ſame time with Peter; many of the [t] antients poſitively affirm, that both ſuffered on the ſame day, and year: [u] others though allowing the ſame day, tell us that St. Paul ſuffered not till the year after; nay ſome interpoſe the diſtance of ſeveral years. A manuſcript [w] writer of the lives and travels of Peter and Paul, brought amongſt other venerable monuments of antiquity out of Greece, will have Paul to have ſuffered no leſs than five years after Peter, which he juſtifies by the authority of no leſs than Juſtin Martyr, and Irenæus. But what credit is to be given to this nameleſs author, I ſee not, and therefore lay no weight upon it, nor think it fit to be put into the balance with the teſtimonies of the antients. Certainly if he ſuffered not at the very ſame time with Peter, it could not be long after, not above a year at moſt. The beſt is, which of them ſoever ſtarted firſt, they both came at laſt to the ſame end of the race, to thoſe palms and crowns, which are reſerved for all good men in heaven, but moſt eminently for the martyrs of the Chriſtian faith.

10. He was buried in the Via Oſtienſis, about two miles from Rome, over whoſe grave about the year 318, [x] Conſtantine the Great, at the inſtance of pope Sylveſter, built a ſtately church, within a farm which Lucina a noble Chriſtian matron of Rome had long before ſetled upon that church. He adorned it with an hundred of the beſt marble columns, and beautified it with the moſt exquiſite workmanſhip; the many rich gifts and endowments which he beſtowed upon it being particularly ſet down in the life of Sylveſter. This church as too narrow and little for the honour of ſo great an apoſtle, Valentinian, or rather Theodoſius the emperor, (the one but finiſhing what the other began) by a [y] reſcript directed to Salluſtius Prefect of the city, cauſed to be taken down,

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[p] Adv. vit. Monaſt. vituperat. lib. 1. c. 4. p. 361. Tom. 4.

[q] Ad An. 69. n. 8.

[r] Κλέαρχος καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι στρατηγοὶ ἀποτμηθέντες τὰς κεφαλὰς, ὅσπερ κάλλιστος θάνατος δοκεῖ εἶναι. Xenoph. de Exped. Cyri l. 2. in fin. p. 293. Servi ſunt in crucem ſublati, militibus cervices abſciſſæ. Hiſt. de Bell. Hiſpan. p. 460.

[ſ] Ambr. de nat. Petr. & Paul. Serm. 68. p. 294. Tom. 3. Chryſ. Serm. in Petr. & Paul. Tom. 6. p. 267.

[t] Dion. Corinth. ap. Euſeb. l. 2. c. 25. p. 68. Ambr. ib. Serm. 66. p. 291. Max. Taur. Hom. 5. de Petr. & Paul. p. 231.

[u] Prudent. Periſteph. in Paſſ. Petr. & Paul. Hymn. 12. p. 518. Arat. Act. App. lib. 2. in fin. p. 700. Aug. de Sanct. Serm. 28. Tom. 10. Col. 1225. Greg. Turoni de glor. Martyr. lib. 1. c. 29. p. 35.

[w] Λέγουσι δέ τινες προλαβεῖν τὸν Πέτρον ἐνιαυτὸν ἕνα, καὶ τὸν μακάριον ἐκεῖνο δέξασθαι καὶ δεσποτικὸν πάθος, τὴν ψυχὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν προβάτων προθέμενον· ἀκολουθῆσαι δὲ τούτῳ τὸν μέγαν Ἀπόστολον Παῦλον, ὡς Ἰουστῖνος καὶ Εἰρηναῖος φασὶν ἐφ' ὅλοις ἔτεσι πέντε· Καίγε τούτοις ἐγὼ πείθομαι μᾶλλον. Apud. P. Jun. not. in Clem. Ep. ad Cor. ad p. 8. forſan ex S. Metaphr. qui totidem verbis eadem habet ap. Sur. ad 29. Jun. n. 23. p. 357.

[x] Damaſ. Pont. in vit. Sylveſtr. vid. Onuphr. de. 7. Urb. Baſil. p. 87.

[y] Apud Bar. ad An. 386. p 527. ex Cod. Vatic.

and a larger and more noble church to be built in the room of it: farther beautified (as appears from an antient [z] inſcription) by Placidia the empreſs at the perſuaſion of Leo, biſhop of Rome. What other additions of wealth, honour, or ſtatelineſs it has received ſince, concerns not me to enquire.

SECT. VIII.

The deſcription of his Perſon and Temper, together with an account of his Writings.

The perſon of St. Paul deſcribed. His infirm conſtitution. His natural endowments. His ingenuous education, and admirable ſkill in human learning and ſciences. The divine temper of his mind. His ſingular humility and condeſcenſion. His temperance and ſobriety, and contempt of the world. Whether he lived a married or a ſingle life. His great kindneſs and compaſſion. His charity to men's bodies and ſouls. His mighty zeal for religion. His admirable induſtry and diligence in his office. His unconquerable patience. The many great troubles he underwent. His conſtancy and fidelity in the profeſſion of chriſtianity. His writings. His ſtile and way of writing, what. St. Hierom's bold cenſure of it. The perplexedneſs and obſcurity of his diſcourſes, whence. The account given of it by the antients. The order of his epiſtles, what. Placed not according to the time when, but the dignity of perſons or places to which they were written. The ſubſcriptions at the end of them, of what value. The writings fathered upon St. Paul. His goſpel. A third epiſtle to the Corinthians. The epiſtle to the Laodiceans. His Apocalypſe. His Acts. The epiſtles between him and Seneca.

1. THOUGH we have drawn St. Paul at large, in the account we have given of his life, yet may it be of uſe to repreſent him in little, in a brief account of his perſon, parts, and thoſe graces and virtues, for which he was more peculiarly eminent and remarkable. For his perſon, we find it thus [a] deſcribed. He was low, and of little ſtature, and ſomewhat ſtooping, his complexion fair, his countenance grave, his head ſmall, his eyes carrying a kind of beauty and ſweetneſs in them, his eye-brows a little hanging over, his noſe long, but gracefully bending, his beard thick, and like the hair on his head, mixed with gray hairs. Somewhat of this deſcription may be learnt from [b] Lucian, when in the perſon of Trypho, one of St. Paul's diſciples, he calls him by way of deriſion, high-noſed, bald-pated Galilean, that was caught up through the air unto the *third heaven,* where he learnt great and excellent things. That he was very low, himſelf plainly intimates, when he tells us, they were wont to ſay of him, that [c] *his bodily preſence was weak, and his ſpeech contemptible;* in which reſpect he is ſtiled by [d] Chryſoſtom, ὁ τρίπηχυς ἄνθρωπος, a man three cubits [or a little more than four foot] high, and yet tall enough to reach heaven. He ſeems to have enjoyed no very firm and athletick conſtitution, being often ſubject to diſtempers; [e] St. Hierom particularly reports, that he was frequently afflicted with the head-ach, and that this was thought by many to have been *the thorn in the fleſh, the meſſenger of ſatan ſent to buffet him,* and that probably he intended ſome ſuch thing by [f] *the temptation in his fleſh,* which he elſewhere ſpeaks of: which however it may in general ſignify thoſe afflictions that came upon him, yet does it primarily denote thoſe diſeaſes and infirmities that he was obnoxious to.

2. BUT how mean ſoever the cabinet was, there was a treaſure within more precious and valuable, as will appear, if we ſurvey the accompliſhments of his mind. For as to his natural abilities and endowments, he ſeems to have had a clear and ſolid judgment, quick invention, a prompt and ready memory; all which were abundantly improved by art, and the advantages of a more liberal education. The ſchools of Tarſus had ſharpned his diſcurſive faculty by logick, and the arts of reaſoning, inſtructed him in the inſtitutions of philoſophy, and enriched him with the furniture of all kinds of human learning.

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[z] Ibid. in Addend. ad Tom. 4. p. 12.

[a] Niceph. H. Eccl. lib. 2. c. 37. p. 196.

[b] Philopatr. Tom. 2. p. 999.

[c] 2 Cor. x. 10.

[d] Serm. in Petr. & Paul. p. 265. Tom. 6.

[e] Com. in Gal. 4. p. 182. Tom. 9.

[f] Gal. iv. 14.

This gave him great advantage above others, and ever raiſed him to a mighty reputation for parts and learning; inſomuch that [a] St. Chryſoſtom tells us of a diſpute between a Chriſtian and a Heathen, wherein the Chriſtian endeavoured to prove againſt the Gentile, that St. Paul was more learned and eloquent than Plato himſelf. How well he was verſed, not only in the law of Moſes and the writings of the prophets, but even in claſſick and foreign writers, he has left us ſure ground to conclude, from thoſe excellent ſayings, which here and there he quotes out of Heathen authors. Which as at once it ſhews, that it is not unlawful to bring the [b] ſpoils of Egypt in the ſervice of the ſanctuary, and to make uſe of the advantages of foreign ſtudies and human literature to divine and excellent purpoſes, ſo does it argue his being greatly converſant in the paths of human learning, which upon every occaſion he could ſo readily command. Indeed he ſeemed to have been furniſhed out on purpoſe to be the doctor of the Gentiles, to contend with, and confute the grave and the wiſe, the acute and the ſubtile, the ſage and the learned of the Heathen world, and to wound them (as Julian's word was) with arrows drawn out of their own quiver. Though we do not find, that in his diſputes with the Gentiles he made much uſe of learning and philoſophy; it being more agreeable to the deſigns of the goſpel, to confound the wiſdom and learning of the world by the plain doctrine of the croſs.

3. THESE were great accompliſhments, and yet but a ſhadow to that divine temper of mind that was in him, which diſcovered it ſelf through the whole courſe and method of his life. He was humble to the loweſt ſtep of abaſure and condeſcenſion, none ever thinking better of others, or more meanly of himſelf. And though when he had to deal with envious and malicious adverſaries, who by vilifying his perſon, ſought to obſtruct his miniſtry, he knew how to magnify his office, and to let them know, that he was *no whit inferior to the very chiefeſt apoſtles*; yet out of this caſe he conſtantly declared to all the world, that he looked upon himſelf as an abortive, and an untimely birth, as *the leaſt of the apoſtles, not meet to be called an apoſtle*; and as if this were not enough, he makes a word on purpoſe to expreſs his humility, ſtiling himſelf ἐλαχιςότερον, *leſs than the leaſt of all ſaints*, yea, *the very chief of ſinners*. How freely, and that at every turn, does he confeſs what he was before his converſion, a blaſphemer, a perſecutor, and injurious both to God and men? Though honoured with peculiar acts of the higheſt grace and favour, taken up to an immediate converſe with God in heaven, yet did not this ſwell him with a ſupercilious loftineſs over the reſt of his brethren: intruſted he was with great power and authority in the church, but never affected dominion over men's faith, nor any other place, than to be an helper of their joy, nor ever made uſe of his power, but to the edification, not deſtruction of any. How ſtudiouſly did he decline all honours and commendations that were heaped upon him? When ſome in the church of Corinth cried him up beyond all meaſures, and under the patronage of his name began to ſet up for a party, he ſeverely rebuked them, told them, that it was Chriſt, not he that was crucified for them; that they had *not been baptized into his name*, which he was ſo far from, that he did not remember that he had baptized above three or four of them, and was heartily glad he had baptized no more, leſt a foundation might have been laid for that ſuſpicion; that this Paul, whom they ſo much extolled, was no more than a miniſter of Chriſt, whom our Lord had appointed to plant and build up his church.

4. GREAT was his temperance and ſobriety, ſo far from going beyond the bounds of regularity, that he abridged himſelf of the conveniences of lawful and neceſſary accommodations; frequent his hungrings and thirſtings, not conſtrained only, but voluntary; it is probably thought that he very rarely drank any wine; certain, that by abſtinence and mortification he *kept under and ſubdued his body*, reducing the extravagancy of the ſenſual appetites to a perfect ſubjection to the laws of reaſon. By this means he eaſily got above the world, and its charms and frowns, and his mind continually converſant in heaven, his thoughts were fixed there, his deſires always aſcending thither; what he taught others, he practiſed himſelf, his *converſation was in heaven*, and his *deſires were to depart, and to be with Chriſt*; this world did neither arreſt his affections, nor diſturb his fears; he was not taken with its applauſe, nor frighted with its threatnings; he *ſtudied not to pleaſe men*, nor valued the cenſures and judgments which they paſſed upon him; he was not greedy of a great eſtate, or titles of honour, or rich preſents from men, not *ſeeking theirs, but them*; food and raiment was his bill of fare, and more

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[a] In 1 ad Cor. c. 1. Hom. 3. p. 349.

[b] Ὁρᾷς ὅπως κᾂν τοῖς Ἑλλήνων προφήταις δίδωσί τι τῆς ἀληθείας, ϗ οὐκ ἐπαισχύνεται πρός τε οἰκοδομὴν, ϗ πρὸς ἐντροπὴν διαλεγόμενός τινων, Ἑλληνικοῖς συγχρῆσθαι ποιήμασι. Cl. Alex. Strom. lib. 1. p. 299.

than this he never cared for; accounting, that the leſs he was clogged with theſe things, the lighter he ſhould march to heaven, eſpecially travelling through a world over-run with troubles and perſecutions. Upon this account it is probable he kept himſelf always within a ſingle life, though there want not ſome of the antients who expreſly reckon him in the number of the married apoſtles, as [c] Clemens Alexandrinus, [d] Ignatius, and ſome others. 'Tis true that paſſage is not to be found in the genuine epiſtle of Ignatius, but yet it is extant in all thoſe that are owned and publiſhed by the church of Rome, though they have not been wanting to baniſh it out of the world, having expunged St. Paul's name out of ſome antient manuſcripts, as the learned biſhop [e] Uſher has to their ſhame ſufficiently diſcovered to the world. But for the main of the queſtion we can readily grant it, the ſcripture ſeeming moſt to favour it, that though he aſſerted his power and liberty to marry as well as the reſt, yet that he lived always a ſingle life.

5. HIS kindneſs and charity was truly admirable, he had a compaſſionate tenderneſs for the poor, and a quick ſenſe of the wants of others: to what church ſoever he came, it was one of his firſt cares, to make proviſion for the poor, and to ſtir up the bounty of the rich and wealthy; nay, himſelf worked often with his own hands, not only to maintain himſelf, but to help and relieve them. But infinitely greater was his charity to the ſouls of men, fearing no dangers, refuſing no labours, going through good and evil report, that he might gain men over to the knowledge of the truth, reduce them out of the crooked paths of vice and idolatry, and ſet them in the right way to eternal life. Nay, ſo inſatiable his thirſt after the good of ſouls, that he affirms, that rather than his country-men the Jews ſhould miſcarry by not believing and entertaining the goſpel, he could be content, nay wiſhed, that *himſelf might be accurſed from Chriſt for their ſake*, i. e. that he might be anathematized and cut off from the church of Chriſt, and not only loſe the honour of the apoſtolate, but be reckoned in the number of the abject and execrable perſons, ſuch as thoſe are who are ſeparated from the communion of the church. An inſtance of ſo large and paſſionate a charity, that leſt it might not find room in men's belief, he uſhered it in with this ſolemn appeal and atteſtation, that *he ſaid the truth in Chriſt, and lied not, his conſcience bearing him witneſs in the Holy Ghoſt.* And as he was infinitely ſollicitous to gain men over to the beſt religion in the world, ſo was he not leſs careful to keep them from being ſeduced from it, ready to ſuſpect every thing that might *corrupt their minds from the ſimplicity that is in Chriſt*. [f] *I am jealous over you with a godly jealouſie*, as he told the church of Corinth: [g] an affection of all others the moſt active and vigilant, and which is wont to inſpire men with the moſt paſſionate care and concernment for the good of thoſe, for whom we have the higheſt meaſures of love and kindneſs. Nor was his charity to men greater than his zeal for God, endeavouring with all his might to promote the honour of his maſter. Indeed zeal ſeems to have had a deep foundation in the natural forwardneſs of his temper. How exceedingly zealous was he, while in the Jews religion, of the traditions of his fathers, how earneſt to vindicate and aſſert the divinity of the Moſaick diſpenſation, and to perſecute all of a contrary way, even to rage and madneſs; and when afterwards turned into a right channel, it ran with as ſwift a current; carrying him out againſt all oppoſition to ruin the kingdom and the powers of darkneſs, to beat down idolatry, and to plant the world with right apprehenſions of God, and the true notions of religion. When at Athens he ſaw them ſo much overgrown with the groſſeſt ſuperſtition and idolatry, giving the honour that was alone due to God to ſtatues and images, his zeal began to ferment, and to boil up into Paroxyſms of indignation, and he could not but let them know the reſentments of his mind, and how much herein they diſhonoured God, the great parent and maker of the world.

6. THIS zeal muſt needs put him upon a mighty diligence and induſtry in the execution of his office, warning, reproving, entreating, perſuading, *preaching in ſeaſon and out of ſeaſon*, by night and by day, by ſea and land; no pains too much to be taken, no dangers too great to be overcome. For five and thirty years after his converſion, he ſeldom ſtaid long in one place; from Jeruſalem, through Arabia, Aſia, Greece, round about to Illyricum, to Rome, and even to the utmoſt bounds of the Weſtern-world, *fully preaching the goſpel of Chriſt*: running (ſays St. Hierom) from ocean to ocean, like the ſun in the heavens, of which it is ſaid, *his going forth is from the end of the heaven, and his circuit unto the ends of it*; ſooner wanting ground to tread on, than a deſire to propagate the faith of Chriſt. [h] Nicephorus compares him to a bird in the air, that in a few

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[c] Clem. Alex. Strom. l. 3. p. 448.

[d] Ignat. Ep. ad. Philadelph. in Bibl. Pat. Gr. L. T. 1. p. 23. Euſeb. l. 3. c. 30.

[e] Uſſer. Not. in Ignat. Epiſt. ad Philadelph. vid. James his corrupt. of the fathers Part II. pag. 57.

[f] 2 Cor. xi. 2.

[g] Οὐκ εἶπεν, ἀγαπῶ ὑμᾶς, ἀλλ' ὃ πολλῷ τούτου σφοδρότερον, τίθησι· ζηλότυποι γάρ εἰσιν αἱ ψυχαὶ αἱ σφόδρα τῶν ἐρώντων πυρπολούμεναι· καὶ οὐκ ἂν ἄλλως τεχθείη ζηλοτυπία, ἀλλ' ἢ ἀπὸ σφοδρᾶς φιλίας. Chryſoſt. Homil. 23. in 2 ad Corinth. p. 899.

[h] Lib. 3. c. 1. p. 235.

years flew round the world: Iſidore the [i] Peluſiot to a winged husbandman, that flew from place to place to cultivate the world with the moſt excellent rules and inſtitutions of life. And while the other apoſtles did as it were chuſe this or that particular province, as the main ſphere of their miniſtry, St. Paul over-ran the whole world to its utmoſt bounds and corners, planting all places where he came with the divine doctrines of the goſpel. Nor in this courſe was he tired out with the dangers and difficulties that he met with, the troubles and oppoſitions that were raiſed againſt him. All which did but reflect the greater luſtre upon his patience, whereof indeed (as [k] Clement obſerves) he became μέγιςος ὑπογραμμὸς, a moſt eminent pattern and exemplar, enduring the biggeſt troubles and perſecutions with a patience triumphant and unconquerable. As will eaſily appear, if we take but a ſurvey of what trials and ſufferings he underwent, ſome part whereof are briefly ſummed up by himſelf: [l] *In labours abundant, in ſtripes above meaſure, in priſons frequent, in deaths often; thrice beaten with rods, once ſtoned, thrice ſuffered ſhipwreck, a night and a day in the deep: in journeyings often, in perils of waters, in perils of robbers, in perils by his own country-men, in perils by the Heathen, in perils in the city, in perils in the wilderneſs, in perils in the ſea, in perils among falſe brethren; in wearineſs, in painfulneſs, in watchings often, in hunger and thirſt, in faſtings often, in cold and nakedneſs; and beſides theſe things that were without, that which daily came upon him, the care of all the churches.* An account though very great, yet far ſhort of what he endured, and wherein, as [m] Chryſoſtom obſerves, he does σφόδρα μετριάζειν, modeſtly keep himſelf within his meaſures; for had he taken the liberty fully to have enlarged himſelf, he might have filled hundreds of martyrologies with his ſufferings. A thouſand times was his life at ſtake, in every ſuffering he was a martyr, and what fell but in parcels upon others, came all upon him; while they ſkirmiſhed only with ſingle parties, he had the whole army of ſufferings to contend with. All which he generouſly underwent with a ſoul as calm and ſerene as the morning-ſun, no ſpite or rage, no fury or ſtorms could ruffle and diſcompoſe his ſpirit: nay, thoſe ſufferings, which would have broken the back of an ordinary patience, did but make him riſe up with the greater eagerneſs and reſolution for the doing of his duty.

7. His patience will yet farther appear from the conſideration of another, the laſt of thoſe virtues we ſhall take notice of in him, his conſtancy and fidelity in the diſcharge of his place, and in the profeſſion of religion. Could the powers and policies of men and devils, ſpite and oppoſitions, torments and threatnings have been able to baffle him out of that religion wherein he had engaged himſelf, he muſt have ſunk under them, and left his ſtation. But his ſoul was ſteel'd with a courage and reſolution that was impenetrable, and which no temptation either from hopes or fears could make any more impreſſion upon, than an arrow can that is ſhot againſt a wall of marble. He wanted not ſollicitation on either hand, both from Jews and Gentiles, and queſtionleſs might in ſome degree have made his own terms, would he have been falſe to his truſt, and have quitted that way, that was then every where ſpoken againſt. But alas! theſe things weighed little with our apoſtle, who *counted not his life to be dear unto him, ſo that he might finiſh his courſe with joy, and the miniſtery which he had received of the Lord Jeſus.* And therefore when under the ſentence of death in his own apprehenſions, could triumphingly ſay, *I have fought a good fight, I have finiſhed my courſe, I have kept the faith:* and ſo indeed he did, kept it inviolably, undauntedly to the laſt minute of his life. The ſum is, he was a man, in whom the divine life did eminently manifeſt and diſplay it ſelf; he lived piouſly and devoutly, ſoberly and temperately, juſtly and righteouſly, careful *always to keep a conſcience void of offenſe both towards God and man.* This he tells us was his ſupport under ſuffering, this the foundation of his confidence towards God, and his firm hopes of happineſs in another world; [n] *This is our rejoycing, the teſtimony of our conſcience, that in ſimplicity and godly ſincerity we have had our converſation in the world.*

8. It is not the leaſt inſtance of his care and fidelity in his office, that he did not only preach and plant chriſtianity in all places whither he came, but what he could not perſonally do, he ſupplied by writing. Fourteen epiſtles he left upon record, by which he was not only inſtrumental in propagating Chriſtian religion at firſt, but has been uſeful to

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[i] Ἕκαστος μὲν τῶν Ἀποςόλων, ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν, μίαν ἀπολαβὼν ἐγεώργει, ταύτην ἐρρύθμιζεν· ὁ δὲ Παῦλος ὥσπερ ὑπόπτερος γεωργὸς, πᾶσαν σχεδὸν ἐπέδραμε τὴν οἰκουμένην, καὶ εἰς αὐτὰς ἐφοίτησε τῆς γῆς τὰς ἐσχατιὰς, καὶ τοὺς ἀνηκόοντας ῥυθμίζων, καὶ τοῖς ἀνηκόοις ἐνσπείρων τὸ θεῖον κήρυγμα. Lib. 3. Epiſt. 176. ad Iſid. Diac. p. 285.

[k] Epiſt. ad Cor. p. 8.

[l] 2 Cor. xi. 23. & ſeq.

[m] Ἐκεῖνον αὐτῆς τῆς ζωῆς μυριάκις καταφρονοῦντα ἰδόντες· ὁ μὲν ἅπαξ ἀποθνήσκει, ὁ δὲ μακάριος ἐκεῖνος ἑνὶ σώματι καὶ μιᾷ ψυχῇ τοσούτους κινδύνους ὑπέβαλε, καὶ ἀδαμάντινον ἱκανοὺς διαφθεῖραι ψυχὴν, καὶ ἅπερ ἅπαντες ἐν τοσούτοις σώμασιν οἱ ἅγιοι ἔπαθον, ταῦτα αὐτὸς ἐν ἑνὶ πάντα ἤνεγκε, καθάπερ εἰς στάδιον τὴν οἰκουμένην εἰσελθὼν, καὶ πάντα ἀποδυσάμενος, οὕτως ἵστατο γενναίως. — καὶ τὸ δὴ θαυμαστὸν, ὅτι τοσαῦτα παθὼν, καὶ ποιῶν, σφόδρα μετριάζειν ᾔδει. — καὶ τοίγε μυρίας βίβλους συμπλῆσαι ἂν εἰ τῶν κινδύνων ἕκαστον ἐξαπλῶσαι ἠβούλετο, &c. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἠθέλησε. Chryſ. Homil. 25. in 2 ad Cor. p. 921.

[n] 2 Cor. i. 12.

the world ever ſince in all ages of the church. We have all along in the hiſtory of his life taken particular notice of them in their due place and order: we ſhall here only make ſome general obſervations and remarks upon them, and that as to the ſtile and way wherein they are written, their order, and the ſubſcriptions that are added to them. For the apoſtle's ſtile and manner of writing, it is plain and ſimple; and though not ſet off with the elaborate artifices, and affected additionals of human eloquence, yet grave and majeſtical, and that by the confeſſion of his very enemies, [o] *his letters* (ſay they) *are weighty and powerful.* Nor are there wanting in them ſome ſtrains of rhetorick, which ſufficiently teſtify his ability that way, had he made it any part of his ſtudy and deſign. Indeed [p] St. Hierom is ſometimes too rude and bold in his cenſures of St. Paul's ſtile and character. He tells us, that being an Hebrew of the Hebrews, and admirably ſkill'd in the language of his nation, he was greatly defective in the Greek tongue, (though a late great [q] critick is of another mind, affirming him to have been as well, or better ſkilled in Greek, than in Hebrew, or in Syriack) wherein he could not ſufficiently expreſs his conceptions in a way becoming the majeſty of his ſenſe and the matter he delivered, nor tranſmit the elegancy of his native tongue into another language: that hence he became obſcure and intricate in his expreſſions, guilty many times of ſoleciſms, and ſcarce tolerable ſyntax, and that therefore it was not his humility, but the truth of the thing that made him ſay, that *he came not with the excellency of ſpeech, but in the power of God.* A cenſure from any other than St. Hierom that would have been juſtly wondred at; but we know the liberty that he takes to cenſure any, though the reverence due to ſo great an apoſtle might, one would think, have challenged a more modeſt cenſure at his hands. However [r] elſewhere he cries him up as a great maſter of compoſition, that as oft as he heard him, he ſeemed to hear not words, but thunder; that in all his citations he made uſe of the moſt prudent artifices, uſing ſimple words, and which ſeemed to carry nothing but plainneſs along with them; but which way ſoever a man turned, breathed force and thunder: he ſeems intangled in his cauſe, but catches all that comes near him; turns his back, as if he intended to fly, when it is only that he may overcome.

9. ST. Peter long ſince obſerved, that in Paul's epiſtles there were δυσνόητά τινα, [s] *ſome things hard to be underſtood:* which ſurely is not altogether owing to the profoundneſs of his ſenſe, and the myſteriouſneſs of the ſubject that he treats of, but in ſome degree to his manner of expreſſion; his frequent Hebraiſms, (common to him with all the holy writers of the New Teſtament) his peculiar forms and ways of ſpeech, his often inſerting Jewiſh opinions, and yet but tacitly touching them, his uſing ſome words in a new and uncommon ſenſe; but above all, his frequent and abrupt tranſitions, ſuddenly ſtarting aſide from one thing to another, whereby his reader is left at a loſs, not knowing which way to follow him, not a little contributing to the perplexed obſcurity of his diſcourſes. [t] Irenæus took notice of old, that St. Paul makes frequent uſe of theſe hyperbata, by reaſon of the ſwiftneſs of his arguings, and the great fervour and impetus that was in him, leaving many times the deſigned frame and texture of his diſcourſe, not bringing in what ſhould have immediately connected the ſenſe and order, till ſome diſtance after: which indeed to men of a more nice and delicate temper, and who will not give themſelves leave patiently to trace out his reaſonings, muſt needs create ſome obſcurity. Origen and St. Hierom ſometimes obſerve, that beſides this he uſes many of his native phraſes of the Cilician dialect, which being in a great meaſure foreign and exotick to the ordinary Greek, introduces a kind of ſtrangeneſs into his diſcourſe, and renders it leſs intelligible. [u] Epiphanius tells us, that by theſe methods he acted like a ſkilful archer, hitting the mark before his adverſaries were aware of it; by words miſplaced making the frame of his diſcourſe ſeem obſcure and entangled, while in it ſelf it was not only moſt true, but elaborate, and not difficult to be underſtood; that to careleſs and trifling readers it might ſometimes ſeem diſſonant and incoherent, but to them that are diligent, and will take their reaſon along with them, it would appear full of truth, and to be diſpoſed with great care and order.

10. AS for the order of theſe epiſtles, we have already given a particular account of the times when, and the places whence they were written. That which is here conſiderable, is the order according to which they are diſpoſed in the ſacred Canon. Certain it is that they are not placed according to the juſt order of time wherein they were written, the two epiſtles to the Theſſalonians being on all hands agreed to have been firſt written,

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[o] 2 Cor. x. 10.

[p] Ad Algaſ. Quæſt. 11. p. 169. T. 2. Quæſt. 11. ad Hedib. p. 151. ibid. in Eph. 3. Tom. 9. p. 216. com. in Gal. 3. p. 170. ibid.

[q] Salmaſ. de Helleniſt. Part. 1. Quæſt. 6.

[r] Apol. adv. Jovin. T. 2. p. 106.

[s] 2 Pet. iii. 16.

[t] Adv. Hær. lib. 3. c. 7. p. 248.

[u] Hæreſ. 64. p. 239.

though ſet almoſt laſt in order. Moſt probable therefore it is, that they were placed according to the dignity of thoſe to whom they were ſent: the reaſon, why thoſe to whole churches have the precedency of thoſe to particular perſons; and among thoſe to churches, that to the Romans had the firſt place and rank aſſigned to it, becauſe of the majeſty of the imperial city, and the eminency and honourable reſpect which that church derived thence: and whether the ſame reaſon do not hold in others, though I will not poſitively aſſert, yet I think none will over-confidently deny. The laſt enquiry concerns the ſubſcriptions added to the end of theſe epiſtles; which, were they authentick, would determine ſome doubts concerning the time and place of their writing. But alas, they are of no juſt value and authority, not the ſame in all copies, different in the Syriack and Arabick verſions, nay wholly wanting in ſome antient Greek copies of the New Teſtament; and were doubtleſs at firſt added at beſt upon probable conjectures. When at any time they truly repreſent the place whence, or the perſon by whom the epiſtle was ſent, it is not that they are to be relied upon in it, but becauſe the thing is either intimated or expreſſed in the body of the epiſtle. I ſhall add no more but this obſervation, that St. Paul was wont to ſubſcribe every epiſtle with his own hand, [a] *which is my token in every epiſtle; ſo I write.* Which was done (ſays [b] one of the antients) to prevent impoſtures, that his epiſtles might not be interpolated and corrupted, and that if any vented epiſtles under his name, the cheat might be diſcovered by the apoſtle's own hand not being to them: and this brings me to the laſt conſideration, that ſhall conclude this chapter.

11. THAT there were ſome, even in the moſt early ages of chriſtianity, who took upon them (for what ends I ſtand not now to enquire) to write books, and publiſh them under the name of ſome apoſtle, is notoriouſly known to any, though but never ſo little converſant in church-antiquities. Herein St. Paul had his part and ſhare, ſeveral ſuppoſititious writings being fathered and thruſt upon him. We find a goſpel aſcribed by ſome of the antients to him, which ſurely aroſe from no other cauſe, than that in ſome of his epiſtles he makes mention of *my goſpel.* Which as [c] St. Hierom obſerves, can be meant of no other than the goſpel of St. Luke, his conſtant attendant, and from whom he chiefly derived his intelligence. If he wrote another epiſtle to the Corinthians, precedent to thoſe two extant at this day, as he ſeems to imply in a paſſage in his firſt epiſtle, [d] *I have wrote unto you in an epiſtle, not to keep company,* &c. a paſſage not conveniently appliable to any part either in that or the other epiſtle, nay a verſe or two after, the firſt epiſtle is directly oppoſed to it; [e] all that can be ſaid in the caſe is, that it long ſince periſhed, the Divine Providence not ſeeing it neceſſary to be preſerved for the ſervice of the church. Frequent mention there is alſo of an epiſtle of his to the Laodiceans, grounded upon a miſtaken paſſage in the epiſtle to the Coloſſians: [f] but beſides that the apoſtle does not there ſpeak of an epiſtle written to the Laodiceans, but of one from them, [g] Tertullian tells us, that by the epiſtle to the Laodiceans is meant that to the Epheſians, and that Marcion the heretick was the firſt that changed the title; and therefore in his enumeration of St. Paul's epiſtles he omits that to the Epheſians, for no other reaſon doubtleſs, but that according to Marcion's opinion he had reckon'd it up under the title of that to the Laodiceans. Which yet is more clear, if we conſider that [h] Epiphanius citing a place quoted by Marcion out of the epiſtle to the Laodiceans, it is in the very ſame words found in that to the Epheſians at this day. However ſuch an epiſtle is ſtill extant, forged, no doubt, before St. Hierom's time, [i] who tells us, that it was read by ſome, but yet exploded and rejected by all. Beſides theſe there was his [k] Revelation, called alſo 'Αναβατικὸν or his Aſcenſion, grounded on his ecſtaſie or rapture into heaven, firſt forged by the Cainian hereticks, and in great uſe and eſtimation among the Gnoſticks. [l] Sozomen tells us, that this Apocalypſe was owned by none of the antients, though much commended by ſome monks in his time: and he farther adds, that in the time of the emperor Theodoſius, it was ſaid to have been found in an under-ground cheſt of marble in St. Paul's houſe at Tarſus, and that by a particular revelation. A ſtory which upon enquiry he found to be as falſe, as the book it ſelf was forged and ſpurious. The Acts of St. Paul are mentioned both by [m] Origen and [n] Euſebius, but not as writings of approved and unqueſtionable credit and authority. The epiſtles that are ſaid to have paſſed between St. Paul and Seneca, how early ſoever they ſtarted in the church, yet the falſehood and fabulouſneſs of them is now too notoriouſly known, to need any farther account or deſcription of them.

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[a] 2 Theſſ. iii. 17.
[b] Ambr. in loc. T. 5. p. 397.
[c] De Script. Eccl. in Luc.
[d] 1 Cor. v. 9.
[e] Ver. 11.
[f] Col. iv. 16.
[g] Adv. Marc. l. 5. c. 11. p. 476. ib. c. 17. p. 481.
[h] Hæreſ. 42. adv. Marcion. p. 142.
[i] De Script. Eccl. in Paulo.
[k] Epiph. Hæreſ. 38. p. 124. Auguſt. in Joan. Tract. 98. col. 488.
[l] H. Eccl. l. 7. c. 19. p. 735.
[m] Orig. περ. 'Αρχ. l. 1. c. 2. fol. 114. p. 2.
[n] Euſeb. lib. 3. c. 3. p. 72.

SECT. IX.

The principal Controverſies that exerciſed the Church in his time.

Simon Magus the father of hereticks. The wretched principles and practices of him and his followers. Their aſſerting angel-worſhip; and how countermined by St. Paul. Their holding it lawful to ſacrifice to idols, and abjure the faith in times of perſecution, diſcovered and oppoſed by St. Paul. Their maintaining an univerſal licence to ſin. Their manners and opinions herein deſcribed by St. Paul in his epiſtles. The great controverſy of thoſe times about the obligation of the law of Moſes upon the Gentile converts. The original of it, whence. The mighty veneration which the Jews had for the law of Moſes. The true ſtate of the controverſy, what. The determination made in it by the apoſtolick ſynod at Jeruſalem. Meats offered to idols, what. Abſtinence from blood, why enjoined of old. Things ſtrangled, why forbidden. Fornication commonly practiſed, and accounted lawful among the Gentiles. The hire of the harlot, what. How dedicated to their Deities among the Heathens. The main paſſages in St. Paul's epiſtles concerning juſtification and ſalvation ſhewed to have reſpect to this controverſy. What meant by law, and what by faith, in St. Paul's epiſtles. The perſons whom he has to deal with in this controverſy, who. The Jews ſtrange doting upon circumciſion. The way and manner of the apoſtle's reaſoning in this controverſy conſidered. His chief arguments ſhewed immediately to reſpect the caſe of the Jewiſh and Gentile converts. No other controverſy in thoſe times, which his diſcourſes could refer to. Two conſectaries from this diſcourſe. I. *That works of evangelical obedience are not oppoſed to faith in juſtification. What meant by works of evangelical obedience. This method of juſtification excludes boaſting, and entirely gives the glory to God.* II. *That the doctrines of St. Paul and St. James about juſtification are fairly conſiſtent with each other. Theſe two apoſtles ſhewed to purſue the ſame deſign. St. James his excellent reaſonings to that purpoſe.*

1. THOUGH our Lord and his apoſtles delivered the Chriſtian religion, eſpecially as to the main and eſſential parts of it, in words as plain as words could expreſs it, yet were there men of perverſe and *corrupt minds, and reprobate concerning the faith*, who from different cauſes, ſome ignorantly or wilfully miſtaking the doctrines of chriſtianity, others to ſerve ill purpoſes and deſigns, began to introduce errors and unſound opinions into the church, and to debauch the minds of men from the ſimplicity of the goſpel, hereby diſquieting the thoughts, and alienating the affections of men, and diſturbing the peace and order of the church. The firſt ringleader of this heretical crew was Simon Magus, who not being able to attain his ends of the apoſtles, by getting a power to confer miraculous gifts, whereby he deſigned to greaten and enrich himſelf, reſolved to be revenged of them, ſcattering the moſt poiſonous tares among the good wheat that they had ſown, bringing in the moſt pernicious principles; and as the natural conſequent of that, patronizing the moſt debauched villainous practices; and this under a pretence of ſtill being Chriſtians. To enumerate the ſeveral Dogmata and damnable hereſies, firſt broached by Simon, and then vented and propagated by his diſciples and followers, who though paſſing under different titles, yet all centred at laſt in the name of Gnoſticks, a term which we ſhall ſometimes uſe for conveniency, (though it took not place till after St. Paul's time) were as needleſs as it is alien to my purpoſe. I ſhall only take notice of a few of more ſignal remark, and ſuch as St. Paul in his epiſtles does eminently reflect upon.

2. AMONGST the opinions and principles of Simon and his followers, this was [o] one, that God did not create the world, that it was made by angels. That divine honours were due to them, and they to be adored as ſubordinate mediators between God and us. This our apoſtle ſaw growing up apace, and ſtruck betimes at the root, in that early caution he gave to the Coloſſians, to [p] *let no man beguile them in a voluntary humility, and worſhipping of angels, intruding into thoſe things which he hath not ſeen, vainly puft up by his fleſhly mind; and not holding the head, i. e.* hereby diſclaiming Chriſt, the head of the

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[o] Iren. l. 1. c. 20. Epiph. Hær. 21. Tert. de Præſc. Hær. c. 33. p. 214, &c. 46. p. 219. Aug. de Hæreſ. Hær. 39.

[p] Col. ii. 18.

church. But notwithſtanding this warning, this error ſtill continued and ſpread it ſelf in thoſe parts for ſeveral ages, till expreſſly condemned by the [q] Laodicean council. Nay, [r] Theodoret tells us, that in his time there were ſtill Oratories erected to the Archangel Michael in thoſe places, wherein they were wont to meet and pray to angels. Another Gnoſtick principle was, [ſ] that men might freely and indifferently eat what had been offered in ſacrifice to Idols; yea, ſacrifice to the Idol it ſelf, it being lawful confidently to abjure the faith in time of perſecution. The firſt part whereof St. Paul does largely and frequently diſcuſs up and down his epiſtles; the latter, wherein the ſting and poiſon was more immediately couched, was craftily adapted to thoſe times of ſuffering, and greedily ſwallowed by many, hereby drawn into apoſtaſie. Againſt this our apoſtle antidotes the Chriſtians, eſpecially the Jewiſh converts, among whom the Gnoſticks had mixed themſelves, that they would not ſuffer themſelves to be drawn aſide by [t] *an evil heart of unbelief, in departing from the living God:* That notwithſtanding ſufferings and perſecutions, they would [u] *hold faſt the profeſſion of the faith without wavering, not forſaking the aſſembling of themſelves together, as the manner of ſome is* (the Gnoſtick hereticks;) remembring how ſeverely God has threatned apoſtates, that *if any man draw back, his ſoul ſhall have no pleaſure in him,* and *what a fearful thing it is thus to fall into the hands of the living God.*

3. BUT beſides this, Simon and his followers made the gate yet wider, maintaining an univerſal licence to ſin, [w] that men were free to do whatever they had a mind to, that to preſs the obſervance of good works was a bondage inconſiſtent with the liberty of the goſpel; that ſo men did but believe in him and his dear Helen, they had no reaſon to regard law or prophets, but might do what they pleaſed, they ſhould be ſaved by his grace, and not according to good works. Irenæus adds, (what a man might eaſily have inferred, had he never been told it) that they lived in all luſt and filthineſs; as indeed whoever will take the pains to peruſe the account that is given of them, will find that they wallowed in the moſt horrible and unheard-of beſtialities. Theſe perſons St. Paul does as particularly deſcribe, as if he had named them, having once and again with tears warned the Philippians of them, that [x] *they were enemies of the croſs of Chriſt, whoſe end is deſtruction, whoſe God is their belly, and whoſe glory is in their ſhame, who mind earthly things.* And elſewhere to the ſame effect, that they would [y] *mark them that cauſed diviſions and offences, contrary to the doctrine which they had learned, and avoid them; for they that were ſuch, ſerved not our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, but their own belly, by good words and fair ſpeeches deceiving the hearts of the ſimple.* This I doubt not he had in his eye, when he gave thoſe caveats to the Epheſians, that [z] *fornication, and all uncleanneſs, and inordinate deſires ſhould not be once named amongſt them, as became ſaints, nor filthineſs, nor unclean talking*; being aſſured by the Chriſtian doctrine, that *no whoremonger, nor unclean perſon,* &c. could be ſaved: that therefore *they ſhould let no man deceive them with vain words; theſe being the very things for which the wrath of God came upon the children of diſobedience*; and accordingly it concerned them, *not to be partakers with them.* Plainly intimating, that this impure Gnoſtick crew (whoſe doctrines and practices he does here no leſs truly than lively repreſent) had begun by crafty and inſinuative arts to ſcrew it ſelf into the church of Epheſus, cheating the people with ſubtile and flattering inſinuations, probably perſuading them that theſe things were but indifferent, and a part of that Chriſtian liberty, wherein the goſpel had inſtated them. By theſe and ſuch like principles and practices (many whereof might be reckoned up) they corrupted the faith of Chriſtians, diſtracted the peace of the church, ſtained and defiled the honour and purity of the beſt religion in the world.

4. BUT the greateſt and moſt famous controverſy that of all others in thoſe times exerciſed the Chriſtian church, was concerning the obligation that Chriſtians were under to obſerve the law of Moſes, as neceſſary to their juſtification and ſalvation. Which becauſe a matter of ſo much importance, and which takes up ſo great a part of St. Paul's epiſtles, and the clearing whereof will reflect a great light upon them, we ſhall conſider more at large: In order whereunto three things eſpecially are to be enquired after, the true ſtate of the controverſy, what the apoſtles determined in this matter, and what reſpect the moſt material paſſages in St. Paul's epiſtles about juſtification and ſalvation bear to this controverſy. Firſt we ſhall enquire into the true ſtate and nature of the controverſy; and for this we are to know, that when chriſtianity was publiſhed to the world, it mainly prevailed among the Jews, they being generally the firſt converts to the faith. But having

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[q] Can. 35.

[r] Theod. comment. in Col. 2.

[ſ] Orig. adv. Celſ. lib. 6. p. 282. Euſeb. l. 4. c. 7. p. 120.

[t] Heb. iii. 12.

[u] Heb. x. 23, 25, 31, 38.

[w] Iren. adv. Hær. l. 1. c. 20. p. 116.

[x] Phil. iii. 17, 18.

[y] Rom. xvi. 17, 18.

[z] Eph. v. 3, 4, &c.

been brought up in a mighty reverence and veneration for the Moſaick inſtitutions, and looking upon that œconomy as immediately contrived by God himſelf, delivered by angels, ſettled by their great maſter Moſes, received with the moſt ſolemn and ſenſible appearances of divine power and majeſty, ratified by miracles, and entertained by all their forefathers as the peculiar prerogative of that nation, for ſo many ages and generations, they could not eaſily be brought off from it, or behold the goſpel but with an evil eye, as an enemy that came to ſupplant and undermine this antient and excellent inſtitution. Nay, thoſe of them that were prevailed upon by the convictive power and evidence of the goſpel, to embrace the Chriſtian religion, yet could not get over the prejudice of education, but muſt ſtill continue their obſervance of thoſe legal rites and cuſtoms, wherein they had been brought up. And, not content with this, they began magiſterially to impoſe them upon others, even all the Gentile converts, as that without which they could never be accepted by God in this, or rewarded by him in another world. This controverſy was firſt ſtarted at Antioch, a place not more remarkable for its own greatneſs than the vaſt numbers of Jews [a] that dwelt there, enjoying great immunities granted them by the king of Syria. For after that Antiochus Epiphanes had deſtroyed Jeruſalem, and laid waſte the temple, the Jews generally flocked hither, where they were courteouſly entertained by his ſucceſſors, the ſpoils of the temple reſtored to them for the enriching and adorning of their ſynagogue, and they made equally with the Greeks free-men of that city. By which means their numbers increaſed daily, partly by the reſort of others from Judæa, partly by a numerous converſion of proſelytes, whom they gained over to their religion. Accordingly chriſtianity at its firſt ſetting out found a very ſucceſsful entertainment in this place. And hither it was that ſome of the [b] Jewiſh converts being come down from Jeruſalem, taught the Chriſtians, that unleſs they obſerved circumciſion, and the whole law of Moſes, they could not be ſaved. Paul and Barnabas, then at Antioch, obſerving the ill influence that this had upon the minds of men, (diſturbing many at preſent, and cauſing the apoſtaſie of ſome afterwards) began vigorouſly to oppoſe this growing error; but not able to conjure down this ſpirit that had been raiſed up, they were diſpatched by the church at Antioch to conſult the apoſtles and governors at Jeruſalem about this matter: whither being come, they found the quarrel eſpouſed among others by ſome converts of the ſect of the Phariſees (of all others the moſt zealous aſſertors of the Moſaick rites) ſtiffly maintaining, that beſides the goſpel or the Chriſtian religion, it was neceſſary for all converts, whether Jews or Gentiles, to keep to circumciſion and the law of Moſes. So that the ſtate of the controverſy between the orthodox and theſe Judaizing Chriſtians was plainly this:

> “ Whether circumciſion and the obſervation of the moſaick law, or only the be-
> “ lief and practice of chriſtianity, be neceſſary to ſalvation?”

The latter part of the queſtion was maintained by the apoſtles, the former aſſerted by the Judaizing zealots, making the law of Moſes equally neceſſary with the law of Chriſt; and no doubt pretending that whatever theſe men might preach at Antioch, yet the apoſtles were of another mind; whoſe ſentence and reſolution it was therefore thought neceſſary ſhould be immediately known.

5. We are then next to conſider what determination the apoſtolick ſynod at Jeruſalem made of this matter. For a council of the apoſtles and rulers being immediately convened, and the queſtion by Paul and Barnabas brought before them, the caſe was canvaſſed and debated on all hands, and at laſt it was reſolved upon by their unanimous ſentence and ſuffrage, that the Gentile converts were under no obligation to the Jewiſh law, that God had abundantly declared his acceptance of them, though ſtrangers to the Moſaical œconomy, that they were ſufficiently ſecured of their happineſs and ſalvation by the grace of the goſpel, wherein they might be juſtified and ſaved without circumciſion or legal ceremonies, a yoak from which Chriſt had now ſet us free. But becauſe the apoſtles did not think it prudent in theſe circumſtances, too much to ſtir the exaſperated humour of the Jews, (leſt by ſtraining the ſtring too high at firſt, they ſhould endanger their revolting from the faith) therefore they thought of ſome indulgence in the caſe, St. James, then biſhop of Jeruſalem, and probably preſident of the council, propounding this expedient, that for the preſent the Gentile converts ſhould ſo far only comply with the humour of the Jews, as to *abſtain from meats offered to idols; from blood, from things ſtrangled, and from fornication.* Let us a little more diſtinctly ſurvey the ingredients of this impoſition. *Meats offered to idols,* or as St. James in his diſcourſe ſtiles them ἀλισγήματα τῶν εἰδώλων, *the pollution of idols,* the word ἀλισγήματα properly denoting the meats that were polluted by being conſecrated to the idol. Thus we read of לחם מגאל, ἄρτος ἠλισγημένος,

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[a] Joſeph. de Bell. Jud. l. 7. c. 21. p. 973.

[b] Acts xv. 1.

[c] Matth. i. 7.

(as the LXX render it) *polluted bread upon God's altar*, *i.e.* ſuch probably as had been before offered to idols. So that theſe meats offered to the idols were parts of thoſe ſacrifices which the Heathens offered to their gods, of the remaining portions whereof they uſually made a feaſt in the idol-temple, inviting their friends thither, and ſometimes their Chriſtian friends to come along with them. This God had particularly forbidden the Jews by the law of Moſes, [d] *Thou ſhalt worſhip no other God: leſt thou make a covenant with the inhabitants of the land, and go a whoring after their gods, and do ſacrifice unto their gods, and one call thee, and thou eat of his ſacrifice.* And the not obſerving of this prohibition coſt the Jews dear, when invited by the Moabites to the ſacrifices of their gods, [e] *they did eat with them, and bowed down to their gods.* Sometimes theſe remaining portions were ſold for common uſe in the ſhambles, and bought by Chriſtians. Both which gave great offence to the zealous Jews, who looked upon it as a participation in the idolatries of the Heathen: of both which our apoſtle diſcourſes elſewhere at large, preſſing Chriſtians to *abſtain from idolatry*, both as to the idol-feaſts, and the remainders of the ſacrifice: from the former, as more immediately unlawful; from the latter, the ſacrificial meats ſold in the ſhambles, as giving offence to weak and undiſcerning Chriſtians. For though in itſelf *an idol was nothing in the world*, and conſequently no honour could be done it by eating what was offered to it; yet was it more prudent and reaſonable to abſtain, partly becauſe fleſh-meats have no peculiar excellency in them to commend us to God; partly becauſe all men were not alike inſtructed in the knowledge of their liberty, their minds eaſily puzled, and their conſciences entangled, the Gentiles by this means hardned in their idolatrous practices, weak brethren offended; beſides, though theſe things were in their own nature indifferent, and in a man's own power to do, or to let alone, yet was it not convenient to make our liberty a ſnare to others, and to venture upon what was lawful, when it was plainly unedifying and inexpedient. *From blood:* this God forbad of old, and that ſome time before the giving of the law by Moſes, that [f] *they ſhould not eat the fleſh with the blood, which was the life thereof.* The myſtery of which prohibition was to inſtruct men in the duties of mercy and tenderneſs even to brute beaſts, but (as appears from what follows after) primarily deſigned by God as a ſolemn fence and bar againſt murther, and the effuſion of human blood. A law afterwards renewed upon the Jews, and inſerted into the body of the Moſaick precepts. *From things ſtrangled:* that is, that they ſhould abſtain from eating of thoſe beaſts that died without letting blood, where the blood was not throughly drained from them; a prohibition grounded upon the reaſon of the former, and indeed was greatly abominable to the Jews[g], being ſo expreſſly forbiden in their law. But it was not more offenſive to the Jews than acceptable to the [h] Gentiles, who were wont with great art and care to ſtrangle living creatures, that they might ſtew or dreſs them with their blood in them, as a point of curious and exquiſite delicacy. This and the foregoing prohibition, abſtinence from blood, died not with the apoſtles, nor were buried with other Jewiſh rites, but were inviolably obſerved for ſeveral ages in the Chriſtian church, as we have [i] elſewhere obſerved from the writers of thoſe times. Laſtly, *From fornication:* this was a thing commonly practiſed in the Heathen world, who generally beheld ſimple fornication as no [k] ſin, and that it was lawful for perſons, not engaged in wedlock, to make uſe of women that expoſed themſelves. A cuſtom juſtly offenſive to the Jews, and therefore to cure two evils at once, the apoſtles here ſolemnly declare againſt it. Not that they thought it a thing indifferent, as the reſt of the prohibited rites were; for it is forbidden by the natural law (as contrary to that chaſtneſs and modeſty, that order and comelineſs which God has planted in the minds of men) but they joined it in the ſame claſs with them, becauſe the Gentiles looked upon it as a thing lawful and indifferent. It had been expreſſly forbidden by the Moſaick law, [l] *There ſhall be no whore of the daughters of Iſrael*; and becauſe the Heathens had generally thrown down this fence and bar ſet by the law of nature, it was here again repaired by the firſt planters of Chriſtianity, as by St. Paul elſewhere, [m] *Ye know what commandments we gave you by the Lord Jeſus; for this is the will of God, even your ſanctification,*

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[d] Exod. xxxiv. 14, 15.

[e] Numb. xxv. 2—4.

[f] Gen. ix. 4.

[g] Lev. xvii. 10, 11, 12, &c.

[h] Athen. Deipnoſ. lib. 2. c. 24. p. 65. *ubi vid.* Caſaub. in loc.

[i] Prim. Chriſt. Part 3. c. 1. p. 230.

[k] Vid. Cicer. pro Cœlio Orat. 34. p. 503. Tom. 2. Terent. Adelph. Act. 1. Sc. 2. p. 166.

Σὺ δ' εἰς ἅπαντας εὗρες ἀνθρώπους, Σόλων.
Σὲ γὰρ λέγουσιν τοῦτ' ἰδεῖν πρῶτον,
Δημοτικὸν ὦ Ζεῦ πρᾶγμα καὶ σωτήριον,
Καί μοι λέγειν τοῦτ' ἔστιν ἁρμοστὸν, Σόλων,
Μεστὴν ὁρῶντα τὴν πόλιν νεωτέρων,
Τούτους τ' ἔχοντας τὴν ἀναγκαίαν φύσιν,
Ἁμαρτάνοντάς τ' εἰς ὃ μὴ προσῆκον ἦν,
Στῆσαι πριάμενόν τι γυναῖκας κατὰ τόπους
Κοινὰς ἅπασι καὶ κατεσκευασμένας.
Ἑστᾶσι γυμναὶ, &c.

Philem. Comic. in Delph. ap. Athen. lib. 13. c. 3. p. 569. Vid. Leg. Attic. l. 6. Tit. 5. p. 41. & Petit. Comment. p. 474.

[l] Deut. xxiii. 17.

[m] 1 Theſſ. iv. 2, 3, 4, 5.

that ye ſhould abſtain from fornication: that every one of you ſhould know how to poſſeſs his veſſel in ſanctification and honour, not in the luſt of concupiſcence, even as the Gentiles which know not God. Though after all I muſt confeſs my ſelf inclinable to embrace Heinſius's ingenious conjecture, that by πορνεία, *fornication*, we are here to underſtand πόρνης μίσθωμα, *the harlots hire*, or the πορνικὴ θυσία, the offering which thoſe perſons were wont to make. For among the Gentiles nothing was more uſual, than for the common women, that proſtituted themſelves to lewd embraces (thoſe eſpecially that attended at the temples of Venus) to dedicate ſome part of their gain, and preſent it to the gods. [n] Athanaſius has a paſſage very expreſs to this purpoſe. Γυναῖκες γοῦν ἐν εἰδωλείοις τῆς Φοινίκης πάλαι προεκαθέζοντο, ἀπαρχόμεναι τοῖς ἐκεῖ θεοῖς ἑαυτῶν τὴν τοῦ σώματος μισθαρνίαν, νομίζουσαι τῇ πορνείᾳ τὴν θεὸν ἑαυτῶν ἱλάσκεσθαι, καὶ εἰς εὐμένειαν ἄγειν αὐτὴν διὰ τούτων. *The women of old were wont to ſit in the idol-temples of Phœnicia, and to dedicate the gain which they got by the proſtitution of their bodies as a kind of firſt-fruits to the deities of the place; ſuppoſing that by fornication they ſhould pacify their goddeſs, and by this means render her favourable and propitious to them.* Where it is plain he uſes πορνεία, or *fornication*, in this very ſenſe, for that gain or reward of it, which they conſecrated to their gods. Some ſuch thing Solomon had in his eye, when he brings in the harlot thus courting the young man, [o] *I have peace-offerings with me, this day have I paid my vows.* Theſe preſents were either made in ſpecie, the very money thus unrighteouſly gotten, or in ſacrifices bought with it, and offered at the temple, the remainders whereof were taken and ſold among the ordinary ſacrificial portions. This as it holds the neareſt correſpondence with the reſt of the rites here forbidden, ſo could it not chuſe but be a mighty ſcandal to the Jews, it being ſo particularly prohibited in their law, [p] *Thou ſhalt not bring the hire of a whore into the houſe of the Lord thy God for any Vow, for it is an abomination to the Lord.*

6. THESE prohibitions here laid upon the Gentiles, were by the apoſtles intended only for a temporary compliance with the Jewiſh converts, till they could by degrees be brought off from their ſtiffneſs and obſtinacy, and then the reaſon of the thing ceaſing, the obligation to it muſt needs ceaſe and fail. Nay, we may obſerve that even while the apoſtolical decree laſted in its greateſt force and power, in thoſe places where there were few or no Jewiſh converts, the apoſtles did not ſtick to give leave, that except in caſe of ſcandal, any kind of meats, even the portions of the idol-ſacrifices might be indifferently bought and taken by Chriſtians as well as Heathens. Theſe were all which in order to the ſatisfaction of the Jews, and for the preſent peace of the church, the apoſtles thought neceſſary to require of the converted Gentiles; but that for all the reſt they were perfectly free from legal obſervances, obliged only to the commands of chriſtianity. So that the apoſtolical deciſion that was made of this matter was this,

> "That (beſides the temporary obſervation of thoſe few indifferent rites before men-
> "tioned) the belief and practice of the Chriſtian religion was perfectly ſufficient to
> "ſalvation, without circumciſion, and the obſervation of the Moſaick law."

This ſynodical determination allayed the controverſy for a while, being joyfully received by the Gentile-Chriſtians. But alas, the Jewiſh zeal began again to ferment and ſpread it ſelf; they could not with any patience endure to ſee their beloved Moſes deſerted, and thoſe venerable Inſtitutions trodden down, and therefore laboured to keep up their credit, and ſtill to aſſert them as neceſſary to ſalvation. Than which nothing created St. Paul greater trouble at every turn, being forced to contend againſt theſe Judaizing teachers almoſt in every church where he came; as appears by that great part that they bear in all his epiſtles, eſpecially that to the Romans, and Galatians, where this leaven had moſt diffuſed it ſelf, whom the better to undeceive, he diſcourſes at large of the nature and inſtitution, the end and deſign, the antiquating and aboliſhing of that Moſaick covenant, which theſe men laid ſo much ſtreſs and weight upon.

7. HENCE then we paſs to the third thing conſiderable for the clearing of this matter, which is to ſhew, that the main paſſages in St. Paul's epiſtles, concerning juſtification and ſalvation, have an immediate reference to this controverſy. But before we enter upon that, ſomething muſt neceſſarily be premiſed for the explicating ſome terms and phraſes frequently uſed by our apoſtle in this queſtion, theſe two eſpecially; what he means by law, and what by faith. By law then it is plain he uſually underſtands the Jewiſh law, which was a complex body of laws, containing moral, ceremonial and judicial precepts, each of which had its uſe and office as a great inſtrument of duty: the judicial laws being peculiar ſtatutes accommodated to the ſtate of the Jews commonwealth, as all civil conſtitutions, reſtrained men from the external acts of ſin: the ceremonial laws came ſomewhat

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[n] Orat. adv. Gent. p. 27. Tom. 1.
[o] Prov. vii. 14.
[p] Deut. xxiii. 18.

what nearer, and beſides their typical relation to the evangelical ſtate, by external and ſymbolical repreſentments ſignified and exhibited that ſpiritual impurity, from which men were to abſtain: the moral laws, founded in the natural notions of men's minds concerning good and evil, directly urged men to duty, and prohibited their prevarications. Theſe three made up the intire Code and Pandects of the Jewiſh ſtatutes; all which our apoſtle comprehends under the general notion of *the law*, and not the moral law ſingly and ſeparately conſidered, in which ſenſe it never appears that the Jews expected juſtification and ſalvation by it, nay rather, that they looked for it merely from the obſervance of the ritual and ceremonial law: ſo that the moral law is no farther conſidered by him in this queſtion, than as it made up a part of the Moſaical conſtitution, of that national and political covenant, which God made with the Jews at mount Sinai. Hence the apoſtle all along in his diſcourſes conſtantly oppoſes the law and the goſpel, and the obſervation of the one to the belief and practice of the other, which ſurely he would not have done, had he ſimply intended the moral law, it being more expreſſly incorporated into the goſpel, than ever it was into the law of Moſes. And that the apoſtle does thus oppoſe the law and goſpel, might be made evident from the continued ſeries of his diſcourſes; but a few places ſhall ſuffice. [q] *By what law* (ſays the apoſtle) *is boaſting excluded? by the law of works?* i. e. by the Moſaick law, in whoſe peculiar privileges and prerogatives the Jews did ſtrangely flatter and pride themſelves? [r] *Nay, but by the law of faith*, i. e. by the goſpel, or the evangelical way of God's dealing with us. And elſewhere giving an account of this very controverſy between the Jewiſh and Gentile converts, he firſt oppoſes their perſons, *Jews by nature*, and *ſinners of the Gentiles*, and then infers, *that a man is not juſtified by the works of the law*, by thoſe legal obſervances, whereby the Jews expected to be juſtified, *but by the faith of Chriſt*, by a hearty belief of, and compliance with that way, which Chriſt has introduced; *for by the works of the law*, by legal obedience, *no fleſh*, neither Jew nor Gentile, *ſhall* now *be juſtified.* [s] *Fain would I learn, whether you received the ſpirit by the works of the law, or by the hearing of faith?* that is, whether you became partakers of the miraculous powers of the Holy Ghoſt, while you continued under the legal diſpenſation, or ſince you embraced the goſpel, and the faith of Chriſt: and ſpeaking afterwards of the ſtate of the Jews before the revelation of the goſpel, ſays he, [t] *before faith came, we were kept under the law*, i. e. before the goſpel came, we were kept under the diſcipline of the legal œconomy, *ſhut up unto the faith*, reſerved for the diſcovery of the evangelical diſpenſation, *which ſhould afterwards* [in its due time] *be revealed* to the world. This in the following chapter he diſcourſes more at large. [u] *Tell me, ye that deſire to be under the law*, i. e. Ye Jews that ſo fondly dote upon the legal ſtate, *Do ye not hear the law?* i. e. underſtand what your own law does ſo clearly intimate? and then goes on to unriddle what was wrapt up in the famous allegory of Abraham's two ſons by his two wives: the one Iſhmael, born of *Hagar*, the Bond-woman, who denoted the *Jewiſh* covenant made at mount Sinai, which according to the repreſentation of her condition was a ſervile ſtate; the other, Iſaac, born of Sarah, the free-woman, was the ſon of the promiſe, denoting *Jeruſalem that is above, and is free, the mother of us all*, i. e. The ſtate and covenant of the goſpel, whereby all Chriſtians, as the ſpiritual children of Abraham, are ſet free from the bondage of the Moſaick diſpenſation. By all which it is evident, that by law and the works of the law, in this controverſy, the apoſtle underſtands the law of Moſes, and that obedience which the legal diſpenſation required at their hands.

8. WE are ſecondly to enquire, what the apoſtle means by faith; and he commonly uſes it two ways. 1. More generally for the goſpel, or that evangelical way of juſtification and ſalvation, which Chriſt has brought in, in oppoſition to circumciſion, and the obſervation of thoſe rites, by which the Jews expected to be juſtified: and this is plain from the preceding oppoſition, where faith, as denoting the goſpel, is frequently oppoſed to the law of Moſes. 2. Faith is taken more particularly for a practical belief, or ſuch an aſſent to the evangelical revelation as produces a ſincere obedience to the laws of it, and indeed as concerned in this matter is uſually taken not for this or that ſingle virtue, but for the entire condition of the new covenant, as comprehending all that duty that it requires of us: than which nothing can be more plain and evident; *in Chriſt Jeſus*, i. e. under the goſpel, [x] *neither circumciſion availeth any thing, nor uncircumciſion*; it is all one to juſtification whether a man be circumciſed or no; what then? *but faith, which worketh by love*; which afterwards he explains thus, [y] *in Chriſt Jeſus neither circumciſion availeth any thing, nor uncircumciſion, but a new creature*, a renewed and divine temper

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[q] Rom. iii. 27.

[r] Gal. ii. 15, 16.

[u] Gal. iv. 21, & *ſeq.*

[x] Gal. v. 6.

[s] Gal. iii. 2—5.

[t] Ver. 23.

[y] Gal. vi. 15.

of mind, and a new courſe and ſtate of life. And leſt all this ſhould not be thought plain enough, he elſewhere tells us, that [a] *circumciſion is nothing, and uncircumciſion is nothing; but the keeping the commandments of God.* From which places there needs no skill to infer, that that faith whereby we are juſtified, contains in it a new diſpoſition and ſtate both of heart and life, and an obſervation of the laws of Chriſt; in which reſpect the apoſtle does in the very ſame verſe expound [a] *believing*, by *obeying of the goſpel.* Such he aſſures us was that very faith by which Abraham was juſtified, who againſt all probabilities of reaſon believed in God's promiſe, *he ſtaggered not at the promiſe of God through unbelief, but was ſtrong*, &c. that is, he ſo firmly believed what God had promiſed, that he gave him the glory of his truth and faithfulneſs, his infinite power and ability to do all things. And how did he that? by acting ſuitably in a way of intire reſignation, and ſincere obedience to the divine will and pleaſure: ſo the apoſtle elſewhere more expreſly, [b] *by faith he obeyed, and went out, not knowing whither he went.* This faith (he tells us) [c] *was imputed to Abraham for righteouſneſs*, that is, God by virtue of the new covenant made in Chriſt was graciouſly pleaſed to look upon this obedience (though in itſelf imperfect) as that for which he accounted him, and would deal with him as a juſt and a righteous man. And upon this account we find Abraham's faith oppoſed to a perfect and unſinning obedience, for thus the apoſtle tells us, that [d] *Abraham* was juſtified by faith, in oppoſition to his being juſtified by ſuch an abſolute and compleat obedience, as might have enabled him to challenge the reward by the ſtrict laws of juſtice; whereas now his being pardoned and accepted by God in the way of a mean and imperfect obedience, it could not claim impunity, much leſs a reward, but muſt be intirely owing to the divine grace and favour.

9. Having thus cleared our way, by reſtoring theſe words to their genuine and native ſenſe, we come to ſhew, how the apoſtle in his diſcourſes does all along referr to the original controverſy between the Jewiſh and Gentile converts, whether juſtification was by the obſervation of the Moſaick law, or by the belief and practice of the goſpel: and this will appear, if we conſider the perſons that he has to deal with, the way and manner of his arguing, and that there was then no other controverſy on foot, to which theſe paſſages could refer. The perſons whom he had to deal with, were chiefly of two ſorts, pure Jews, and Jewiſh converts. Pure Jews were thoſe that kept themſelves wholly to the legal œconomy, and expected to be juſtified and ſaved in no other way, than the obſervation of the law of Moſes. Indeed they laid a more peculiar ſtreſs upon circumciſion, becauſe this having been added as the ſeal of that covenant which God made with Abraham, and the diſcriminating badge whereby they were to be diſtinguiſhed from all other nations, they looked upon it as having a ſpecial efficacy in it to recommend them to the divine acceptance. Accordingly we find in their writings that they make this the main baſis and foundation of their hope and confidence towards God. For they tell us, that the precept of circumciſion is greater than all the reſt, and equivalent to the whole law, that the reaſon why God hears the prayers of the Iſraelites, but not הגוים of the Gentiles or Chriſtians, is המילה בזכות for the virtue and merit of circumciſion; yea that *ſo great is the power and efficacy of the law of circumciſion, that no man that is circumciſed ſhall go to* [e] *hell.* Nay, according to the idle and trifling humour of theſe [f] men, they fetch down Abraham from the ſeat of the bleſſed, and place him as porter at the gates of hell, upon no other errand than to keep circumciſed perſons from entring into that miſerable place. However nothing is more evident, than that circumciſion was the fort and ſanctuary wherein they ordinarily placed their ſecurity; and accordingly we find St. Paul frequently diſputing againſt circumciſion, as virtually comprizing, in their notion, the keeping of the whole Jewiſh law. Beſides to theſe literal impoſitions of the law of Moſes, the Phariſees had added many vain Traditions and ſeveral ſuperſtitious uſages of their own contrivance, in the obſervance whereof the people placed not a little confidence, as to that righteouſneſs upon which they hoped to ſtand clear with heaven. Againſt all theſe our apoſtle argues, and ſometimes by arguments peculiar to them alone. Jewiſh converts were thoſe, who having embraced the Chriſtian religion, did yet out of a veneration to their antient rites, make the obſervance of them equally neceſſary with the belief and practice of chriſtianity both to themſelves and others. Theſe laſt were the perſons, who as they firſt ſtarted the controverſy, ſo were thoſe againſt whom the apoſtle mainly oppoſed himſelf, endeavouring to diſmount their pretences, and to beat down their opinions level with the ground.

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[a] 1 Cor. vii. 19.

[a] Rom. x. 16.

[b] Heb. xi. 8.

[c] Rom. iv. 22.

[d] Rom. iv. 2, 3, &c.

[e] גדול כוח מצותמילה שכל מי שהוא מהול אינו יורד·לגהנם Cod. Hakkem. ap. Buxtorf. F. præf. ad Syn. Jud.

[f] Synag. Jud. c. 4. p. 87.

10. This will yet farther appear from the way and manner of the apoſtle's arguing, which plainly reſpects this controverſy, and will be beſt ſeen in ſome particular inſtances of his reaſonings. And firſt, he argues, that this way of juſtification urged by Jews and Jewiſh converts was inconſiſtent with the goodneſs of God, and his univerſal kindneſs to mankind, being ſo narrow and limited, that it excluded the far greateſt part of the world. Thus in the three firſt chapters of his epiſtle to the Romans having proved at large that *the whole world*, both Jew and Gentile, *were under a ſtate of guilt*, and conſequently liable to the divine ſentence and condemnation, he comes next to enquire by what means they may be delivered from this ſtate of vengeance, and ſhews that it could not be by legal obſervances, but that now there was a way of righteouſneſs or juſtification declared by Chriſt[a] in the goſpel (intimated alſo in the Old Teſtament) extending to all, both Jews and Gentiles, whereby God with reſpect to the ſatisfaction and expiation of Chriſt is ready freely to pardon and juſtify all penitent believers: that therefore there was a way revealed in the goſpel, whereby a man might be juſtified, without being beholden to the rites of the Jewiſh law, otherwiſe it would argue that God had very little care of the greateſt part of men. *Is he God of the Jews only? Is he not alſo of the Gentiles? Yes, of the Gentiles alſo: ſeeing it is one God, which ſhall juſtifie the circumciſion by faith, and the uncircumciſion through faith, Jew and Gentile* in the ſame evangelical way. The force of which argument lies in this, that that cannot be neceſſary to our juſtification, which excludes the greateſt part of mankind from all poſſibility of being juſtified (and this juſtification by the Moſaick law plainly does) a thing by no means conſiſtent with God's univerſal love and kindneſs to his creatures. Hence the apoſtle magnifies the grace of the goſpel, that it has broken down the partition wall, and made way for all nations to come in, that[b] *now there is neither Greek nor Jew, circumciſion nor uncircumciſion, Barbarian nor Scythian*, no difference in this reſpect, but[c] *all one in Chriſt Jeſus*, all equally admitted to terms of pardon and juſtification, [d] *in every nation he that feareth God, and worketh righteouſneſs being accepted with him.*

11. Secondly, He argues, that this Jewiſh way of juſtification could not be indiſpenſably neceſſary, in that it had not been the conſtant way whereby good men in all ages had been juſtified and accepted with heaven. This he eminently proves from the inſtance of Abraham, whom the ſcripture ſets forth as *the father of the faithful*, and the great exemplar of that way, wherein all his ſpiritual ſeed, all true believers were to be juſtified. Now of him 'tis evident, that he was juſtified and accepted with God upon his practical belief of God's power and promiſe, before ever circumciſion, and much more before the reſt of the Moſaick Inſtitution was in being. [e] *Cometh this bleſſedneſs then upon the circumciſion onely, or upon the uncircumciſion alſo? For we ſay that faith was reckoned unto Abraham for righteouſneſs. How was it then reckoned, when he was in circumciſion, or in uncircumciſion? Not in circumciſion, but in uncircumciſion. And he received the ſign of circumciſion, a ſeal of the righteouſneſs of the faith, which he had being yet uncircumciſed*, &c. The meaning whereof is plainly this, that pardon of ſin cannot be entailed upon the way of the Moſaick law, it being evident, that Abraham was juſtified and approved of God, before he was circumciſed, which was only added as a ſeal of the covenant between God and him, and a teſtimony of that acceptance with God, which he had obtained before. And this way of God's dealing with Abraham, and in him with all his ſpiritual children, the legal inſtitution could not make void, it being impoſſible that diſpenſation which came ſo long after, ſhould diſannul the covenant which God had made with Abraham and his ſpiritual ſeed CCCCXXX years before. Upon this account, as the apoſtle obſerves, the ſcripture ſets forth Abraham as the great type and pattern of juſtification, as[f] *the father of all them that believe, though they be not circumciſed, that righteouſneſs might be imputed to them alſo; and the father of circumciſion, to them who are not of the circumciſion only, but alſo walk in the ſteps of that faith of our father Abraham, which he had being yet uncircumciſed.* [g] *They therefore that are of faith, the ſame are the children of Abraham:* And [h] *the ſcripture foreſeeing that God would juſtifie the Heathen through faith, preached before the goſpel* (this evangelical way of juſtifying) unto Abraham, *ſaying In thee ſhall all nations be bleſſed. So then they which be of faith*, who believe and obey, as Abraham did, *ſhall be bleſſed*, pardoned and ſaved, *with faithful Abraham.* It might farther be demonſtrated that this has ever been God's method of dealing with mankind, our apoſtle in the eleventh chapter to the Hebrews, proving all along by particular inſtances, that it was by ſuch a faith as this, without any relation to the law of Moſes, that good men were juſtified and accepted with God in all ages of the world.

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[a] Rom iii. 20, 21, &c.
[b] Gal. iii. 28.
[c] Col. iii. 11.
[d] Acts x. 35.
[e] Rom. iv. 9, 10, 11, &c.
[f] Gal. iii. 17.
[g] Rom. iv. 1, 12.
[h] Gal. iii. 7, 8, 9

12. Thirdly, He argues againſt this Jewiſh way of juſtification from the deficiency and imperfection of the Moſaick œconomy, not able to juſtify and ſave ſinners. Deficient, as not able to aſſiſt thoſe that were under it with ſufficient aids to perform what it required of them: [i] *This the law could not do, for that it was weak through the fleſh,* till *God ſent his own Son in the likeneſs of ſinful fleſh,* to enable us, *that the righteouſneſs of the law might be fulfilled in us, who walk not after the fleſh, but after the ſpirit.* And indeed [k] *could the law have given life, verily righteouſneſs ſhould have been by the law:* but alas! the ſcripture having concluded all mankind, Jew and Gentile, under ſin, and conſequently incapable of being juſtified upon terms of perfect and intire obedience, there is now no other way but this, that *the promiſe by the faith of Chriſt be given to all them that believe,* i.e. this evangelical method of juſtifying ſincere believers. Beſides, the Jewiſh œconomy was deficient in pardoning ſin, and procuring the grace and favour of God, it could only awaken the knowledge of ſin, not remove the guilt of it: [l] *It was not poſſible that the blood of bulls and goats ſhould take away ſin;* all the ſacrifices of the Moſaick law were no farther available for the pardon of ſin, than merely as they were founded in, and had reſpect to that great ſacrifice and expiation, which was to be made for the ſins of mankind by the death of the ſon of God. [m] *The prieſts, though they daily miniſtred, and oftentimes offered the ſame ſacrifices, yet could they never take away ſins:* No, that was reſerved for a better and a higher ſacrifice, even that of our Lord himſelf, who *after he had offered one ſacrifice for ſins, for ever ſate down on the right hand of God,* having compleated that, which the repeated ſacrifices of the law could never effect. So that all men being under guilt, and no juſtification, where there was no remiſſion, the Jewiſh œconomy being in itſelf unable to pardon, was incapable to juſtify. This St. Paul elſe-where declared in an open aſſembly before Jews and Gentiles; [n] *Be it known unto you, men and brethren, that through this man* [Chriſt Jeſus] *is preached unto you forgiveneſs of ſins: And by him all that believe are juſtified from all things, from which ye could not be juſtified by the law of Moſes.*

13. Fourthly, He proves that juſtification by the Moſaick law could not ſtand with the death of Chriſt, the neceſſity of whoſe death and ſufferings it did plainly evacuate and take away. For if righteouſneſs come by the law, then Chriſt is dead in vain: If the Moſaical [o] performances be ſtill neceſſary to our juſtification, then certainly it was to very little purpoſe, and altogether unbecoming the wiſdom and goodneſs of God, to ſend his own Son into the world, to do ſo much for us, and to ſuffer ſuch exquiſite pains and tortures. Nay, he tells them, that while they perſiſted in this fond obſtinate opinion, all that Chriſt had done and ſuffered could be of no advantage to them. [p] *Stand faſt in the liberty wherewith Chriſt has made us free, and be not again intangled in the yoke of bondage,* the bondage and ſervitude of the Moſaick rites; Behold I Paul ſolemnly *ſay unto ye, That if you be circumciſed, Chriſt ſhall profit you nothing: for I teſtifie again to every man that is circumciſed, that he is a debtor to do the whole law; Chriſt is become of none effect to you; whoſoever of you are juſtified by the law, ye are fallen from grace.* The ſum of which argument is; that who-ever lay the ſtreſs of their juſtification upon circumciſion, and the obſervances of the law, do thereby declare themſelves to be under an obligation of perfect obedience to all that the law requires of them, and accordingly ſuperſede the virtue and efficacy of Chriſt's death, and diſclaim all right and title to the grace and favour of the goſpel. For ſince Chriſt's death is abundantly ſufficient to attain its ends, whoever takes in another, plainly renounces that, and reſts upon that of his own chuſing. By theſe ways of reaſoning it is evident what the apoſtle drives at in all his diſcourſes about this matter. More might have been obſerved, had I not thought, that theſe are ſufficient to render his deſign, eſpecially to the unprejudiced and impartial, obvious and plain enough.

14. Lastly, That St. Paul's diſcourſes about juſtification and ſalvation do immediately refer to the controverſy between the Orthodox and Judaizing Chriſtians, appears hence, that there was no other controverſy then on foot, but concerning the way of juſtification, whether it was by the obſervation of the law of Moſes, or only of the goſpel and the law of Chriſt. For we muſt needs ſuppoſe, that the apoſtle wrote with a primary reſpect to the preſent ſtate of things, and ſo as they whom he had to deal with, might and could not but underſtand him: which yet would have been impoſſible for them to have done, had he intended them for the controverſies which have ſince been handled with ſo much zeal and fierceneſs, and to give countenance to thoſe many nice and ſubtile propoſitions,

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[i] Rom. viii. 3, 4.

[k] Gal. iii. 21.

[n] Acts xiii. 38, 39.

[o] Gal. ii. 21.

[l] Heb. x. 4.

[m] Ibid. v. 11, 12.

[p] Gal. v. 1, 2, 3, 4.

thoſe curious and elaborate ſchemes which ſome men in theſe later ages have drawn of theſe matters.

15. **From** the whole diſcourſe two Conſectaries eſpecially plainly follow. I. **Consect.** *That works of evangelical obedience are not oppoſed to faith in juſtification.* By works of *evangelical obedience*, I mean ſuch Chriſtian duties, as are the fruits, not of our own power and ſtrength, but God's ſpirit, done by the aſſiſtance of his grace. And that theſe are not oppoſed to faith, is undeniably evident, in that (as we obſerved before) faith as including the new nature, and the keeping God's commands, is made the uſual condition of juſtification. Nor can it be otherwiſe, when other graces and virtues of the Chriſtian life are made the terms of pardon and acceptance with heaven, and of our title to the merits of Chriſt's death, and the great promiſe of eternal life. Thus repentance, which is not ſo much a ſingle act, as a complex body of Chriſtian duties, [q] *Repent and be baptized in the name of Jeſus Chriſt for the remiſſion of ſins, and ye ſhall receive the Holy Ghoſt*; [r] *Repent and be converted, that your ſins may be blotted out.* So charity and forgiveneſs of others, [ſ] *Forgive, if ye have ought againſt any, that your father alſo which is in heaven may forgive you your treſpaſſes*: [t] *For if ye forgive men their treſpaſſes, your heavenly father alſo will forgive you: But if ye forgive not men their treſpaſſes, neither will your father forgive yours.* Sometimes evangelical obedience in general; [u] *God is no reſpecter of perſons, but in every nation, he that feareth him, and worketh righteouſneſs is accepted with him.* [x] *If we walk in the light, as God is in the light, we have fellowſhip one with another, and the blood of Jeſus Chriſt his Son cleanſes us from all ſin.* What privilege then has faith above other graces in this matter? are we juſtified by faith? We are pardoned and accepted with God upon our repentance, charity and other acts of evangelical obedience. Is faith oppoſed to the works of the Moſaick law in juſtification? ſo are works of evangelical obedience; [y] *circumciſion is nothing, and uncircumciſion is nothing, but the keeping of the commandments of God.* Does faith give glory to God, and ſet the crown upon his head? works of evangelical obedience are equally the effects of divine grace, both preventing and aſſiſting of us, and indeed are not ſo much our works as his: ſo that the glory of all muſt needs be intirely reſolved into the grace of God, nor can any man in ſuch circumſtances with the leaſt pretence of reaſon lay claim to merit, or boaſt of his own atchievements. Hence the apoſtle magnifies the evangelical method of juſtification above that of the law, that it wholly excludes all proud reflexions upon ourſelves; [z] *Where is boaſting then? it is excluded. By what law? of works? Nay, but by the law of faith.* The Moſaical œconomy foſtered men up in proud and high thoughts of themſelves, they looked upon themſelves as a peculiar people, honoured above all other nations of the world, the ſeed of Abraham, inveſted with mighty privileges, &c. Whereas the goſpel proceeding upon other principles, takes away all foundations of pride, by acknowledging our acceptance with God, and the power whereby we are enabled to make good the terms and conditions of it, to be the mere reſult of the divine grace and mercy, and that the whole ſcheme of our ſalvation, as it was the contrivance of the Divine Wiſdom, ſo is the purchaſe of the merit and ſatisfaction of our crucified Saviour. Nor is faith itſelf leſs than other graces an act of evangelical obedience, and if ſeparated from them, is of no moment or value in the accounts of heaven: [a] *Though I have all faith, and have no charity, I am nothing. All faith*, be it of what kind ſoever. To this may be added, that no tolerable account can be given, why that which is on all hands granted to be the condition of our ſalvation (ſuch is evangelical obedience) ſhould not be the condition of our juſtification: And at the great day Chriſtians ſhall be acquitted or condemned according as in this world they have fulfilled or neglected the conditions of the goſpel: the decretory ſentence of abſolution that ſhall then be paſſed upon good men, ſhall be nothing but a publick and ſolemn declaration of that private ſentence of juſtification that was paſſed upon them in this world; ſo that upon the ſame terms that they are juſtified now, they ſhall be juſtified and acquitted then, and upon the ſame terms that they ſhall then be judged and acquitted they are juſtified now, viz. an hearty belief of, and a ſincere obedience to the goſpel. From all which, I hope, it is evident, that when St. Paul denies men to be juſtified by the works of the law; by works he either means works done before converſion, and by the ſtrength of men's natural powers, ſuch as enabled them to pride and boaſt themſelves, and lay claim to merit, or (which moſt-what includes the other) the works of the Moſaick law. And indeed though the controverſies on foot in thoſe times did not plainly determine his reaſonings that way, yet the conſiderations which we have now ſuggeſted, ſufficiently ſhew that they could not be meant of any other ſenſe.

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[q] Acts ii. 38.
[r] Acts iii. 17.
[ſ] Mark xi. 25, 26.
[t] Matth. vi. 14, 15.
[u] Acts x. 34, 35.
[x] 1 John i. 7.
[y] 1 Cor. vii. 19.
[z] Rom. iii. 27.
[a] 1 Cor. xiii. 2.

16. Consect II. *That the Doctrines of St. Paul and St. James about juſtification are fairly conſiſtent with each other.* For ſeeing St. Paul's deſign in excluding works from juſtification, was only to deny the works of the Jewiſh law, or thoſe that were meritorious, as being wrought by our own ſtrength, and in aſſerting that in oppoſition to ſuch works we are *juſtified by faith*, he meant no more than that either we are juſtified in an evangelical way, or more particularly by faith intended a practical belief, including evangelical obedience: and ſeeing on the other hand St. James in affirming *that we are juſtified by works, and not by faith only*; by works, means no more than evangelical obedience, in oppoſiſon to a naked and an empty faith; theſe two are ſo far from quarrelling, that they mutually embrace each other, and both in the main purſue the ſame deſign. And indeed if any diſagreement ſeem between them, 'tis moſt reaſonable that St. Paul ſhould be expounded by St. James, not only becauſe his propoſitions are ſo expreſs and poſitive, and not juſtly liable to ambiguity, but becauſe he wrote ſome competent time after the other, and conſequently as he perfectly underſtood his meaning, ſo he was capable to countermine thoſe ill principles, which ſome men had built upon St. Paul's aſſertions. For it is evident from ſeveral paſſages in St. Paul's epiſtles, that even then many began to miſtake his doctrine, and from his aſſertions about juſtification by faith, and not by works, to infer propoſitions that might ſerve the purpoſes of a bad life; [b] *They ſlanderouſly reported him to ſay, that we might do evil, that good might come*; [c] *that we might continue in ſin, that the grace of the goſpel might the more abound:* They thought that ſo long as they did but believe the goſpel in the naked notion and ſpeculation of it, it was enough to recommend them to the favour of God, and to ſerve all the purpoſes of juſtification and ſalvation, however they ſhaped and ſteered their lives. Againſt theſe men it is beyond all queſtion plain, that St. James levels his epiſtle, to batter down the growing doctrines of libertiniſm and profaneneſs, to ſhew the inſufficiency of a naked faith, and an empty profeſſion of religion, [d] that it is not enough to recommend us to the divine acceptance, and to juſtify us in the ſight of heaven, barely to believe the goſpel, unleſs we really obey and practiſe it; that a faith deſtitute of this evangelical obedience is fruitleſs and unprofitable to ſalvation; that it is by theſe works that faith muſt appear to be vital and ſincere; that not only Rahab, but Abraham the father of the faithful, was juſtified not by a bare belief of God's promiſe, but an hearty obedience to God's command, in the ready offer of his ſon, whereby it appears that his faith and obedience did co-operate and conſpire together, to render him capable of God's favour and approbation, and that *herein the ſcripture was fulfilled, which ſaith, that Abraham believed God, and it was imputed to him for righteouſneſs*, (whence by the way, nothing can be clearer, than that both theſe apoſtles intend the ſame thing by faith in the caſe of Abraham's juſtification, and its being *imputed to him for righteouſneſs*, viz. a practical belief and obedience to the commands of God) that it follows hence, that faith is not of itſelf ſufficient to juſtify and make us acceptable to God, unleſs a proportionable obedience be joined with it; without which faith ſerves no more to theſe ends and purpoſes, than a body deſtitute of the ſoul to animate and enliven it, is capable to exerciſe the functions and offices of the natural life. His meaning in ſhort being nothing elſe than that good works, or evangelical obedience, is, according to the divine appointment, the condition of the goſpel-covenant, without which it is in vain for any to hope for that pardon which Chriſt hath purchaſed, and the favour of God, which is neceſſary to eternal life.

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[b] Rom. iii. 8. [c] Rom. vi. 1. [d] Vid. Chap. ii. ver. 14, 15, & ſeq.

The End of St. Paul's *Life.*

BRITISH MUSEUM
5 AU 70

S.^t ANDREW the APOSTLE.

THE LIFE OF St. ANDREW.

The ſacred hiſtory ſparing in the Acts of the ſucceeding apoſtles, and why. St. Andrew's birth-place, kindred, and way of life. John the Baptiſt's miniſtry and diſcipline. St. Andrew educated under his inſtitution. His coming to Chriſt, and call to be a diſciple. His election to the apoſtolate. The province aſſigned for his miniſtry. In what places he chiefly preached. His barbarous uſage at Sinope. His planting chriſtianity at Byzantium, and ordaining Stachys biſhop there. His travels in Greece, and preaching at Patræ in Achaia. His arraignment before the Proconſul, and reſolute defence of the Chriſtian religion. The Proconſul's diſpleaſure againſt him, whence. An account of his martyrdom. His preparatory ſufferings, and crucifixion. On what kind of croſs he ſuffered. The miracles reported to be done by his body. Its tranſlation to Conſtantinople. The great Encomium given of him by one of the antients.

1. THE ſacred ſtory, which has hitherto been very large and copious in deſcribing the acts of the two firſt apoſtles, is henceforward very ſparing in its accounts, giving us only now and then a few oblique and accidental remarks concerning the reſt, and ſome of them no farther mention'd, than the mere recording of their names. For what reaſons it pleaſed the divine wiſdom and providence, that no more of their acts ſhould be conſigned to writing by the pen-men of the holy ſtory, is to us unknown. Probably it might be thought convenient, that no more account ſhould be given of the firſt plantations of chriſtianity in the world, than what concerned Judæa, and the neighbour-countries, at leaſt the moſt eminent places of the Roman empire, that ſo the truth of the prophetical predictions might appear, which had foretold, that the law of the Meſſiah *ſhould come forth from Sion, and the word of the Lord from Jeruſalem.* Beſides, that a particular relation of the acts of ſo many apoſtles, done in ſo many ſeveral countries, might have ſwelled the holy volumes into too great a bulk, and rendred them leſs ſerviceable and accommodate to the ordinary uſe of Chriſtians. Among the apoſtles that ſucceed we firſt take notice of St. Andrew. He was born at Bethſaida, a city of Galilee, ſtanding upon the banks of the lake of Geneſareth, ſon to John or Jonas a fiſherman of that town; brother he was to Simon Peter, but whether elder or younger, the antients do not clearly decide, though the major part intimate him to have been the younger brother, there being only the ſingle authority of Epiphanius on the other ſide, as we have formerly noted. He was brought up to his father's trade, whereat he laboured, till our Lord called him fom catching fiſh, to be a *fiſher of men*, for which he was fitted by ſome preparatory inſtitutions, even before his coming unto Chriſt.

2. JOHN the Baptiſt was lately riſen in the Jewiſh church, a perſon whom for the efficacy and impartiality of his doctrine, and the extraordinary ſtrictneſs and auſterities of his life, the Jews generally had in great veneration. He trained up his Proſelytes under

the diſcipline of repentance, and by urging upon them a ſevere change and reformation of life, prepared them to entertain the doctrine of the Meſſiah, whoſe approach, he told them, was now near at hand, repreſenting to them the greatneſs of his perſon, and the importance of the deſign that he was come upon. Beſides the multitudes that promiſcuouſly flocked to the Baptiſt's diſcourſes, he had according to the manner of the Jewiſh maſters ſome peculiar and ſelect diſciples, who more conſtantly attended upon his lectures, and for the moſt part waited upon his perſon. In the number of theſe was our apoſtle, who was then with him about Jordan, when our Saviour, who ſome time ſince had been baptized, came that way: upon whoſe approach the Baptiſt told them, that this was the Meſſiah, the great perſon whom he had ſo often ſpoken of, to uſher in whoſe appearing his whole miniſtery was but ſubſervient, that this was *the lamb of God*, the true ſacrifice that was to expiate the ſins of mankind. Upon this teſtimony Andrew and another diſciple (probably St. John) follow our Saviour to the place of his abode. Upon which account he is generally by the [a] fathers and antient writers ſtyled πρωτόκλητος, or the *firſt called* diſciple; though in a ſtrict ſenſe he was not ſo; for though he was the firſt of the diſciples that came to Chriſt, yet was he not called till afterwards. After ſome converſe with him, Andrew goes to acquaint his brother Simon, and both together came to Chriſt. Long they ſtayed not with him, but returned to their own home, and to the exerciſe of their calling, wherein they were employed, when ſomewhat more than a year after our Lord paſſing through Galilee, found them fiſhing upon the ſea of Tiberias, where he fully ſatiſfied them of the greatneſs and divinity of his perſon by the convictive evidence of that miraculous draught of fiſhes, which they took at his command. And now he told them he had other work for them to do, that they ſhould no longer deal in fiſh, but in men, whom they ſhould catch with the efficacy and influence of that doctrine, that he was come to deliver to the world; commanding them to follow him, as his immediate diſciples and attendants, who accordingly left all and followed him. Shortly after St. Andrew together with the reſt was called to the office and honour of the apoſtolate, made choice of to be one of thoſe that were to be Chriſt's immediate vicegerents for planting and propagating the Chriſtian church. Little elſe is particularly recorded of him in the ſacred ſtory, being comprehended in the general account of the reſt of the apoſtles.

3. After our Lord's aſcenſion into heaven, and that the Holy Ghoſt had in its miraculous powers been plentifully ſhed upon the apoſtles, to fit them for the great errand they were to go upon, to root out profaneneſs and idolatry, and to ſubdue the world to the doctrine of the goſpel, it is generally affirmed by the antients, that the apoſtles agreed among themſelves (by lot, ſay [b] ſome) probably not without the ſpecial guidance and direction of the Holy Ghoſt, what parts of the world they ſhould ſeverally take. In this diviſion St. Andrew had Scythia, and the neighbouring countries primarily allotted him for his [c] province. Firſt then he travelled through Cappadocia, Galatia and Bithynia, and inſtructed them in the faith of Chriſt, paſſing all along the Euxine ſea (formerly called [d] Axenus, from the barbarous and inhoſpitable temper of the people thereabouts, who were wont to ſacrifice ſtrangers, and of their ſkulls to make cups to drink in at their feaſts and banquets) and ſo into the ſolitudes of Scythia. An antient [e] author (though whence deriving his intelligence I know not) gives us a more particular account of his travels and tranſactions in theſe parts. He tells us, that he firſt came to Amynſus, where being entertained by a Jew, he went into the ſynagogue; diſcourſed to them concerning Chriſt, and from the prophecies of the Old Teſtament proved him to be the Meſſiah, and the Saviour of the world. Having here converted and baptized many, ordered their publick meeting, and ordained them prieſts, he went next to Trapezus, a maritim city upon the Euxine ſea, whence after many other places he came to Nice, where he ſtaid two years, preaching and working miracles with great ſucceſs; thence to Nicomedia, and ſo to Chalcedon; whence ſailing through the Propontis he came by the Euxine ſea to Heraclea, and from thence to Amaſtris: in all which places he met with great difficulties and diſcouragements, but overcame all with an invincible patience and reſolution. He next came to Sinope, a city ſituate upon the ſame ſea, a place famous both for the birth and burial of the great king Mithridates; here, as my author reports from the antients (ὥς φασὶ λόγοι παλαιοὶ) he met with his brother Peter, with whom he ſtaid a conſiderable time at this place: as a monument whereof he tells us, that the chairs made of white ſtone wherein they were wont to ſit while they taught the people, were ſtill extant, and

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[a] Ὡς πρωτόκλητον πάντων τῶν μαθητῶν, ϗ αὐτόπτην τοῦ λόγου ϗ ὑπηρέτην, Ἀπόστολε, κατὰ Χριστὸν τιμῶμέν σε. Menæon Græcor. ἡμέρ. λ΄. Νοεμβρ. ſub. lit. ό.

[b] Socr. H. Eccl. l. 1. c. 19. p. 50.

[c] Orig. in Gen. l. 3. ap. Euſeb. l. 3. c. 1. p. 71. Niceph. H. Eccl. l. 2. c. 39. p. 199.

[d] Strab. Geogr. l. 7. p. 206.

[e] Commentar. de S. Andr. Apoſt. & πρωτοκλήτου, extat Græc. in Menæo Græcor. λ΄. τοῦ Νοεμβρ. ſub. lit. π΄.

commonly ſhewed in his time. The inhabitants of this city were moſt Jews, who partly through zeal for their religion, partly through the barbarouſneſs of their manners, were quickly exaſperated againſt the apoſtle, and contriving together attempted to burn the houſe wherein he ſojourned: however they treated him with all the inſtances of ſavage cruelty, throwing him to the ground, ſtamping upon him with their feet, pulling and dragging him from place to place, ſome beating him with clubs, others pelting him with ſtones, and ſome the better to ſatisfy their revenge, biting off his fleſh with their teeth; till apprehending they had fully diſpatched him, they caſt him out of the city. But he miraculouſly recovered, and publickly returned into the city, whereby, and by ſome other miracles which he wrought amongſt them, he reduced many to a better mind, converting them to the faith. Departing hence, he went again to Amynſus, and then to Trapezus, thence to Neocæſarea; and to Samoſata (the birth-place of the witty but impious Lucian) where having baffled the acute and wiſe philoſophers, he purpoſed to return to Jeruſalem. Whence after ſome time he betook himſelf to his former provinces, travelling to the country of the Abaſgi, where at Sebaſtople, ſituate upon the Eaſtern ſhore of the Euxine ſea, between the influx of the rivers Phaſis and Apſarus, he ſucceſsfully preached the goſpel to the inhabitants of that city. Hence he removed into the country of the Zecchi, and the Boſphorani, part of the Aſiatick Scythia or Sarmatia, but finding the inhabitants very barbarous and intractable, he ſtaid not long among them, only at Cherſon, or Cherſoneſus, a great and populous city within the Boſphorus, he continued ſome time, inſtructing and confirming them in the faith. Hence taking ſhip he ſailed croſs the ſea to Sinope, ſituate in Paphlagonia, the royal ſeat of the great king Mithridates, to encourage and confirm the churches which he had lately planted in thoſe parts, and here he ordained Philologus, formerly one of St. Paul's diſciples, biſhop of that city.

4. HENCE he came to Byzantium (ſince called Conſtantinople) where he inſtructed them in the knowledge of the Chriſtian religion, founded a church for divine worſhip, and ordained Stachys (whom St. Paul calls *his beloved Stachys*) firſt biſhop of that place. [f] Baronius indeed is unwilling to believe this, deſirous to engroſs the honour of it to St. Peter, whom he will have to have been the firſt planter of chriſtianity in theſe parts. But beſides that Baronius his authority is very ſlight and inſignificant in this caſe (as we have before noted in St. Peter's life) this matter is expreſſly aſſerted not only by Nicephorus [g] Calliſtus, but by another [h] Nicephorus patriarch of Conſtantinople, and who therefore may be preſumed knowing in his predeceſſors in that See. Baniſhed out of the city by him, who at that time uſurped the government, he fled to Argyropolis, a place near at hand, where he preached the goſpel for two years together with good ſucceſs, converting great numbers to the faith. After this he travelled over Thrace, Macedonia, Theſſaly, Achaia: [i] Nazianzen adds Epirus, in all which places for many years he preached and propagated chriſtianity, and confirmed the doctrine that he taught with great ſigns and miracles. At laſt he came to Patræ a city of Achaia, where he gave his laſt and great teſtimony to it, I mean, laid down his own life to ratify and enſure it, in deſcribing whoſe martyrdom, we ſhall for the main follow the account that is given us in the *Acts of his* [k] *Paſſion*, pretended to have been written by the Preſbyters and Deacons of Achaia, preſent at his martyrdom; which, though I dare not with ſome aſſert to be the genuine work of thoſe perſons, yet can it not be denied to be of conſiderable antiquity, being mentioned by [l] Philaſtrius, who flouriſhed *Anno* 380, and were no doubt written long before his time. The ſum of it is this.

5. ÆGEAS Proconſul of Achaia, came at this time to Patræ, where obſerving that multitudes were fallen off from Paganiſm, and had embraced chriſtianity, he endeavoured by all arts both of favour and cruelty to reduce the people to their old idolatries. To him the apoſtle reſolutely makes his addreſs, calmly puts him in mind, that he being but a judge of men ſhould own and revere him, who was the ſupreme and impartial judge of all, that he ſhould give him that divine honour which was due to him, and leave off the impieties of his falſe Heathen-worſhip. The Proconſul derided him as an innovator in religion, a propagator of that ſuperſtition, whoſe author the Jews had infamouſly put to death upon a croſs. Hereat the apoſtle took occaſion to diſcourſe to him of the infinite love and kindneſs of our Lord, who came into the world to purchaſe the ſalvation of mankind, and for that end did not diſdain to die upon the croſs. To whom the Proconſul anſwered, that he might perſuade them ſo, that would believe him; for his part, if

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[f] Ad An. 44. N. 31. vid. ad An. 314. n. 94, 95, &c.

[g] H. Eccl. l. 2. c. 39. l. 5. c. 6. p. 540.

[h] Ἀνδρέας ὁ Ἀπόστολος ἐν Βυζαντίῳ τὸν λόγον κηρύξας, εὐκτήριον οἶκον πέραν ἐν Ἀργυροπόλει δειμάμενος χειροτονεῖ ἐπίσκοπον τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως Στάχυν, οὗ μέμνηται Παῦλος ἐν τῇ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ἐπιστολῇ. Niceph. C. P. in Chronogr. à Scal. edit. p. 309. vid. etiam Men. Græc. ubi ſupr.

[i] Orat. 25. p. 438.

[k] Extant apud Sur. ad diem 30 Novemb. p. 653.

[l] De Hæreſ. c. 89.

he did not comply with him in doing ſacrifice to the Gods, he would cauſe him to ſuffer upon that croſs, which he had ſo much extolled and magnified. St. Andrew replied, That he did ſacrifice every day to God, the only true and omnipotent Being, not with fumes and bloody offerings, but in the ſacrifice of the immaculate lamb of God. The iſſue was, the apoſtle was committed to priſon, whereat the people were ſo enraged, that it had broken out into a mutiny, had not the apoſtle reſtrained them, perſuading them to imitate the mildneſs and patience of our meek, humble Saviour, and not to hinder him from that crown of martyrdom that now waited for him.

6. THE next day he was again brought before the Proconſul, who perſuaded him that he would not fooliſhly deſtroy himſelf, but live and enjoy with him the pleaſures of this life. The apoſtle told him, that he ſhould have with him eternal joys, if renouncing his execrable idolatries, he would heartily entertain chriſtianity, which he had hitherto ſo ſucceſsfully preached amongſt them. That, anſwered the Proconſul, is the very reaſon, why I am ſo earneſt with you to ſacrifice to the Gods, that thoſe whom you have everywhere ſeduced, may by your example be brought to return back to that antient religion, which they have forſaken: otherwiſe I will cauſe you with exquiſite tortures to be crucified. The apoſtle replied, That now he ſaw it was in vain any longer to deal with him, a perſon incapable of ſober counſels, and hardned in his own blindneſs and folly; that as for himſelf, he might do his worſt, and if he had one torment greater than another, he might heap that upon him: the greater conſtancy he ſhewed in his ſufferings for Chriſt, the more acceptable he ſhould be to his Lord and maſter. Ægeas could now hold no longer, but paſſed the ſentence of death upon him; and [m] Nicephorus gives us ſome more particular account of the Proconſul's diſpleaſure and rage againſt him, which was, that amongſt others he had converted his wife Maximilla, and his brother Stratocles to the Chriſtian faith, having cured them of deſperate diſtempers that had ſeized upon them.

7. THE Proconſul firſt commanded him to be ſcourged, ſeven Lictours ſucceſſively whipping his naked body; and ſeeing his invincible patience and conſtancy, commanded him to be crucified, but not to be faſtned to the croſs with nails, but cords, that ſo his death might be more lingring and tedious. [n] As he was led to execution, to which he went with a chearful and compoſed mind, the people cried out, that he was an innocent and good man, and unjuſtly condemned to die. Being come within ſight of the croſs, he ſaluted it with this kind of addreſs, that he had long deſired and expected this happy hour, that the croſs had been conſecrated by the body of Chriſt hanging on it, and adorned with his members as with ſo many ineſtimable jewels, that he came joyful and triumphing to it, that it might receive him as a diſciple and follower of him, who once hung upon it, and be the means to carry him ſafe unto his maſter, having been the inſtrument upon which his maſter had redeemed him. Having prayed, and exhorted the people to conſtancy and perſeverance in that religion which he had delivered to them, he was faſtned to the croſs, whereon he hung two days, teaching and inſtructing the people all the time, and when great importunities in the mean while were uſed to the Proconſul to ſpare his life, he earneſtly begged of our Lord, that he might at this time depart and ſeal the truth of his religion with his blood. God heard his prayer, and he immediately expired on the laſt of November, though in what year no certain account can be recovered.

8. THERE ſeems to have been ſomething peculiar in that croſs that was the inſtrument of his martyrdom, commonly affirmed to have been a croſs decuſſate, two pieces of timber croſſing each other in the middle, in the form of the letter X, hence uſually known by the name of St. Andrew's croſs; though there want not [o] thoſe who affirm him to have been crucified upon an olive tree. His body being taken down and embalmed, was decently and honourably interred by Maximilla, a lady of great quality and eſtate, and whom Nicephorus, I know not upon what ground, makes wife to the Proconſul. As for that report of [p] Gregory biſhop of Tours, that on the anniverſary day of his martyrdom, there was wont to flow from St. Andrew's tomb a moſt fragrant and precious oil, which according to its quantity denoted the ſcarceneſs or plenty of the following year; and that the ſick being anointed with this oil, were reſtored to their former health, I leave to the reader's diſcretion, to believe what he pleaſe of it. For my part, if any ground of truth in the ſtory, I believe it no more, than that it was an exhalation and ſweating forth at ſome times of thoſe rich coſtly perfumes and ointments wherewith his body was embalmed after his crucifixion. Though I muſt confeſs this conjecture to be impoſſible, if it be true what my author adds, that ſome years the oil burſt out in ſuch plenty, that the ſtream aroſe to

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[m] L. 2. c. 39. p. 200. vid. Menæon Græc. ad diem 30 Novemb. ubi eadem habent.

[n] Bern. Serm. 2. de S. Andr. p. 327.

[o] Chryſoſt. in S. Andr. Serm. 133. p. 120. Hippol. Comment. MS. Gr. ap. Bar. Not. in Martyr. ad 30 Novemb.

[p] De Glor. Martyr. lib. 1. c. 31. p. 37.

the middle of the church. His body was afterwards, by Conſtantine the [q] Great, ſolemnly removed to Conſtantinople, and buried in the great church, which he had built to the honour of the apoſtles: which being taken down ſome hundred years after by [r] Juſtinian the emperor, in order to its reparation, the body was found in a wooden-coffin, and again repoſed in its proper place.

9. I SHALL conclude the hiſtory of this apoſtle with that encomiaſtick character, which one of the [s] antients gives of him. "St. Andrew was the firſt-born of the apoſtolick quire, the main and prime pillar of the church, a rock before the rock (ὁ πρὸ Πέτρου Πέτρος) the foundation of that foundation, the firſt-fruits of the beginning, a caller of others before he was called himſelf; he preached that goſpel that was not yet believed or entertained, revealed and made known that life to his brother, which he had not yet perfectly learned himſelf. So great treaſures did that one queſtion bring him, *Maſter, where dwelleſt thou?* which he ſoon perceived by the anſwer given him, and which he deeply pondered in his mind, *Come and ſee.* How art thou become a prophet? whence thus divinely ſkilful? what is it that thou thus ſoundeſt in Peter's ears? [*We have found him*, &c.] why doſt thou attempt to compaſs him, whom thou canſt not comprehend? how can he be found who is omnipreſent? but he knew well what he ſaid: we have found him, whom Adam loſt, whom Eve injured, whom the clouds of ſin have hidden from us, and whom our tranſgreſſions had hitherto made a ſtranger to us, *&c.*" So that of all our Lord's apoſtles St. Andrew had thus far the honour to be the firſt preacher of the goſpel.

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[q] Hieron. adv. Vigil. p. 122. T. 2.

[r] Procop. de ædif. Juſtin. lib. 1.

[s] Heſych. Preſb. Hieroſolym. apud Phot. Cod. CCLXIX. Col. 1488.

The End of St. Andrew's *Life.*

THE LIFE OF S^T. JAMES the Great.

St. James, why ſirnamed the Great. His country and kindred. His alliance to Chriſt. His trade and way of life. Our Lord brought up to a manual trade. The quick reparteé of a Chriſtian ſchoolmaſter to Libanius. His being called to be a diſciple, and great readineſs to follow Chriſt. His election to the apoſtolick office, and peculiar favours from Chriſt. Why our Lord choſe ſome few of the apoſtles to be witneſſes of the more private paſſages of his life. The impoſition of a new name at his election to the apoſtleſhip. He and his brother ſtyled Boanerges, and why. The zeal and activity of their temper. Their ambition to ſit on Chriſt's right and left hand in his kingdom, and confident promiſe of ſuffering. This ill reſented by the reſt. Our Lord's diſcourſe concerning the nature of the evangelical ſtate. Where he preached after Chriſt's aſcenſion. The ſtory of his going into Spain exploded. Herod Agrippa in favour with the Roman emperors. The character of his temper. His zeal for the law of Moſes. His condemning St. James to death. The ſudden converſion of his accuſer, as he was led to martyrdom. Their being beheaded. The divine juſtice that purſued Herod. His grandeur and arrogance at Cæſarea. His miſerable death. The ſtory of the tranſlation of St. James his corps to Compoſtella in Spain, and the miracles ſaid to be done there.

1. SAINT James ſirnamed the Great, either becauſe of his age, being much elder than the other, or for ſome peculiar honours and favours which our Lord conferred upon him, was by country a Galilean, born, probably, either at Capernaum, or Bethſaida, being one of Simon Peter's partners in the trade of fiſhing. He was the ſon of Zebdai, or Zebedee, (and probably the ſame whom the Jews mention in their Talmud, רבי יעקוב בר זברי [a] *Rabbi James, or Jacob the Son of Zebedee)* a fiſherman, and the many ſervants which he kept for that employment (a circumſtance not taken notice of in any other) ſpeak him a man of ſome more conſiderable note in that trade and way of life; [b] ἐπίσημος τῶν ἐν Γαλιλαίᾳ μετοικούντων ἀνδρῶν, as Nicephorus notes. His mother's name was Mary, ſirnamed Salome, called firſt Taviphilia, ſays an ancient Arabick [c] writer, the daughter, as is moſt probable, not wife of Cleopas, ſiſter to Mary the mother of our Lord; not her own ſiſter properly ſo called (the bleſſed virgin being in all likelihood an only daughter) but couſin-german, ſtyled her ſiſter, according to the mode and cuſtom of the Jews, who were wont to call all ſuch near relations by the names of Brothers and Siſters; and in this reſpect he had the honour of a near relation to our Lord himſelf. His education was in the trade of fiſhing; no employment is baſe that is honeſt and induſtrious, nor can it be thought mean and diſhonourable to him, when it is remembred, that our Lord himſelf, the ſon of God, ſtooped ſo low, as not only to become the [reputed] ſon of a Carpenter, but during the retirements of his private life, to work himſelf at his father's trade, not devoting himſelf merely to contemplations, nor withdrawing

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[a] Mark i. 20. [b] H. Eccl. lib. 2. c. 3. p. 135. [c] Apud Kirſten. de vit. Quat. Evangel. p. 47. John xix. 25.

Pag. 540. LXIII.

S^t. JAMES MAJOR the APOSTLE.

BRITISH
5 AU 70
MUSEUM

withdrawing from all uſeful ſociety with the world, and hiding himſelf in the ſolitudes of an Anchoret, but buſying himſelf in an active courſe of life, working at the trade of a [d] carpenter, and particularly (as one of the [e] ancients tells us) making Ploughs and Yokes. And this the ſacred hiſtory does not only plainly intimate, but it is generally aſſerted by the ancient writers of the [f] church: A thing ſo notorious, that the Heathens uſed to object it as a reproach to chriſtianity. Thence that ſmart and acute [g] *reparteé* which a Chriſtian ſchoolmaſter made to Libanius the famous orator at Antioch, when upon Julian's expedition into Perſia (where he was killed) he asked in ſcorn, *what the carpenter's ſon was now a doing?* The Chriſtian replied with ſalt enough, that the great artificer of the world, whom he ſcoffingly called the *Carpenter's Son*, was making a Coffin for his maſter Julian; the news of whoſe death was brought ſoon after. But this only by the way.

2. St. James applied himſelf to his father's trade, not diſcouraged with the meanneſs, not ſinking under the difficulties of it; and, as uſually the bleſſings of heaven meet men in the way of an honeſt and induſtrious diligence, it was in the exerciſe of this calling, when our Saviour paſſing by the ſea of Galilee, ſaw him and his brother in the ſhip, and called them to be his diſciples. A divine power went along with the word, which they no ſooner heard, but chearfully complied with it, immediately leaving all to follow him. They did not ſtay to diſpute his commands, to argue the probability of his promiſe, ſolicitouſly to enquire into the minute conſequences of the undertaking, what troubles and hazards might attend this new employment, but readily delivered up themſelves to whatever ſervices he ſhould appoint them. And the chearfulneſs of their obedience is yet farther conſiderable, that they left their aged father in the ſhip behind them. For elſewhere we find others [h] excuſing themſelves from an immediate attendance upon Chriſt, upon pretence that they muſt go bury their father, or take their leave of their kindred at home. No ſuch ſlight and trivial pretences could ſtop the reſolution of our apoſtles, who broke through theſe conſiderations, and quitted their preſent intereſts and relations. Say not it was unnaturally done of them to deſert their father, an aged perſon, and in ſome meaſure unable to help himſelf. For, beſides that they left ſervants with him to attend him, it is not cruelty to our earthly, but obedience to our heavenly Father, to leave the one that we may comply with the call and ſummons of the other. It was the triumph of Abraham's faith, when God called him to leave his kindred and his father's houſe, *to go out*, and ſojourn in a foreign country, *not knowing whither he went*. Nor can we doubt but that Zebedee himſelf would have gone along with them, had not his age given him a Superſedeas from ſuch an active and ambulatory courſe of life. But though they left him at this time, it is very reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that they took care to inſtruct him in the doctrine of the Meſſiah, and to acquaint him with the glad tidings of ſalvation, eſpecially ſince we find their mother Salome ſo hearty a friend to, ſo conſtant a follower of our Saviour: But this (if we may believe the account which one [i] gives of it) was after her huſband's deceaſe, who probably lived not long after, dying before the time of our Saviour's paſſion.

3. It was not long after this, that he was called from the ſtation of an ordinary diſciple, to the apoſtolical office, and not only ſo, but honoured with ſome peculiar acts of favour beyond moſt of the apoſtles, being one of the three, whom our Lord uſually made choice of to admit to the more intimate tranſactions of his life, from which the others were excluded. Thus with Peter and his brother John he was taken to the miraculous raiſing of Jairus his daughter; admitted to Chriſt's glorious transfiguration upon the mount, and the diſcourſes that there paſſed between him and the two great miniſters of heaven; taken along with him into the garden, to be a ſpectator of thoſe bitter agonies, which the holy Jeſus was to undergo as the preparatory ſufferings to his paſſion. What were the reaſons of our Lord's admitting theſe three apoſtles to theſe more ſpecial acts of favour than the reſt, is not eaſy to determine: though ſurely our Lord, who governed all his actions by principles of the higheſt prudence and reaſon, did it for wiſe and proper ends; whether it was that he deſigned theſe three to be more ſolemn and peculiar witneſſes of ſome particular paſſages of his life, than the other apoſtles, or that they would be more eminently uſeful and ſerviceable in ſome parts of the apoſtolick office, or that

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[d] Mark vi. 3. Matt. xiii. 55.

[e] Τέκτων νομιζόμενος. ταῦτα γὰρ τὰ τεκτονικὰ ἔργα εἰργάζετο ἐν ἀνθρώποις ὤν, ἄροτρα ϗ ζυγά· διὰ τούτων ϗ τὰ τῆς δικαιοσύνης σύμβολα διδάσκων, ϗ ἐνεργῆ βίον. J. Mart. dial. cum Tryph. p. 316.

[f] Κατὰ τὴν πρώτην ἡλικίαν τοῖς γονεῦσιν ὑποτασσόμενος, ἅπαντα πόνον σωματικὸν πρᾴως ϗ εὐπειθῶς συνδιέφερεν. Ἄνθρωποι γὰρ ὄντες δίκαιοι μὲν ϗ εὐσεβεῖς, πένητες δὲ ϗ τῶν ἀναγκαίων οὐκ εὔποροι, &c. πάντας ϗ τῷ συνδιαφέρειν τοὺς πόνους τὴν εὐπείθειαν ἐπεδείκνυτο. Baſ. Conſtit. Monaſt. c. 4. p. 764. Tom. 2. vid. Hilar. in Matth. Can. 4.

[g] Theod. H. Eccl. l. 3. c. 18. p. 105.

[h] Luke ix. 59–61.

[i] Zachar. Chryſopol. Comm. in Concord. Evang. p. 111.

hereby he would the better prepare and encourage them againſt ſuffering, as intending them for ſome more eminent kinds of martyrdom or ſuffering, than the reſt were to undergo.

4. Nor was it the leaſt inſtance of that particular honour which our Lord conferred upon theſe three apoſtles, that at his calling them to the apoſtolate, he gave them the addition of a new name and title. A thing not unuſual of old, for God to impoſe a new name upon perſons, when deſigning them for ſome great and peculiar ſervices and employments. Thus he did to Abraham and Jacob. Nay, the thing was cuſtomary among the Gentiles, as, had we no other inſtances, might appear from thoſe which the ſcripture gives us, Pharoah's giving a new name to Joſeph, when advancing him to be vice-roy of Egypt; Nebuchadnezzar to Daniel, *&c.* Thus did our Lord in the election of theſe three apoſtles, [k] *Simon he ſirnamed Peter, James the ſon of Zebedee, and John his brother he ſirnamed Boanerges,* which is, *the ſons of thunder.* What our Lord particularly intended in this title, is eaſier to conjecture, than certainly to determine; ſome think it was given them upon the account of their being preſent in the mount, when a voice came out of the cloud, and ſaid, [l] *This is my beloved ſon,* &c. The like whereto when the people heard at another time, they cried out, [m] *that it thundred.* But beſides that this account is in itſelf very ſlender and inconſiderable, if ſo, then the title muſt equally have belonged to Peter, who was then preſent with them. [n] Others think it was upon the account of their loud, bold and reſolute preaching chriſtianity to the world, fearing no threatnings, daunted with no oppoſitions, but going on to *thunder* in the ears of the ſecure ſleepy world, rouzing and awakening the conſciences of men with the earneſtneſs and vehemency of their preaching, as thunder, which is called *God's voice,* powerfully ſhakes the natural world, and breaks in pieces the Cedars of Lebanon: or if it relate to the doctrines they delivered, it may ſignify their teaching the great myſteries and ſpeculations of the goſpel in a profounder ſtrain than the reſt; [o] *υἱὸς δὲ βροντῆς ὀνομάζει τοὺς τοῦ Ζεβεδαίου, ὡς μεγαλοκήρυκας καὶ θεολογικωτάτους,* as Theophylact notes; which how true it might be of our St. James, the ſcripture is wholly ſilent; but was certainly verified of his brother John, whoſe goſpel is ſo full of the more ſublime notions and myſteries of the goſpel concerning Chriſt's deity, eternal pre-exiſtence, *&c.* that he is generally affirmed by the ancients, not ſo much to [p] *ſpeak,* as thunder. Probably the expreſſion may denote no more, than that in general they were to be prime and eminent miniſters, in this new ſcene and ſtate of things, the introducing of the goſpel or evangelical diſpenſation, being called *a voice ſhaking the heavens and the earth,* and ſo is exactly correſpondent to the native importance of the word, ſignifying *an earth-quake,* or a vehement commotion that makes a noiſe like to thunder.

5. However it was, our Lord, I doubt not, herein had reſpect to the furious and reſolute diſpoſition of thoſe two brothers, who ſeem to have been of a more fierce and fiery temper than the reſt of the apoſtles: whereof we have this memorable inſtance. Our Lord being reſolved upon his journey to Jeruſalem, ſent ſome of his diſciples as harbingers to prepare his way, who coming to a village of Samaria, were uncivilly rejected, and refuſed entertainment; probably becauſe of that old and inveterate quarrel that was between the Samaritans and the Jews, and more eſpecially at this time, becauſe that our Saviour ſeemed to ſlight mount Gerizim (where was their ſtaple and ſolemn place of worſhip) by paſſing it by, to go worſhip at Jeruſalem; the reaſon in all likelihood why they denied him thoſe common courteſies and conveniences due to all travellers. This piece of rudeneſs and inhumanity was preſently ſo deeply reſented by St. James, and his brother, that they came to their maſter to know, whether as [q] Elias did of old, they might not pray down fire from heaven to conſume theſe barbarous and inhoſpitable people. So apt are men for every trifle to call upon heaven, to miniſter to the extravagancies of their own impotent and unreaſonable paſſions. But our Lord rebukes their zeal, tells them they quite miſtook the caſe, that this was not the frame and temper of his diſciples and followers, the nature and deſign of that evangelical diſpenſation, that he was come to ſet on foot in the world, which was a more pure and perfect, a more mild and gentle inſtitution, than what was under the Old Teſtament, in the times of *Moſes and Elias, the ſon of man being come not to deſtroy mens lives, but to ſave them.*

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[k] Mark iii. 16, 17. Hieron. Comm. in Marc. c. 3. p 92. T. 9 Gaudent. Brix. Tract. 1. de Lect. Evang. ſeu, in ordine, 8.

[l] Matth. xvii. 5.

[m] John xii. 29.

[n] Filios Zebedæi Boanerges, hoc eſt, filios tonitrui vocat, ſiquidem divina eorum prædicatio magnum quendam & illuſtrem ſonitum per terrarum orbem datura erat. Vict. Antioch comment. in Marc. cap. 2.

[o] Comment. in Marc. 3. p. 205.

[p] Heb. xii. 26. Hag. ii. 7. ubi מרעיש tremere faciam. בני רעש Filii commotionis ſeu magnæ concuſſionis.

[q] Luke ix. 54.

6. **The** holy Jeſus not long after ſet forwards in his journey to Jeruſalem in order to his crucifixion, and the better to prepare the minds of his apoſtles for his death and departure from them, he told them what he was to ſuffer, and yet that after all he ſhould riſe again. They whoſe minds were yet big with expectations of a temporal power and monarchy, underſtood not well the meaning of his diſcourſes to them. However St. James and his brother ſuppoſing the reſurrection that he ſpoke of, [r] would be the time, when his power and greatneſs would commence, prompted their mother Salome to put up a petition for them. She, preſuming probably on her relation to Chriſt, and knowing that our Saviour had promiſed his apoſtles, *that when he was come into his kingdom, they ſhould ſit upon twelve thrones judging the twelve tribes of Iſrael*; and that he already honoured her two ſons with an intimate familiarity, after leave modeſtly aſked for her addreſs, begg'd of him, that when he took poſſeſſion of his kingdom, her two ſons James and John might have the principal places of honour and dignity next his own perſon, the one ſitting on his *right hand*, and the *other* on his *left*, as the heads of Judah and Joſeph had the firſt places among the rulers of the tribes in the Jewiſh nation. Our Lord directing his diſcourſe to the two apoſtles, at whoſe ſuggeſtion he knew their mother had made this addreſs, told them, they quite miſtook the nature of his kingdom, which conſiſted not in external grandeur and ſovereignty, but in an inward life and power, wherein the higheſt place would be to take the greateſt pains, and to undergo the heavieſt troubles and ſufferings; that they ſhould do well to conſider, whether they were able to endure, what he was to undergo, to drink of that bitter cup which he was to drink of, and to go through that baptiſm, wherein he was ſhortly to be baptized in his own blood. Our apoſtles were not yet cured of their ambitious humour, but either not underſtanding the force of our Saviour's reaſonings, or too confidently preſuming upon their own ſtrength, anſwered, that they could do all this. But he, the goodneſs of whoſe nature ever made him put the beſt and moſt candid interpretation upon mens words and actions, yea even thoſe of his great enemies, did not take the advantage of their haſty and inconſiderate reply, to treat them with ſharp and quick reproofs, but mildly owning their forwardneſs to ſuffer, told them, that as for ſufferings, they ſhould indeed ſuffer as well as he (and ſo we accordingly find they did, St. James after all dying a violent death, St. John enduring great miſeries and torments, and might we believe Chryſoſtom and Theophylact, Martyrdom it ſelf, though others nearer to thoſe times aſſure us, he died a natural death) but for any peculiar honour or dignity, he would not by an abſolute and peremptory favour of his own diſpoſe of it any otherwiſe, than according to thoſe rules and inſtructions which he had received of his father. The reſt of the apoſtles were offended with this ambitious requeſt of *the ſons of Zebedee*; but our Lord to calm their paſſions, diſcourſed to them of the nature of the evangelical ſtate, that it was not here, as in the kingdoms and *ſeigniories* of this world, where the great ones receive homage and fealty from thoſe that are under them, but that in his ſervice humility was the way to honour, that who-ever took moſt pains, and did moſt good, would be the greateſt perſon, pre-eminence being here to be meaſured by induſtry and diligence, and a ready condeſcenſion to the meaneſt offices that might be ſubſervient to the ſouls of men, and that this was no more than what he ſufficiently taught them by his own example, being come into the world, not to be ſerved himſelf with any pompous circumſtances of ſtate and ſplendour, but to ſerve others, and to lay down his life for the redemption of mankind. With which diſcourſe the ſtorm blew over, and their exorbitant paſſions began on all hands to be allayed and pacified.

7. **What** became of St. James after our Saviour's aſcenſion, we have no certain account either from ſacred, or eccleſiaſtical ſtories. [s] Sophronius tells us, that he preached to the diſperſed Jews, which ſurely he means of that diſperſion that was made of the Jewiſh converts after the death of Stephen. The Spaniſh writers generally contend, that having preached the goſpel up and down Judæa and Samaria, after the death of Stephen he came to theſe Weſtern parts, and particularly into Spain (ſome add Britain and [t] Ireland) where he planted chriſtianity, and appointed ſome ſelect diſciples to perfect what he had begun, and then returned back to Jeruſalem. Of this there are no footſteps in any antient writers, earlier than the middle ages of the church, when it is mentioned by [u] Iſidore, the Breviary of [x] Toledo, and Arabick book of [y] Anaſtaſius, patriarch of Antioch, concerning the Paſſions of the Martyrs, and ſome others after them. Nay, [z] Baronius

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[r] Matth. xx. 20.

[s] Apud Hieron. de ſcript. Eccleſ. in Jacob.

[t] Pſeudo. Dextr. Chronic. Vincent. Bellova. Spec. Hiſtorial. l. 8. c. 7.

[u] De vit. & obit. SS. utriuſque Teſt. c. 72.

[x] Brev. Tol. Inſtit. S. Iſidori.

[y] Apud Marian. de adv. Jac. in Hiſpan. c. 7. p. 11. ſed ex fide aliorum.

[z] In Not. ad Martyrol. ad 25. Jul. p. 452. vid. Orat. Roder. Archiep. Tol. in Not. G. Loayſ. ad decret. Gund. Tomb. 4. Concil. p. 548, 549.

himſelf, though endeavouring to render the account as ſmooth and plauſible as he could, and to remove what objections lay againſt it; yet after all confeſſes, he did it only to ſhew, that the thing was not impoſſible, nor to be accounted ſuch a monſtrous and extravagant fable, as ſome men made it to be, as indeed elſewhere he plainly and peremptorily both [a] denies and diſproves it. He could not but ſee, that the ſhortneſs of this apoſtle's life, the apoſtles continuing all in one entire body at Jeruſalem, even after the diſperſing of the other Chriſtians, probably not going out of the bounds of Judæa for many years after our Lord's aſcenſion, could not comport with ſo tedious and difficult a voyage, and the time which he muſt neceſſarily ſpend in thoſe parts: and therefore it is ſafeſt to confine his miniſtry to Judæa, and the parts thereabouts, and to ſeek for him at Jeruſalem, where we are ſure to find him.

8. Herod Agrippa, ſon of Ariſtobulus, and grandchild of Herod the Great (under whom Chriſt was born) had been in great favour with the late emperor Caligula, but much more with his ſucceſſor Claudius, who confirmed his predeceſſor's grant with the addition of Judæa, Samaria, and Abilene, the remaining portions of his grandfather's dominions. Claudius being ſetled in the empire, over comes Herod from Rome to take poſſeſſion, and to manage the affairs of his new acquired kingdom. A prince noble and generous, prudent and politick, throughly verſed in all the arts of courtſhip, able to oblige enemies, and to mollify or decline the diſpleaſure of the emperor, (witneſs his ſubtil and cunning inſinuations to Caligula, when he commanded the Jews to account him a [b] God) he was one that knew, let the wind blow which way it would, how to gain the point he aimed at; of a courteous and affable demeanour, but withal τὰ πάτρια καθαρῶς [c] ἐτήρει, a mighty zealot for the Jewiſh religion, and a moſt accurate obſerver of the Moſaick law, keeping himſelf free from all legal impurities, and ſuffering no day to paſs over his head, in which he himſelf was not preſent at ſacrifice. Being deſirous in the entrance upon his ſovereignty to inſinuate himſelf into the favour of the populacy, and led no leſs by his own zealous inclination, he ſaw no better way, than to fall heavy upon the Chriſtians, a ſort of men, whom he knew the Jews infinitely hated, as a novel and an upſtart ſect, whoſe religion proclaimed open defiance to the Moſaick inſtitutions. Hereupon he began to raiſe a perſecution, but alas the commonalty were too mean a ſacrifice to fall as the only victim to his zeal and popular deſigns, he muſt have a fatter and more honourable ſacrifice. It was not long before St. James his ſtirring and active temper, his bold reproving of the Jews, and vigorous contending for the truth and excellency of the Chriſtian religion, rendred him a fit object for his turn. Him he commands to be apprehended, caſt into priſon, and ſentence of death to be paſſed upon him. As he was led forth to the place of [d] Martyrdom, the ſoldier or officer that had guarded him to the tribunal, or rather his accuſer (and ſo [e] Suidas expreſly tells us it was) having been convinced by that mighty courage and conſtancy which St. James ſhewed at the time of his tryal, repented of what he had done, came and fell down at the apoſtle's feet, and heartily begged pardon for what he ſaid againſt him. The holy man, after a little ſurprize at the thing, raiſed him up, embraced and kiſſed him. *Peace* (ſaid he) *my ſon, peace be to thee, and the pardon of thy faults.* Whereupon before them all he publickly profeſſed himſelf to be a Chriſtian, and ſo both were beheaded at the ſame time. Thus fell St. James, the apoſtolick Proto-Martyr, the firſt of that number that gained the crown, chearfully taking that cup, which he had long ſince told his Lord he was moſt ready to drink of.

9. But the divine vengeance, that never ſleeps, ſuffered not the death of this innocent and righteous man to paſs long unrevenged; of which, though St. Luke gives us but a ſhort account, yet [f] Joſephus, who might himſelf remember it, being a youth at that time of ſeven or eight years of age, ſets down the ſtory with its particular circumſtances, agreeing almoſt exactly with the ſacred hiſtorian. Shortly after St. James's martyrdom, Herod removed to Cæſarea, being reſolved to make war upon the neighbouring Tyrians and Sidonians: while he was here, he proclaimed ſolemn ſights and feſtival entertainments to be held in honour of Cæſar, to which there flocked a great confluence of all the nobility thereabouts. Early in the morning on the ſecond day he came with great ſtate into the Theatre, to make an oration to the people, being clothed in a robe all over curiouſly wrought with ſilver, which encountring with the beams of the riſing ſun, reflected ſuch a luſtre upon the eyes of the people (who make ſenſible appearances the only true meaſures of greatneſs) as begot an equal wonder and veneration in them, crying out (prompted

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[a] Ad Ann. DCCCXVI. Numb. 69, 70 Tom. 9.

[b] Vid. Epiſt. ejus ad Caium Imp. ap. Phil. de Legat. ad Caium, p. 1031. & ſeq.

[c] Joſeph. Antiquit. Jud. lib. 19. c. 7. p. 677.

[d] Clem. Alex. Hypotyp. lib. 7. apud Euſeb. l. 2. c. 9. p. 46.

[e] Suid. in voc. Ἡρώδης.

[f] Antiquit. Jud. lib. 19. cap. 7. p. 679.

no doubt by flatterers, who began the cry) that it was ſome Deity which they beheld, and that he who ſpake to them muſt be ſomething above the ordinary ſtandard of humanity. This impious applauſe Herod received without any token of diſlike, or ſenſe of that injury that was hereby done to the Supreme Being of the world. But a ſudden accident changed the ſcene, and turned the comick part into a black fatal tragedy. [g] Looking up, he eſpied an owl ſitting upon a rope over his head (as probably alſo he did an angel, for ſo St. Luke mentions it) which he preſently beheld as the fatal meſſenger of his death, as heretofore it had been of his proſperity and ſucceſs. An incurable melancholy immediately ſeized upon his mind, as exquiſite torments did upon his bowels, cauſed without queſtion by thoſe worms St. Luke ſpeaks of, which immediately fed and preyed upon him. [h] *Behold*, ſaid he, turning to thoſe about him, *the Deity you admired, and your ſelves evidently convinced of flattery and falſhood; ſee me here by the laws of fate condemned to die, whom juſt now you ſtiled immortal.* Being removed into the palace, his pains ſtill increaſed upon him, and though the people mourned and wept, faſted and prayed for his life and health, yet his acute torments got the upper hand, and after five days put a period to his life. But to return to St. James.

10. Being put to death, his body is ſaid to have taken a ſecond voyage into Spain, where we are with confidence enough told it reſts at this day. Indeed I met with a very formal account of its tranſlation thither, written (ſays the Publiſher) above 600 years ſince, by a monk of the Abby of La-Fleury in [i] France: the ſum whereof is this: the apoſtles at Jeruſalem deſigning Cteſiphon for Spain, ordained him biſhop, and others being joined to his aſſiſtance, they took the body of St. James, and went on board a ſhip without oars, without a pilot, or any to ſteer and conduct their voyage, truſting only to the merits of that apoſtle, whoſe remains they carried along with them. In ſeven days they arrived at a port in Spain, where landing, the corps was ſuddenly taken from them, and with great appearances of an extraordinary light from heaven, conveyed they knew not whither, to the place of its interment. The men you may imagine were exceedingly troubled, that ſo great a treaſure ſhould be raviſhed from them; but upon their prayers and tears they were conducted by an angel to the place where the apoſtle was buried, twelve miles from the ſea. Here they addreſſed themſelves to a rich noble Matron, called Luparia, who had a great eſtate in thoſe parts, but a ſevere idolatreſs, begging of her that they might have leave to entomb the bones of the holy apoſtle within her juriſdiction. She entertained them with contempt and ſcorn, with curſes and execrations, bidding them go and aſk leave of the king of the country. They did ſo, but were by him treated with all the inſtances of rage and fury, and purſued by him, till himſelf periſhed in the attempt. They returned back to their Gallæcian Matron, whom by many miracles, and eſpecially the deſtroying a dragon that miſerably infeſted thoſe parts, they at laſt made convert to the faith, who thereupon commanded her images to be broken, the altars to be demoliſhed, and her own idol-temple, being cleanſed and purged, to be dedicated to the honour of St. James, by which means chriſtianity mightily prevailed, and triumphed over idolatry in all thoſe countries. This is the ſum of the account, call it romance or hiſtory, which I do not deſire to impoſe any farther upon the reader's faith, than he ſhall find himſelf diſpoſed to believe it. I add no more, than that his body was afterwards tranſlated from Iria Flavia (the place of its firſt repoſe) to Compoſtella: though a learned [k] perſon will have it to have been but one and the ſame place, and that after the ſtory of St. James had gotten ſome footing in the belief of men, it began to be called ad Jacobum Apoſtolum, thence in after-times Giacomo Poſtolo, which was at laſt jumbled into Compoſtella; where it were to tire both the reader and my ſelf, to tell him with what ſolemn veneration, and incredible miracles reported to be done here, this apoſtle's reliques are worſhipped at this day: whence [l] Baronius calls it the great ſtore-houſe of miracles lying open to the whole world, and wiſely confeſſes it one of the beſt arguments to prove, that his body was tranſlated thither. And I ſhould not ſcruple to be of his mind, could I be aſſured that ſuch miracles were truly done there.

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[g] Hunc Joſephi locum laudans Euſebius, totam bubonis mentionem prætermittit, ejuſque loco ἄγγελον ſubſtituit: mente quidem piâ, at malâ fide.

[h] Ὁ Θεὸς ὑμῖν ἐγὼ ἤδη καταστρέφειν ἐπιτάττομαι τὸν βίον. παραχρῆμα τῆς εἱμαρμένης τὰς ἄρτι μου κατεψευσμένας φωνὰς ἐλεγχούσης, ὁ κληθεὶς ἀθάνατος ὑφ' ὑμῶν, ἤδη θανὼν ἀπάγομαι. Joſeph. ib.

[i] Comment. de Tranſlat. S. Jacob. Apoſt. ap. Joan. à Boſc. Biblioth. Floriac. Part. 2. p. 183, &c.

[k] Iſ. Voſſ. Obſervat. in Pomp. Mel. lib. 3. c. 1. p. 231.

[l] Ad Ann. 816. Num. 72.

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THE LIFE OF St. JOHN.

His kindred and relations; whether eminent for nobility. The peculiar favours conferred upon him by our ſaviour. His lying in our Lord's boſom. His attending at the crucifixion. Our Lord's committing the bleſſed Virgin to his care. The great intimacy between him and Peter. How long he reſided at Jeruſalem. Aſia his apoſtolical province. His planting chriſtianity there, and in other parts of the eaſt. His being ſent priſoner to Rome, and being put into a caldron of boiling oil by the command of Domitian. His baniſhment into Patmos. Tranſportation, what kind of puniſhment. Capitis Diminutio what. His writing the Apocalypſe there. The tradition of his hand wherewith he wrote it, being ſtill kept there. His return to Epheſus, and governing the affairs of that province. His great age, and death. The fancy of his being ſtill alive, whence derived by the antients. The tradition of his going alive into his grave, and ſleeping there. Several counterfeits pretending themſelves to be St. John. His celibacy; whether he was ever married. His humility. His admirable love and charity, and heartily recommending it to the laſt. His charity to mens ſouls. His endangering himſelf to reclaim a debauched young man. His ſingular vigilancy againſt hereticks and ſeducers. His publick diſowning Cerinthus his company. Cerinthus, who; and what his principles. The hereſy of Ebion what. Nicolaitans, who; whence their original. An account of Nicolas the deacon's ſeparating from his wife. The vile principles and practices of his pretended followers. St. John's writings. His Revelation. Dionyſius Alexandrinus his judgment concerning it, and its author. Aſſerted and proved to be St. John's. The ground of doubting, what. His goſpel when and where written. The ſolemn preparation, and cauſes moving him to undertake it. The ſubject of it ſublime and myſterious. Admired and cited by Heathen philoſophers. Its tranſlation into Hebrew. His firſt epiſtle, and the deſign of it. His two other epiſtles to whom written, and why not admitted of old. His ſtyle and way of writing conſidered. The great Encomium given of his writings by the antient fathers.

1. SAINT John was a Galilean, the ſon of Zebedee and Salome, younger brother to St. James, together with whom he was brought up in the trade of fiſhing. [a] St. Hierom makes him remarkable upon the account of his nobility, whereby he became acquainted with the high-prieſt, and reſolutely ventured himſelf amongſt the Jews at our Saviour's trial, prevailed to introduce Peter into the hall, was the only Apoſtle that attended our Lord at his crucifixion, and afterwards durſt own his mother, and keep her at his own houſe. But the nobility of his family, and eſpecially that it ſhould be ſuch as to procure him ſo much reſpect from perſons of the higheſt rank and quality,

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[a] Propter generis Nobilitatem notus erat Pontifici, & Judæorum inſidias non timebat, in tantum ut Petrum introduceret in Atrium, & ſtaret ſolus Apoſtolorum ante crucem, matremque ſalvatoris in ſua reciperet. Hieron. Epitaph. Marcel. p. 119. Tom. 1.

S.t JOHN the EVANGELIST.

BRITISH
5 AU 70
MUSEUM

quality, ſeems not reconcilable with the meanneſs of his father's trade, and the privacy of his fortunes. And for his acquaintance with the high-prieſt, I ſhould rather put it upon ſome other account, eſpecially if it be true what [b] Nicephorus relates, that he had lately ſold his eſtate left by his father in Galilee to Annas the high-prieſt, and had therewith purchaſed a fair houſe at Jeruſalem, about mount Sion, whence he became acquainted with him. Before his coming to Chriſt, he ſeems for ſome time to have been diſciple to John the Baptiſt, being probably that other diſciple that was with Andrew, when they left the Baptiſt to follow our Saviour, ſo particularly does he relate all circumſtances of that tranſaction, though modeſtly, as in other parts of his goſpel, concealing his own name. He was at the ſame time with his brother called by our Lord both to the diſcipleſhip and apoſtolate, by far the youngeſt of all the apoſtles, as the antients generally affirm, and his great age ſeems to evince, living near 70 years after our Saviour's ſuffering.

2. There is not much ſaid concerning him in the ſacred ſtory, more than what is recorded of him in conjunction with his brother James, which we have already remarked in his life. He was peculiarly dear to his Lord and Maſter, being *the diſciple whom Jeſus loved*, that is, treated with more freedom and familiarity than the reſt. And indeed he was not only one of the three, whom our Saviour made partakers of the private paſſages of his life, but had ſome inſtances of a more particular kindneſs and favour conferred upon him. Witneſs his lying in our Saviour's boſom at the Paſchal ſupper, it being the cuſtom of thoſe times to lie along at meals upon couches, ſo that the ſecond lay with his head in the boſom of him that was before him; this honourable place was not given to any of the aged, but reſerved for our apoſtle: Nay, when Peter was deſirous to know, which of them our Saviour meant, when he told them that one of them ſhould betray him, and durſt not himſelf propound the queſtion, he made uſe of St. John (whoſe familiarity with him might beſt warrant ſuch an enquiry) to aſk our Lord; who thereupon made them underſtand, it was Judas whom he deſigned by the traitor. This favour our apoſtle endeavoured in ſome meaſure to anſwer by returns of particular kindneſs and conſtancy to our Saviour, ſtaying with him, when the reſt deſerted him. Indeed upon our Lord's firſt apprehenſion he fled after the other apoſtles, it not being without ſome probabilities of reaſon, that the antients conceive him to have been that [c] *young man* that followed after Chriſt, having a linnen cloth caſt about his naked body, whom when the officers laid hold upon, he left the linnen cloth, and fled naked from them. This in all likelihood was that garment that he had caſt about him at ſupper (for they had peculiar veſtments for that purpoſe) and being extremely affected with the treaſon, and our Lord's approaching paſſion, had forgot to put on his other garments, but followed him into the garden in the ſame habit wherewith he aroſe from the table, it being then night, and ſo leſs liable to be taken notice of either by himſelf or others. But though he fled at preſent to avoid that ſudden violence that was offered to him, yet he ſoon recovered himſelf, and returned back to ſeek his maſter, confidently entred into the high-prieſts hall, and followed our Lord through the ſeveral paſſages of his trial, and at laſt waited upon him (and for any thing we know, was the only apoſtle that did ſo) at his execution, owning him, as well as being own'd by him, in the midſt of arms and guards, and in the thickeſt crouds of his moſt inveterate enemies. Here it was that our Lord by his laſt will and teſtament made upon the croſs, appointed him guardian of his own mother, the bleſſed Virgin; *When he ſaw his mother, and the diſciple ſtanding by whom he loved, he ſaid unto his mother, woman, behold thy ſon*; [d] ſee, here is one that ſhall ſupply my place, and be to thee inſtead of a ſon, to love and honour thee, to provide and take care for thee: *and to the diſciple he ſaid, behold thy mother*; her, whom thou ſhalt henceforth deal with, treat and obſerve with that duty and honourable regard, which the relation of an indulgent mother challenges from a pious and obedient ſon: whereupon *he took her into his own houſe*, her huſband Joſeph being ſome time ſince dead, and made her a principal part of his charge and care. And certainly the holy Jeſus could not have given a more honourable teſtimony of his particular reſpect and kindneſs to St. John, than to commit his own mother, whom of all earthly relations he held moſt dear and valuable, to his truſt and care, and to ſubſtitute him to ſupply that duty which he himſelf paid her while he was here below.

3. At the firſt news of our Lord's return from the dead, he, accompanied with Peter, preſently haſted to the ſepulchre. Indeed there ſeems to have been a mutual intimacy

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[b] H. Eccl. lib. 1. c. 28. p. 104. vid. lib. 2. c. 3. p. 135. ubi hæreditatem hanc Caiphæ venditam fuiſſe dicit.

[c] Mark xiv. 51.

[d] John xix. 26, 27.

between theſe two apoſtles more than the reſt. It was to Peter that St. John gave the notice of Chriſt's appearing, when he came to them at the ſea of Tiberias in the habit of a ſtranger; and it was for John that Peter was ſo ſolicitouſly inquiſitive to know what ſhould become of him. After Chriſt's aſcenſion, we find theſe two going up to the temple at the hour of prayer, and miraculouſly healing the poor impotent cripple; both preaching to the people, and both apprehended together by the Prieſts and Sadducees, and thrown into priſon, and the next day brought forth to plead their cauſe before the Sanhedrim. Theſe were the two choſen by the apoſtles to ſend down to Samaria, to ſettle and confirm the plantations which Philip had made in thoſe parts, where they confounded and baffled Simon the Magician, and ſet him in an hopeful way to repentance. To theſe St. Paul addreſſed himſelf, as thoſe that ſeemed to be pillars among the reſt, who accordingly *gave him the right hand of fellowſhip*; and confirmed his miſſion to the Gentiles.

4. IN the diviſion of provinces which the apoſtles made among themſelves, [e] Aſia fell to his ſhare, though he did not preſently enter upon his charge, otherwiſe we muſt needs have heard of him in the account which St. Luke gives of St. Paul's ſeveral journies into, and reſidence in thoſe parts. Probable therefore it is, that he dwelt ſtill in his own houſe at Jeruſalem, at leaſt till the death of the bleſſed Virgin (and this is plainly aſſerted by [f] Nicephorus from the account of thoſe hiſtorians that were before him) whoſe death (ſays [g] Euſebius) happned *Anno Chriſti* 48. about fifteen years after our Lord's aſcenſion. Some time (probably years) after her death he took his journey into Aſia, and induſtriouſly applied himſelf to the propagating chriſtianity, preaching where the goſpel had not yet taken place, and confirming it where it was already planted. Many churches of note and eminency were of his foundation, Smyrna, Pergamus, Thyatira, Sardis, Philadelphia, Laodicea, and others; but his chief place of reſidence was at Epheſus, where St. Paul had many years before ſettled a church, and conſtituted Timothy biſhop of it. Nor can we ſuppoſe that he confined his miniſtry merely in Aſia Minor, but that he preached in other parts of the Eaſt; probably in Parthia, his firſt epiſtle being antiently intitled to them; and the [h] Jeſuits in the relation of their ſucceſs in thoſe parts, aſſure us that the Baſſoræ, (a people of India) conſtantly affirm from a tradition received from their anceſtors, that St. John planted the Chriſtian faith there.

5. HAVING ſpent many years in this employment, he was at length accuſed to Domitian, who had begun a perſecution againſt the Chriſtians, as an eminent aſſertor of Atheiſm and impiety, and a publick ſubverter of the religion of the empire. By his command the Proconſul of Aſia ſent him bound to [i] Rome, where his treatment was, what might be expected from ſo bloody and barbarous a prince; he was caſt into a Caldron of boiling oil, or rather oil ſet on fire. But that Divine Providence that ſecured the three Hebrew captives in the flames of a burning furnace, brought this holy man ſafe out of this, one would have thought, unavoidable deſtruction. An inſtance of ſo ſignal preſervation, as had been enough to perſuade a conſidering man, that there muſt be a divinity in that religion that had ſuch mighty and ſolemn atteſtations. But miracles themſelves will not convince him, that is fallen under an hard heart, and an injudicious mind. The cruel emperor was not ſatisfied with this, but preſently orders him to be baniſhed and tranſported into an iſland. This was accounted a kind of capital puniſhment, ἡ ἐπὶ τὴν νῆσον ἐξορία παρὰ Ῥωμάιοις κεφαλικὴν τιμωρίαν ἐμιμεῖτο ſays [k] Pachymer, ſpeaking of this very inſtance, where κεφαλικὴ τιμωϱία is not to be underſtood as extending to life, but loſs of privilege. Therefore this puniſhment in the [l] Roman laws is called *Capitis diminutio* (and it was the ſecond ſort of it) becauſe the perſon thus baniſhed was disfranchiſed, and the city thereby loſt an head. It ſucceeded in the room of that antient puniſhment, *Aqua & Igni interdicere*, to interdict a perſon the uſe of fire and water, the two great and neceſſary conveniences of man's life, whereby was tacitly implied, that he muſt for his own defence betake himſelf into baniſhment; it being unlawful for any to accommodate him with lodging or diet, or any thing neceſſary to the ſupport of life. This baniſhing into iſlands was properly called Deportatio, and was the worſt and ſevereſt kind of exile, whereby the criminal forfeited his eſtate, and being bound and put on ſhipboard was by publick officers tranſported into ſome certain iſland (which none but the emperor himſelf might aſſign) there to be confined to perpetual baniſhment. The place of our St. John's baniſhment was not Epheſus, as [m] Chryſoſtom by a great miſtake makes it, but

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[e] Euſeb. l. 3. c. 1. p. 71.

[f] H. Eccl. lib. 2. c. 42. p. 206.

[g] In Chron. ap. Bar. ad An. 48.

[h] Litter. Jeſuit. Ann 1555.

[i] Percurre Eccleſias Apoſtolicas, apud quas ipſæ adhuc Cathedræ Apoſtolorum, &c. habes Romam, &c. ubi Apoſtolus Joannes poſteaquam in Oleum igneum demerſus, nihil paſſus eſt, in inſulam relegatur. Tertull. de præſcript. Hæret. c 36. p. 215.

[k] Παραφϱ. εἰς τὴν Επιϛ. ί. τȣ̃ Ἁγ. Διονυσ. p. 444.

[l] Inſtit. lib. 1. Tit. 16. ſect. 2. l 2. & 4. ff. de Pœn. lib. 48. Tit. 19. L. 3. ad Leg. Jul. Pecul. ib. Tit. 13. vid L. 6. & 7. de Interd. & Rel. ib. Tit. 22.

[m] Argum. Epiſt. ad Epheſ. p. 1032.

Patmos, a diſconſolate iſland in the Archipelago, where he remained ſeveral years, inſtructing the inhabitants in the faith of Chriſt: Here it was about the latter end of Domitian's reign, (as Irenæus [n] tells us) that he wrote his Apocalypſe or book of Revelations, wherein by frequent viſions and prophetical repreſentments, he had a clear ſcheme and proſpect of the ſtate and condition of chriſtianity in the future periods and ages of the church. Which certainly was not the leaſt inſtance of that kindneſs and favour which our Lord particularly ſhewed to this apoſtle; and it ſeemed very ſuitable at this time, that the goodneſs of God ſhould over-power the malice of men, and that he ſhould be entertained with the more immediate converſes of heaven, who was now cut off from all ordinary converſation and ſociety with men. In a Monaſtery of Caloires, or Greek Monks in this iſland, they ſhew a dead man's hand at this [o] day, the nails of whoſe fingers grow again as oft as they are pared; which the Turks will have to be one of their prophets, while the Greeks conſtantly affirm it to have been the hand of St. John, wherewith he wrote the Revelations; and, probably, both true alike.

6. **Domitian**, whoſe prodigious wickedneſs had rendred him infamous and burthenſom to the world, being taken out of the way, Cocceius Nerva ſucceeded in the empire, a prudent man, and of a milder and more ſober temper. He reſcinded the odious acts of his predeceſſors, and by publick edict recalled thoſe from baniſhment, whom the fury of Domitian had ſent thither. [p] St. John taking the advantage of this general indulgence, left Patmos, and returned into Aſia, his antient charge, but chiefly fixed his ſeat at Epheſus, the care and preſidency whereof (Timothy their biſhop having been lately martyred by the people for perſuading them againſt their Heathen feaſts and ſports, eſpecially one called Καταγώγιον, wherein was a mixture of debauchery and [q] idolatry) he took upon him, and by the aſſiſtance of ſeven biſhops governed that large ſpacious dioceſe; [r] Nicephorus adds, that he not only managed the affairs of the church, ordered and diſpoſed the clergy, but erected churches, which ſurely muſt be meant of Oratories, and little places for their ſolemn conventions, building churches in the modern notion, not being conſiſtent with the poverty and perſecution of Chriſtians in thoſe early times. Here at the requeſt of the biſhops of Aſia he wrote his goſpel (they are authors of no credit and value, that make it written during his confinement in the Iſle of Patmos) with very ſolemn preparation, whereof more when we come to conſider the writings which he left behind him.

7. **He** lived till the time of Trajan, about the beginning of whoſe reign he departed this life, very aged, about the ninety-eighth or ninety-ninth year of his life, as is generally thought. [s] Chryſoſtom is very poſitive, that he was an hundred years old when he wrote his goſpel, and that he lived full twenty years after: the ſame is affirmed by [t] Dorotheus, that he lived a 120 years; which to me ſeems altogether improbable, ſeeing by this account he muſt be fifty years of age when called to be an apoſtle, a thing directly contrary to the whole conſent and teſtimony of antiquity, which makes him very young at the time of his calling to the apoſtolick office. He died (ſays the [u] Arabian) *in the expectation of his bleſſedneſs*, by which he means his quiet and peaceable departure, in oppoſition to a violent and bloody death. Indeed Theophylact, and others before him, conceive him to have died a martyr, upon no other ground, than what our Saviour told him and his brother, that they ſhould drink of the cup, and be baptized with the baptiſm wherewith he was baptized, which [x] Chryſoſtom ſtrictly underſtands of martyrdom and a bloody death. It was indeed literally verified of his brother James; and for him, though, as [y] St. Hierom obſerves, he was not put to death, yet may he be truly ſtiled a martyr, his being put into a veſſel of boiling oil, his many years baniſhment, and other ſufferings in the cauſe of Chriſt, juſtly challenging that honourable title, though he did not actually lay down his life for the teſtimony of the goſpel, it being not want of good-will either in him or his enemies, but the Divine Providence immediately over-ruling the powers of nature, that kept the malice of his enemies from its full execution.

8. **Others** on the contrary are ſo far from admitting him to die a martyr, that they queſtion, nay, peremptorily deny that he ever died at all. The firſt aſſertor, and that but obliquely, that I find of this opinion, was Hippolytus biſhop of Porto, and ſcholar to Clemens of Alexandria, who ranks him in the ſame capacity with Enoch and Elias;

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[n] Adv. Hæreſ. lib. 5. c. 30. p. 485.

[o] Bellon. obſerv. lib. 2. c. 11. p. 205.

[p] Oroſ. lib. 7. c. 11. p. 303. fac. 2.

[q] Martyr. Timoth. apud Phot. Cod. 254. Col. 1401, 1404.

[r] Lib. 2. c. 42. p. 206.

[s] Καταλαμβάνει τὴν Ἔφεσον, κἀκεῖσε διατρίβων συντάττει τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ὢν ἐτῶν ἑκατὸν, διαρκέσας ἕως ὅλων ἑκατὸν εἴκοσιν. Chryſoſt. Serm. de S. Joan. Ap. p. 505. T. 6.

[t] Synopſ. de Vit. & Mort. App. Bibl. Pp. T. 3. p. 147.

[u] Apud Kirſten. de Vit. Quat. Evang. p. 52.

[x] Hom. 66. in Matth. c. 20. p. 575.

[y] Comm. in. Matth. 20. p. 59. Tom. 9.

for ſpeaking of the twofold coming of Chriſt, he tells [z] us, that his firſt coming in the fleſh had John the Baptiſt for its forerunner, and his ſecond to judgment ſhall have Enoch, Elias, and [a] St. John. Ephrem patriarch of Antioch is more expreſs, he tells us, there are three perſons, anſwerable to the three diſpenſations of the world, yet in the body, Enoch, Elias, and St. John, Enoch before the law, Elias under the law, and St. John under the goſpel; concerning which laſt, that he never died, he confirms both from ſcripture and tradition, and quotes St. Cyril (I ſuppoſe he means him of Alexandria) as of the ſame opinion. The whole foundation upon which this error is built, was that diſcourſe that paſſed between our Lord and Peter concerning this apoſtle: for Chriſt having told Peter what was to be his own fate, Peter enquires what ſhould become of St. John, knowing him to be [b] *the diſciple whom Jeſus loved.* Our Lord rebukes his curioſity, by aſking him, what that concerned him, *If I will that he tarry till I come, what is that to thee?* This the apoſtles miſunderſtood, and a report preſently went out amongſt them, *That that diſciple ſhould not die:* Though St. John, who himſelf records the paſſage, inſerts a caution, *That Jeſus did not ſay, he ſhould not die, but only, what if I will that he tarry till I come?* Which doubtleſs our Lord meant of his coming (ſo often mentioned in the New Teſtament) in judgment upon the Jews, as the final overthrow of Jeruſalem, which St. John out-lived many years; and which our Lord particularly intended when elſewhere he told them, [c] *Verily I ſay unto you, there be ſome ſtanding here, which ſhall not taſte of death, till they ſee the Son of man coming in his kingdom.*

9. FROM the ſame original ſprang the report, that he only lay ſleeping in his grave. The ſtory was current in St. Auſtine's days, from whom we receive this account, though poſſibly the reader will ſmile at the conceit. He tells [d] us, it was commonly reported and believed that St. John was not dead, but that he reſted like a man aſleep in his grave at Epheſus, as plainly appeared from the duſt ſenſibly boiling and bubling up, which they accounted to be nothing elſe but the continual motion of his breath. This report St. Auſtine ſeems inclinable to believe, having received it, as he tells us, from very credible hands. He farther adds out of ſome Apocryphal writings, what was generally known and reported, that when St. John, then in health, had cauſed his grave to be dug and prepared, he laid himſelf down in it as in a Bed, and as they thought, only fell aſleep. [e] Nicephorus relates the ſtory more at large, from whom (if it may be any pleaſure to entertain the reader with theſe things) we ſhall give this account. St. John foreſeeing his tranſlation into heaven, took the Preſbyters and miniſters of the church of Epheſus, and ſeveral of the faithful, along with him out of the city, carried them unto a Cemetery near at hand, whither he himſelf was wont to retire to prayer, and very earneſtly recommended the ſtate of the churches to God in prayer. Which being done, he commanded a grave to be immediately dug, and having inſtructed them in the more recondite myſteries of Theology, the moſt excellent precepts of a good life, concerning faith, hope, and eſpecially charity, confirmed them in the practice of religion, commended them to the care and bleſſing of our Saviour, and ſolemnly taking his leave of them, he ſigned himſelf with the ſign of the Croſs, and before them all went down into the grave; ſtrictly charging them to put on the graveſtone, and to make it faſt, and the next day to come and open it, and take a view of it. They did ſo, and having opened the ſepulchre, found nothing there but the grave-clothes which he had left behind him. To all which let me add, while my hand is in theſe things, what [f] Ephrem relates, that from this grave, wherein he reſted ſo ſhort a time, a kind of ſacred oil or unguent was wont to be gathered. Gregory of [g] Tours ſays it was Manna, which even in his time like flour was caſt up from the ſepulchre, and was carried up and down the world for the curing of diſeaſes. This report of our apoſtle's being yet alive, ſome men made uſe of to wild and fantaſtick purpoſes. [h] Beza tells us of an impoſtor in his time (whom Poſtellus, who vainly boaſted that he had the ſoul of Adam, was wont to call his brother) who publickly profeſſed himſelf to be our St. John, and was afterwards burnt at Tholoſe in France. Nor was this any more than what was done in the more early ages of chriſtianity. For [i] Sulpitius Severus giving us an account of a young Spaniard that firſt profeſſed himſelf to be Elias, and then Chriſt himſelf; adds, That there was one at the ſame time in the Eaſt, who gave out himſelf to be St. John. So faſt will error,

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[z] De Conſumm. Mund. & Antichr. in Auctar. Bibl. Pp. Gr. Lat. T. 2. p. 351.

[a] Apud Phot. Cod. CCXXIX. Col. 797.

[b] John xxi. 21, 22, 23.

[c] Matth. xvi. 28.

[d] Tract. 124. in Joan. Col. 569. Tom. 9.

[e] H. Eccl. l. 2. c. 42. p. 208.

[f] Apud Phot. ubi ſupr. p. 800.

[g] De Glor. Martyr. lib. 1. cap. 30. p. 36.

[h] Annot. in Joan. c. 21.

[i] In vit. Martin. c. 25. p. 213.

like circles in the water, multiply itſelf, and one miſtaken place of ſcripture gives countenance to an hundred ſtories, that ſhall be built upon it. I have no more to add, but what we meet with in the [l] Arabick writer of his life, (though it little agrees with the preceding paſſages) who reports, that there were none preſent at his burial but his diſciple Phogſir (probably Proghor, or Prochorus, one of the ſeven Deacons, and generally ſaid to have been St. John's companion and aſſiſtent) whom he ſtrictly charged never to diſcover his ſepulchre to any; it may be for the ſame reaſon for which it is thought God concealed the body of Moſes, to prevent the idolatrous worſhipping of his reliques: and accordingly the Turks, who conceit him to be buried in the confines of Lydia, pay great honour and veneration to his tomb.

10. St. John ſeems always to have led a ſingle life, and ſo the [m] antients tell us; nay, St. Ambroſe poſitively [n] affirms, that all the apoſtles were married, except St. John and St. Paul. There want not indeed ſome, and eſpecially the middle writers of the [o] church, who will have our apoſtle to have been married, and that it was his marriage which our Lord was at in Cana of Galilee, invited thither upon the account of his conſanguinity and alliance: but that being convinced by the miracle of the water turned into wine, he immediately quitted his conjugal relation, and became one of our Lord's diſciples. But this, as Baronius himſelf confeſſes, is trifling, and the iſſue of fabulous invention, a thing wholly unknown to the fathers and beſt writers of the church, and which not only has no juſt authority to ſupport it, but arguments enough to beat it down. As for his natural temper, he ſeems (as we have obſerved in his brother's life) to have been of a more eager and reſolute diſpoſition, eaſily apt to be inflamed and provoked, which his reduced age brought to a more ſtaid and a calmer temper. He was poliſhed by no ſtudy or arts of learning, but what was wanting in that, was abundantly made up in the excellent temper and conſtitution of his mind, and that furniture of divine graces, which he was adorned withal. His humility was admirable, ſtudiouſly concealing his own worth and honour, in all his epiſtles (as [p] Euſebius long ſince obſerved) he never puts down the honourable titles of Apoſtle or Evangeliſt, but only ſtiles himſelf, and that too but ſometimes, Preſbyter, or Elder, alluding probably to his age, as much as office; in his goſpel, when he ſpeaks of *the diſciple whom Jeſus loved*, he conſtantly conceals his own name, leaving the reader to conjecture who was meant. Love and charity he practiſed himſelf, and affectionately preſſed upon others; our Lord's great love to him ſeems to have inſpired his ſoul with a bigger and more generous charity than the reſt: it is the great vein that runs through his writings, and eſpecially his epiſtles, where he urges it as the great and peculiar law of chriſtianity, and without which all other pretences to Chriſtian religion are vain and frivolous, uſeleſs and inſignificant. And this was his conſtant practice to his dying day. When age and weakneſs grew upon him at [q] Epheſus, that he was no longer able to preach to them, he uſed at every publick meeting to be led to the church, and ſay no more to them, than, *Little children, love one another.* And when his auditors wearied with the conſtant repetition of the ſame thing, aſked him why he always ſpoke the ſame, he anſwered, becauſe it was the command of our Lord, and that if they did nothing elſe, this alone was enough.

11. But the largeſt meaſures of his charity he expreſſed in the mighty care that he ſhewed to the ſouls of men, unweariedly ſpending himſelf in the ſervice of the goſpel, travelling from Eaſt to Weſt to leaven the world with the principles of that holy religion which he was ſent to propagate, patiently enduring all torments, breaking through all difficulties and diſcouragements, ſhunning no dangers, that he might do good to ſouls, redeem mens minds from error and idolatry, and reduce them from the ſnares of a debauched and a vitious life. Witneſs one famous [r] inſtance. In his viſitation of the churches, near to Epheſus, he made choice of a young man, whom with a ſpecial charge for his inſtruction and education, he committed to the biſhop of that place. The ſpiritual man undertook the charge, inſtructed his pupil, and baptized him: and then thinking he might a little remit the reins of diſcipline, the youth made an ill uſe of his liberty, and was quickly debauched by bad companions, making himſelf captain to a company of high-way men, the moſt looſe, cruel, and profligate wretches of the country. St. John at his return underſtanding this, and ſharply reproving the negligence and unfaithfulneſs of his tutor, reſolved to find him out: and without any conſideration of what danger he entred upon, in venturing himſelf upon perſons of deſperate fortunes and forfeited con-

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[l] Apud Kirſten. de Vit. Quat. Evang p. 52.

[m] Epiph. Hæreſ. 78. p. 440. Hieron. adv. Jovin. lib. 1. p. 35. T. 2.

[n] Ambr. Comm. in 2 Cor. 11. T. 5.

[o] Bed. Præf. in Joan. Rupert. Tuit. Comm. in Joan. lib. 2. in fin. Cyr. in Joan. cap. 2. & alii.

[p] Demonſtr. Evangel. lib. 3. p. 120.

[q] Hieron. Comm. in c. 6. ad Galat Tom 9 p. 200.

[r] Euſeb. H. Eccl. lib. 3. c. 23. p. 92.

ſciences, he went to the mountains where their uſual haunt was; and being here taken by the ſentinel, he deſired to be brought before their commander, who no ſooner eſpied him coming towards him, but immediately fled. The aged apoſtle followed after, but not able to overtake him, paſſionately entreated him to ſtay, promiſing him to undertake with God for his peace and pardon. He did ſo, and both melted into tears, and the apoſtle having prayed with, and for him, returned him a true penitent and convert to the church.[s] This ſtory we have elſewhere related more at large out of Euſebius, as he does from Clemens Alexandrinus, ſince which that tract itſelf of [t] Clemens is made publick to the world.

12. Nor was it the leaſt inſtance of his care of the church, and charity to the ſouls of men, that he was ſo infinitely vigilant againſt hereticks and ſeducers, countermining their artifices, antidoting againſt the poiſon of their errors, and ſhunning all communion and converſation with their perſons. [u] Going along with ſome of his friends at Epheſus to the Bath (whither he uſed frequently to reſort, and the ruins whereof, of porphyry, not far from the place where ſtood the famous temple of Diana, as a late [x] eye-witneſs informs us, are ſtill ſhewed at this day) he enquired of the ſervant that waited there, who was within; the ſervant told him, Cerinthus (Epiphanius ſays it was Ebion, and it is not improbable that they might be both there;) which the apoſtle no ſooner underſtood, but in great abhorrency he turned back, *Let us be gone, my brethren,* (ſaid he) *and make haſte from this place, leſt the Bath wherein there is ſuch an heretick as* Cerinthus, *the great enemy of the truth, fall upon our heads.* This account Irenæus delivers from Polycarp, St. John's own ſcholar and diſciple. This Cerinthus was a man of looſe and pernicious principles, endeavouring to corrupt chriſtianity with many damnable [y] errors. To make himſelf more conſiderable, he ſtruck in with the Jewiſh converts, and made a buſtle in that great controverſy at Jeruſalem, about circumciſion and the obſervation of the law of Moſes. But his uſual haunt was Aſia, where amongſt other things he openly denied Chriſt's reſurrection, affirmed the world to have been made by angels, broaching unheard-of Dogmata, and pretending them to have been communicated to him by angels, venting revelations compoſed by himſelf, as a great apoſtle, affirming that after the reſurrection the reign of Chriſt would commence here upon earth, and that men living again at Jeruſalem, ſhould for the ſpace of a thouſand years enjoy all manner of ſenſual pleaſures and delights: hoping by this *fools Paradiſe* that he ſhould tempt men of looſe and brutiſh minds over to his party. Much of the ſame ſtamp was [z] Ebion (though in ſome principles differing from him, as error agrees with itſelf as little as with truth) who held that the holy Jeſus was a mere, and a mean man, begotten by Joſeph of Mary his wife, and that the obſervance of the Moſaick rites and laws was neceſſary to ſalvation: and becauſe they ſaw St. Paul ſtand ſo full in their way, they reproached him as an Apoſtate from his religion, and rejected his epiſtles, owning none but St. Matthew's goſpel in Hebrew, having little or no value for the reſt; the Sabbath and Jewiſh rites they obſerved with the Jews, and on the Lord's day celebrated the memory of our Lord's reſurrection, according to the cuſtom and practice of the Chriſtians.

13. Besides theſe, there was another ſort of hereticks that infeſted the Church in St. John's time, the Nicolaitans, mentioned by him in his Revelation, and [a] *whoſe doctrine* our Lord is with a particular emphaſis there ſaid *to hate*; indeed a moſt wretched and brutiſh ſect, generally ſuppoſed to derive their original from Nicolas, one of the ſeven deacons, whom we read of in the Acts, whereof Clemens of Alexandria gives this probable [b] account. This Nicolas having a beautiful wife, and being reproved by the apoſtles for being jealous of her, to ſhew how far he was from it, brought her forth, and gave any that would, leave to marry her, affirming this to be ſuitable to that ſaying, ὅτι παραχρῆσθαι τῇ σαρκὶ δεῖ, *That we ought to abuſe the fleſh.* This ſpeech, he tells us, was aſcribed to St. Matthias, who taught, *That we muſt fight with the fleſh and abuſe it,* and not allowing it any thing for pleaſure, encreaſe the ſoul by faith and knowledge. Theſe words and actions of his, his diſciples and followers miſunderſtanding, and perverting things to the worſt ſenſe imaginable, began to let looſe the reins, and henceforwards to give themſelves over to the greateſt filthineſs, the moſt ſhameleſs and impudent uncleanneſs, throwing down all incloſures, making the moſt promiſcuous mixtures lawful, and pleaſure the ultimate end and happineſs of man. Such were their principles, ſuch their practices;

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[s] Prim. Chriſt. Part 3. ch. 2 p. 248.

[t] Orat. περὶ τοῦ, τίς ὁ σωζόμενος πλούσιος. in Auctuar. Biblioth. Pp. Gr. L. à Fr. Combeſ. edit. An. 1672. Part 1. p. 185. n. 42.

[u] Iren. adv. Hæreſ. l. 3. c. 3. p. 233. Euſeb. l. 3. c. 28. p 100. Epiph. Hæreſ. 30. p 69.

[x] Th. Smith. Epiſt. de VII. Aſiæ Eccleſ. p. 159.

[y] Epiphan. Hæreſ. 28. p. 53. Caius apud Euſeb. l. 3. c. 28. p. 100.

[z] Euſeb. ib. p. 99.

[a] Rev. ii. 15.

[b] Stromat. lib. 3. p. 436. Euſeb. l. 3. c. 29. p. 101.

whereas Nicolas, their pretended patron and founder, was (ſays Clemens) a ſober and a temperate man, never making uſe of any but his own wife, by whom he had one ſon, and ſeveral daughters, who all lived in perpetual virginity.

14. THE laſt inſtance that we ſhall remark of our apoſtle's care for the good of the church, is the writings which he left to poſterity. Whereof the firſt in time, though placed laſt, is his Apocalypſe, or book of Revelations, written while confined in Patmos. It was of old not only rejected by hereticks, but controverted by many of the fathers themſelves. Dionyſius biſhop of [c] Alexandria has a very large diſcourſe concerning it; he tells us, that many plainly diſowned this book, not only for the matter, but the author of it, as being neither apoſtle, no nor any holy or eccleſiaſtical perſon; that Cerinthus prefixed St. John's name to it, to give the more plauſible title to his dream of Chriſt's reign upon earth, and that ſenſual and carnal ſtate that ſhould attend it; that for his part he durſt not reject it, looking upon it as containing wiſe and admirable myſteries, though he could not fathom and comprehend them; that he did not meaſure them by his own line, nor condemn, but rather admire what he could not underſtand; that he owned the author to have been an holy, and divinely inſpired perſon, but could not believe it to be St. John the Apoſtle and Evangeliſt, neither ſtile, matter nor method agreeing with his other writings; that in this he frequently names himſelf, which he never does in any other; that there were ſeveral Johns at that time, and two buried at Epheſus, the apoſtle, and another, one of the diſciples that dwelt in Aſia, but which was the author of this book, he leaves uncertain. But though doubted of by ſome, it was entertained by the far greater part of the antients as the genuine work of our St. John. Nor could the ſetting down his name be any reaſonable exception, for whatever he might do in his other writings, eſpecially his goſpel, where it was leſs neceſſary, hiſtorical matters depending not ſo much upon his authority, yet it was otherwiſe in prophetick revelations, where the perſon of the revealer adds great weight and moment, the reaſon why ſome of the prophets under the Old Teſtament did ſo frequently ſet down their own names. The diverſity of the ſtyle is of no conſiderable value in this caſe, it being no wonder, if in arguments ſo vaſtly different the ſame perſon did not always obſerve the ſame tenor and way of writing; whereof there want not inſtances in ſome others of the apoſtolick order. The truth is, all circumſtances concur to intitle our apoſtle to be the author of it, his name frequently expreſſed, its being written in the iſland of Patmos (a circumſtance not competible to any but St. John) his ſtiling himſelf *their brother and companion in tribulation, and in the kingdom and patience of Jeſus Chriſt*, his writing particular epiſtles to the *ſeven churches of Aſia*, all planted or at leaſt cultivated by him, the doctrine in it ſuitable to the apoſtolick ſpirit and temper, evidently bearing witneſs in this caſe. That which ſeems to have given ground to doubt concerning both its author and authority, was its being long before it was uſually joined with other books of the holy Canon: for containing in it ſome paſſages directly levelled at Rome, the ſeat of the Roman empire, others which might be thought to ſymbolize with ſome Jewiſh dreams and figments, it might poſſibly ſeem fit to the prudence of thoſe times for a while to ſuppreſs it. Nor is the conjecture of a learned [d] man to be deſpiſed, who thinks that it might be entruſted in the keeping of John the Preſbyter, ſcholar to our apoſtle, whence probably the report might ariſe, that he, who was only the keeper, was the author of it. I add no more, than that upon the account of this Apocalypſe, containing a prophetick ſcheme of the future ſtate of the Chriſtian church, he is in a ſtrict ſenſe a prophet, and has thereby one conſiderable addition to his titles, being not only an apoſtle, and evangeliſt, but a prophet, an honour peculiar to himſelf. Peter was an apoſtle, but properly no evangeliſt: Mark an evangeliſt, but no apoſtle: St. Matthew an apoſtle and evangeliſt, but no prophet; but St. John was both an apoſtle, an evangeliſt, and a prophet.

15. HIS goſpel ſucceeds, written (ſay [e] ſome) in Patmos, and publiſhed at Epheſus, but as [f] Irenæus, and others more truly, written by him after his return to Epheſus; compoſed at the earneſt intreaty and ſollicitation of the Aſian biſhops, and ambaſſadours from ſeveral churches; in order whereunto he firſt cauſed them to proclaim a general faſt, to ſeek the bleſſing of heaven on ſo great and ſolemn an undertaking, which being done, he ſet about it. And if we may believe the report of Gregory biſhop of [g] Tours, he tells us that upon a hill near Epheſus there was a proſeucha, or uncovered oratory, whither our apoſtle uſed often to retire for prayer and contemplation, and where he obtained of God, that it might not rain in that place till he had finiſhed his goſpel. Nay, he adds, that

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[c] Apud Euſeb H. Eccl. lib. 7. c. 25. p. 272, &c.

[d] Grot. Annot. in cap. 1. Joan.

[e] Doroth. de vit. App. in B. Pp. T. 3. p. 147.

[f] Iren. adv. hæreſ. lib. 3. c. 1. Hieron. præf. in Matth. Tom. 9 & de Script. Eccl. in Joan.

[g] De glor. Martyr. lib. 1. cap. 30. p. 37.

even in his time, no ſhower or ſtorm ever came upon it. Two cauſes eſpecially contributed to the writing of it; the one, that he might obviate the early hereſies of thoſe times, eſpecially of Ebion, Cerinthus, and the reſt of that crew, who began openly to deny Chriſt's divinity, and that he had any exiſtence before his incarnation; the reaſon why our evangeliſt is ſo expreſs and copious in that ſubject. [h] The other was, that he might ſupply thoſe paſſages of the evangelical hiſtory, which the reſt of the ſacred writers had omitted. Collecting therefore the other three evangeliſts, he firſt ſet to his ſeal, ratifying the truth of them with his approbation and conſent, and then added his own goſpel to the reſt, principally inſiſting upon the acts of Chriſt from the firſt commencing of his miniſtry to the death of John the Baptiſt, wherein the others are moſt defective, giving ſcarce any account of the firſt year of our Saviour's miniſtry, which therefore he made up in very large and particular narrations. He largely records (as Nazianzen [i] obſerves) our Saviour's diſcourſes, but takes little notice of his miracles, probably becauſe ſo fully and particularly related by the reſt. The ſubject of his writing is very ſublime and myſterious, mainly deſigning to prove Chriſt's divinity, eternal pre-exiſtence, creating of the world, *&c.* Upon which account [k] Theodoret ſtiles his goſpel θεολογίαν ἄβατον ἀνθρώποις καὶ ἀνυπέρβατον, a Theology which human underſtandings can never fully penetrate and find out. Thence generally by the antients, he is reſembled to an eagle, [l] ſoaring aloft within the clouds, whither the weak eye of man was unable to follow him; hence peculiarly honoured with the title of the Divine, as if due to none but him, at leaſt to him in a more eminent and extraordinary manner. Nay the very Gentile Philoſophers themſelves could not but admire his writings: witneſs [m] Amelius the famous Platoniſt, and regent of Porphyry's ſchool at Alexandria; who quoting a paſſage out of the beginning of St. John's goſpel, ſware by Jupiter, that this Barbarian (ſo the proud Greeks counted and called all that differed from them) "had hit upon the right notion, when he affirmed, "that the Word that made all things was in the beginning, and in place of prime dignity "and authority with God, and was that God that created all things, in whom every thing "that was made had according to its nature its life and being; that he was incarnate, and "cloathed with a body, wherein he manifeſted the glory and magnificence of his nature; "that after his death, he returned to the repoſſeſſion of divinity, and became the ſame "God, which he was before his aſſuming a body, and taking the human nature and fleſh "upon him." I have no more to obſerve, but that his goſpel was afterwards tranſlated into [n] Hebrew, and kept by the Jews, ἐν ἀποκρύφοις, among their ſecret archives and records in their treaſury at Tiberias; where a copy of it was found by one Joſeph a Jew, afterwards converted, and whom Conſtantine the Great [o] advanced to the honour of a count of the empire, who breaking open the treaſury, though he miſſed of money, found βίβλους τὰς ὑπὲρ χρήματα, books beyond all treaſure, St. Matthew, and St. John's goſpels, and the acts of the apoſtles in Hebrew, the reading whereof greatly contributed towards his converſion.

16. Besides theſe, our apoſtle wrote three epiſtles; the firſt whereof is Catholick, calculated for all times and places, containing moſt excellent rules for the conduct of the Chriſtian life, preſſing to holineſs and purity of manners, and not to reſt in a naked and empty profeſſion of religion, not to be led away with the crafty inſinuations of ſeducers, antidoting men againſt the poiſon of the Gnoſtick principles and practices, to whom it is not to be doubted, but that the apoſtle had a more particular reſpect in this epiſtle. According to his wonted modeſty he conceals his name, it being of more concernment with wiſe men, what it is that is ſaid, than who it is that ſays it. And this epiſtle Euſebius tells [p] us, was univerſally received, and never queſtioned by any; antiently, as appears by [q] St. Auguſtine, inſcribed to the Parthians, though for what reaſon I am yet to learn, unleſs (as we hinted before) it was, becauſe he himſelf had heretofore preached in thoſe parts of the world. The other two epiſtles are but ſhort, and directed to particular perſons, the one a lady of honourable quality, the other the charitable and hoſpitable Gaius,

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[h] Euſeb. H. Eccl. lib. 3. c. 24. p. 95.

[i] Παῦρα δ' Ἰωάννης δήεις ἱερῇ ἐνὶ βίβλῳ
Θαύματα δή, πολλοὺς δὲ λόγους Χριστοῖο ἄνακτος.
Naz. Carm. 41. p. 102.

[k] Comm. in Ezek. c. 47.

[l] Nemo, audeo dicere, tanta ſublimitate ſapientiæ majeſtatem dei vidit, & nobis proprio ſermone reſeravit. Tranſcendit nubes, tranſcendit virtutes cœlorum, tranſcendit angelos, & verbum in principio reperit, & apud deum vidit. Ambr. præf. Comm. in Luc Tom. 5. p. 5.

[m] Καὶ οὗτος ἄρα ἦν ὁ Λόγος, καθ' ὃν αἰεὶ ὄντα τὰ γινόμενα ἐγίνετο, ὡς ἂν καὶ ὁ Ἡράκλειτος ἀξιώσειε, καὶ νὴ Δί' ὃν ὁ Βάρβαρος ἀξιοῖ ἐν τῇ τῆς ἀρχῆς τάξει τε καὶ ἀξίᾳ καθεστηκότα πρὸς Θεὸν εἶναι, καὶ Θεὸν εἶναι· δι' οὗ πάντα ἁπλῶς γεγενῆσθαι· ἐν ᾧ τὸ γινόμενον ζῶν, καὶ ζωήν, καὶ ὂν πεφυκέναι· καὶ εἰς τὰ σώματα πίπτειν, καὶ σάρκα ἐνδυσάμενον, φαντάζεσθαι ἄνθρωπον, μετὰ καὶ τοῦ τηλικαῦτα δεικνύειν τῆς φύσεως τὸ μεγαλεῖον· ἀμέλει καὶ ἀναλυθέντα πάλιν ἀποθεοῦσθαι, καὶ Θεὸν εἶναι, οἷος ἦν πρὸ τοῦ εἰς τὸ σῶμα, καὶ τὴν σάρκα, καὶ τὸν ἄνθρωπον καταχθῆναι. Amel. apud Euſeb. præparat. Evang. lib. 11. p. 540. vid. Theod. de Cur. Græc. Affect. Serm. 2. p. 33.

[n] Epiph. adv. Ebion. Hæreſ. XXX. p. 60.

[o] Ibid. p. 61.

[p] Lib. 7. c. 25. p. 276.

[q] Quæſt. Evang. lib. 2. c. 39. Col 353. vid. Poſſid. Indic. Oper. Auguſt.

ſo kind a friend, ſo courteous an entertainer of all indigent Chriſtians. [r] Theſe epiſtles indeed were not of old admitted into the canon, nor are owned by the church in Syria at this day, aſcribed by many to the younger John, diſciple to our apoſtle. But there is no juſt cauſe to queſtion who was their father, ſeeing both the doctrine, phraſe, and deſign of them do ſufficiently challenge our apoſtle for their author. Theſe are all the books, wherein it pleaſed the holy ſpirit to make uſe of St. John for its pen-man and ſecretary, in the compoſure whereof though his ſtyle and character be not florid and elegant, yet is it grave and ſimple, ſhort and perſpicuous. Dionyſius of Alexandria tells us, that in his goſpel and firſt epiſtle his phraſe is more neat and elegant, there being an accuracy in the contexture both of words and matter, that runs through all the reaſonings of his diſcourſes; but that in the Apocalypſe the ſtyle is nothing ſo pure and clear, being frequently mixed with more barbarous and improper phraſes. Indeed his Greek generally abounds with Syriaſms, his diſcourſes many times abrupt, ſet off with frequent Antitheſes, connected with copulatives, paſſages often repeated, things at firſt more obſcurely propounded, and which he is forced to enlighten with ſubſequent explications, words peculiar to himſelf, and phraſes uſed in an uncommon ſenſe. All which concur to render his way of writing leſs grateful, poſſibly, to the maſters of eloquence, and an elaborate curioſity. [s] St. Hierom obſerves, that in citing places out of the Old Teſtament, he more immediately tranſlates from the Hebrew original, ſtudying to render things word for word; for being an Hebrew of the Hebrews, admirably ſkilled in the language of his country, it probably made him leſs exact in his Greek compoſures, wherein he had very little advantage, beſides what was immediately communicated from above. But whatever was wanting in the politeneſs of his ſtyle, was abundantly made up in the zeal of his temper, and the excellency and ſublimity of his matter; he truly anſwered his name, Boanerges, ſpake and writ like a *Son of Thunder*. Whence it is that his writings, but eſpecially his goſpel, have ſuch great and honourable things ſpoken of them by the antients. *The evangelical writings* (ſays [t] St. Baſil) *tranſcend the other parts of the holy volumes; in other parts God ſpeaks to us by ſervants, the prophets, but in the goſpels our Lord himſelf ſpeaks to us,* ἀυτοῦ γε μὲν τοῦ εὐαγγελικοῦ κηρύγματος ὁ μεγαλοφωνότατος, καὶ πάσης μὲν ἀκοῆς μείζονα, πάσης δὲ διανοίας ὑψηλότερα φθεγξάμενος, Ἰωάννης ἐστὶν ὁ υἱὸς τῆς βροντῆς, *but among all the evangelical preachers, none like St. John the Son of thunder for the ſublimeneſs of his ſpeech, and the height of his diſcourſes beyond any man's capacity duly to reach and comprehend. St. John, as a true Son of Thunder* (ſays [u] Epiphanius) τῇ οἰκείᾳ μεγαλοφωνίᾳ ὥσπερ ἐκ τίνων νεφελῶν, τῶν δὲ σοφίας αἰνιγμάτων τὴν εὐσεβῆ ἡμῖν ἔννοιαν τοῦ υἱοῦ ἀνῆκεν, *by a certain greatneſs of ſpeech peculiar to himſelf, does as it were out of the clouds and the dark receſſes of wiſdom acquaint us with divine doctrines concerning the Son of God.* To which let me add, what St. Cyril of [x] Alexandria among other things ſays concerning him, *that whoever looks* εἰς τε τὸ τῶν θεωρημάτων ὑπερφερὲς, καὶ τῆς διανοίας αὐτοῦ τὴν ὀξύτητα, καὶ τὴν συνεχῆ καὶ ἀλλεπάλληλον τῶν νοημάτων ἐπεισφορὰν, *to the ſublimity of his incomprehenſible notions, the acumen and ſharpneſs of his reaſon, and the quick inferences of his diſcourſes conſtantly ſucceeding and following upon one another, muſt needs confeſs, that his goſpel perfectly exceeds all admiration.*

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[r] Euſeb. ut ſupr. & c. 26. Hieron. de ſcript. Eccl. in Joan.

[s] Comm. in cap. 12. Zachar. p. 178. Tom. 6.

[t] Homil. 16. p. 502. Tom. 1.

[u] Hæreſ. 73. adv. Semiar. p. 363.

[x] Comm. in Joan. p. 8.

The End of St. John's *Life.*

THE LIFE OF ST. PHILIP.

Galilee generally deſpiſed by the Jews, and why. The honour which our Lord put upon it. St. Philip's birth-place. His being firſt called to be a diſciple, and the manner of it. An account of his ready obedience to Chriſt's call. What the evangeliſts relate concerning him conſidered. The diſcourſe between our Lord and him concerning the knowledge of the father. His preaching the goſpel in the Upper Aſia, and the happy effects of his miniſtry. His coming to Hierapolis in Phrygia, and ſucceſsful confutation of their idolatries. The rage and fury of the magiſtrates againſt him. His martyrdom, crucifixion, and burial. His married condition. The confounding him with Philip the deacon. The goſpel forged by the Gnoſticks under his name.

1. OF all parts of Paleſtine Galilee ſeems to have paſſed under the greateſt character of ignominy and reproach. The country itſelf, becauſe bordering upon the idolatrous uncircumciſed nations, called Galilee of the Gentiles; the people generally beheld as more rude and boiſterous, more unpoliſhed and barbarous than the reſt, not remarkable either for civility or religion. [a] *The Galileans received him, having ſeen all the things that he did at Jeruſalem at the feaſt, for they alſo went up unto the feaſt*; as if it had been a wonder and a matter of very ſtrange remark, to ſee ſo much devotion in them, as to attend the ſolemnity of the paſſover. Indeed both Jew and Gentile conſpired in this, that they thought they could not fix a greater title of reproach upon our Saviour and his followers, than that of Galilean. [b] *Can any good thing come out of Nazareth?* a city in this province, ſaid Nathanael concerning Chriſt. [c] *Search and look* (ſay the *Phariſees*) *for out of Galilee ariſeth no prophet*; as if nothing but briars and thorns could grow in that ſoil. But there needs no more to confute this ill-natured opinion, than that our Lord not only made choice of it as the ſeat of his ordinary reſidence and retreat, but that hence he choſe thoſe excellent perſons, whom he made his apoſtles, the great inſtruments to convert the world. Some of theſe we have already given an account of, and more are yet behind.

2. OF this number was St. Philip, born at Bethſaida, a town near the ſea of Tiberias, the city of Andrew and Peter. Of his parents and way of life the hiſtory of the goſpel takes no notice, though probably he was a fiſherman, the trade general of that place. He had the τὰ πρωτεῖα, the honour of being firſt called to the diſcipleſhip, which thus came to paſs. Our Lord ſoon after his return from the wilderneſs having met with [d] Andrew and his brother Peter, after ſome ſhort diſcourſe parted from them: And the very next day, as he was paſſing through Galilee, he found Philip, whom he preſently commanded to follow him, the conſtant form which he uſed in making choice of his diſciples, and thoſe

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[a] John iv. 45.

[b] John i. 46.

[c] John vii. 52.

[d] John i. 44.

Pag. 558. LXV.

S^{t}. PHILIP the APOSTLE.

BRITISH
5 AU 70
MUSEUM

thoſe that did inſeparably attend upon him. So that the ϖρωτοκλησία or prerogative of being firſt called, evidently belongs to Philip, he being the firſt-fruits of our Lord's diſciples. For though Andrew and Peter were the firſt that came to, and converſed with Chriſt, yet did they immediately return to their trade again, and were not called to the diſcipleſhip till above a whole year after, when John was caſt into priſon. [e] Clemens Alexandrinus tells us, that it was Philip, to whom our Lord ſaid (when he would have excuſed himſelf at preſent, that he muſt go bury his father) *Let the dead bury their dead, but follow thou me.* But beſides that he gives no account, whence he derived this intelligence, it is plainly inconſiſtent with the time of our apoſtle's call, who was called to be a diſciple a long time before that ſpeech and paſſage of our Saviour. It may ſeem juſtly ſtrange that Philip ſhould at firſt ſight ſo readily comply with our Lord's command, and turn himſelf over into his ſervice, having not yet ſeen any miracle, that might evince his Meſſiahſhip, and divine commiſſion, nor probably ſo much as heard any tidings of his appearance; and eſpecially being a Galilean, and ſo of a more ruſtick and unyielding temper. But it cannot be doubted but that he was admirably verſed in the writings of Moſes and the Prophets. [f] Metaphraſtes aſſures us (though how he came to know it otherwiſe than by conjecture, I cannot imagine) that from his childhood he had excellent education, that he frequently read over Moſes his books, and conſidered the prophecies that related to our Saviour: And was no queſtion awakened with the general expectations that were then on foot among the Jews (the date of the prophetick ſcriptures concerning the time of Chriſt's coming being now run out) that the Meſſiah would immediately appear. Add to this, that the divine grace did more immediately accompany the command of Chriſt, to incline and diſpoſe him to believe, that this perſon was that very Meſſiah that was to come.

3. No ſooner had religion taken poſſeſſion of his mind, but like an active principle it began to ferment and diffuſe itſelf. Away he goes, and finds Nathanael, a perſon of note and eminency, acquaints him with the tidings of the new-found Meſſiah, and conducts him to him. So forward is a good man to draw and direct others in the ſame way to happineſs with himſelf. After his call to the apoſtleſhip much is not recorded of him in the holy ſtory: [g] It was to him that our Saviour propounded the queſtion, what they ſhould do for ſo much bread in the wilderneſs, as would feed ſo vaſt a multitude; to which he anſwered, that ſo much was not eaſily to be had; not conſidering, that to feed two or twenty thouſand are equally eaſy to Almighty power, when pleaſed to exert itſelf. It was to him that the [h] Gentile Proſelytes that came up to the paſſover addreſſed themſelves, when deſirous to ſee our Saviour, a perſon of whom they had heard ſo loud a fame. It was with him that our Lord had that diſcourſe concerning himſelf a little before the laſt paſchal ſupper. The holy and compaſſionate Jeſus had been fortifying their minds with fit conſiderations againſt his departure from them, had told them, that he was going to prepare room for them in the manſion of the bleſſed, that he himſelf was [i] *the way, the truth, and the life,* and *that no man could come to the Father but by him,* and that knowing him, *they both knew and had ſeen the Father.* Philip not duly underſtanding the force of our Saviour's reaſonings, begged of him, that he would *ſhew them the Father,* and then this would abundantly convince and ſatisfy them. We can hardly ſuppoſe he ſhould have ſuch groſs conceptions of the Deity, as to imagine the father veſted with a corporeal and viſible nature; but Chriſt having told them that they had ſeen him, and he knowing that God of old was wont frequently to appear in a viſible ſhape, he only deſired that he would manifeſt himſelf to them by ſome ſuch appearance. Our Lord gently reproved his ignorance, that after ſo long attendance upon his inſtructions, he ſhould not know, that he was the image of his father, the expreſs characters of his infinite wiſdom, power and goodneſs appearing in him, that he ſaid and did nothing but by his father's appointment, which if they did not believe, his miracles were a ſufficient evidence: that therefore ſuch demands were unneceſſary and impertinent, and that it argued great weakneſs, after more than three years education under his diſcipline and inſtitution, to be ſo unſkilful in thoſe matters. God expects improvement according to mens opportunities; to be old and ignorant in the ſchool of Chriſt, deſerves both reproach and puniſhment; it is the character of very bad perſons, that [k] *they are ever learning, but never come to the knowledge of the truth.*

4. In the diſtribution of the ſeveral regions of the world made by the apoſtles, though no mention be made by Origen or Euſebius, what part fell to our apoſtle, yet we are told by [l] others, that the Upper Aſia was his province (the reaſon doubtleſs why he is ſaid by

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[e] Stromat. lib. 3. p. 436.

[f] Apud Sur. ad diem 1. Maii, Tom. 4.

[g] John vi. 5.

[h] John xii. 22.

[i] John xiv. 8.

[k] 2 Tim. iii. 7.

[l] S. Metaphr. Comm. de S. Philip. apud. Sur. ad 1. Maii, Niceph. H. Eccl. l. 2. c. 39. p. 200.

many to have preached and planted chriſtianity in Scythia) where he applied himſelf with an indefatigable diligence and induſtry to recover men out of the ſnare of the devil, to the embracing and acknowledgment of the truth. By the conſtancy of his preaching, and the efficacy of his miracles, he gained numerous converts, whom he baptized into the Chriſtian faith, at once curing both ſouls and bodies, their ſouls of error and idolatry, their bodies of infirmities and diſtempers, healing diſeaſes, diſpoſſeſſing dæmons, ſetling churches, and appointing them guides and miniſters of religion.

HAVING for many years ſucceſsfully managed his apoſtolical office in all thoſe parts, he came in the laſt periods of his life to Hierapolis in Phrygia, a city rich and populous, but anſwering its name in its idolatrous devotions [m]. Amongſt the many vain and trifling deities, to whom they payed religious adoration, was a ſerpent or dragon (in memory no doubt of that infamous act of Jupiter, who in the ſhape of a dragon inſinuated himſelf into the embraces of Proſerpina, his own Daughter begot of Ceres, and whom theſe Phrygians chiefly worſhipped, as [n] Clemens Alexandrinus tells us, ſo little reaſon had [o] Baronius to ſay that they worſhipped no ſuch God) of a more prodigious bigneſs than the reſt, which they worſhipped with great and ſolemn veneration. St. Philip was troubled to ſee the people ſo wretchedly enſlaved to error, and therefore continually ſolicited heaven, till by prayer and calling upon the name of Chriſt, he had procured the death, or at leaſt vaniſhing of this famed and beloved ſerpent: which done, he told them, how unbecoming it was to give divine honours to ſuch odious creatures; that God alone was to be worſhipped as the great parent of the world, who had made man at firſt after his own glorious image, and when fallen from that innocent and happy ſtate, had ſent his own ſon into the world to redeem him, who died and roſe from the dead, and ſhall come again at the laſt day, to raiſe men out of their graves, and to ſentence and reward them according to their works. The ſucceſs was, that the people were aſhamed of their fond idolatry, and many broke looſe from their chains of darkneſs, and ran over to chriſtianity. Whereupon the great enemy of mankind betook himſelf to his old methods, cruelty and perſecution. The magiſtrates of the city ſeize the apoſtle, and having put him into priſon, cauſed him to be ſeverely whipped and ſcourged. This preparatory cruelty paſſed, he was led to execution, and being bound, was hanged up by the neck againſt a pillar, though others tell us, that he was crucified. We are farther told, that at his execution the earth began ſuddenly to quake, and the ground whereon the people ſtood, to ſink under them, which when they apprehended and bewailed as an evident act of divine vengeance purſuing them for their ſins, it as ſuddenly ſtopt, and went no farther. The apoſtle being dead, his body was taken down by St. Bartholomew, his fellow-ſufferer, though not finally executed, and Mariamne, St. Philip's ſiſter, who is ſaid to have been the conſtant companion of his travels, and decently buried; after which having confirmed the people in the faith of Chriſt, they departed from them.

6. THAT St. Philip was married, is generally affirmed by the antients; [p] Clemens of Alexandria reckons him one of the married apoſtles, and that he had daughters, whom he diſpoſed in marriage: [q] Polycrates biſhop of Epheſus tells us, that Philip, one of the twelve apoſtles, died at Hierapolis, with two of his daughters who perſevered in their virginity, and that he had a third which died at Epheſus. The truth is, the not careful diſtinguiſhing between Philip the deacon (who lived at Cæſarea, and of whoſe four virgin daughters we read in the hiſtory of the apoſtles [r] Acts) and our apoſtle, has bred ſome confuſion among the antients in this matter; nay has made ſome conclude them to have been but one and the ſame perſon. But with how little reaſon, will appear to any one that ſhall conſider, that Philip [s] who was choſen to be one of the ſeven deacons, could not be one of the apoſtolical college, the apoſtles declaring upon that occaſion that they had affairs of a higher nature to attend upon: [t] *then the twelve called the multitude of the diſciples unto them, and ſaid, It is not reaſon that we ſhould leave the word of God, and ſerve tables; wherefore look ye out among you ſeven men of honeſt report*, &c. *and they choſe Stephen and Philip*, &c. [*among you*] the body of the people, not from among the apoſtles. So when upon the perſecution that aroſe upon Stephen's death, the church was diſperſed, [u] *they were all ſcattered abroad throughout the regions of Judæa and Samaria (and Philip* the deacon among the reſt, *who went down to the city of Samaria) except the apoſtles*, who

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[m] Metaphr. & Niceph. ibid.

[n] Admonit. ad Gent. p. 11.

[o] Ad Ann. 54. n. 3.

[p] Strom. lib. 3. p. 448.

[q] Ap. Euſeb. H. Eccleſ. lib. 3. c. 31. p. 102. Vid. Doroth. Synopſ. de vit. & mort. App. B. Pp. Tom. 3. p. 148.

[r] Acts xxi. 8, 9.

[s] Vid. Iſid. Peluſ. lib. 1. Epiſt. 447, 448, 449, 450. p. 94, 95.

[t] Acts vi. 2, 3, &c.

[u] Acts viii. 1, &c.

tarried behind at Jeruſalem. And when Philip had converted and baptized conſiderable numbers in that place, he was forced to ſend for two of the apoſtles from Jeruſalem, that ſo by apoſtolick hands they might be confirmed, and might *receive the Holy Ghoſt.* Which had been wholly needleſs had Philip himſelf been of the twelve apoſtles. But it is needleſs to argue in this matter, the accounts concerning them being ſo widely different; for as they differed in their perſons and offices, the one a deacon, the other an apoſtle, ſo alſo in the number of their children, four daughters being aſcribed to the one, while three only are attributed to the other. He was one of the apoſtles who left no ſacred writings behind him, the greater part of the apoſtles (as [x] Euſebius obſerves) having little leiſure to write books, being employed in miniſtries more immediately uſeful and ſubſervient to the happineſs of mankind: though [y] Epiphanius tells us, that the Gnoſticks were wont to produce a goſpel forged under St. Philip's name, which they abuſed to the patronage of their horrible principles, and more brutiſh practices.

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[x] Lib. 3. cap. 24. p. 94.

[y] Adv. Gnoſt. Hæreſ. 26. p. 46.

The End of St. Philip's *Life.*

THE LIFE OF St. BARTHOLOMEW.

The ſilence concerning this apoſtle in the hiſtory of the goſpel. That he is the ſame with Nathanael, proved by many probable arguments. His title of Bar-tholmai, whence. The ſchool of the Tholmæans. An objection againſt his being Nathanael, anſwered. His deſcent and way of life. His firſt coming to Chriſt, and converſe with him. In what parts of the world he planted the Chriſtian faith. His preaching in India, and leaving St. Matthew's goſpel there. His return to Hierapolis, and deliverance there from crucifixion. His removal to Albanopolis in Armenia, and ſuffering martyrdom there for the faith of Chriſt. His being firſt flead alive, and then crucified. The fabulous goſpel attributed to him. A ſaying of his recorded by Dionyſius Areopagita.

1. THAT St. Bartholomew was one of the twelve apoſtles, the evangelical hiſtory is moſt expreſs and clear, though it ſeems to take no farther notice of him than the bare mention of his name. Which doubtleſs gave the firſt occaſion to many, both antiently and of later time, not without reaſon to ſuppoſe, that he lies concealed under ſome other name, and that this can be no other than Nathanael, one of the firſt diſciples that came to Chriſt. Accordingly we may obſerve, that as St. John never mentions Bartholomew in the number of the apoſtles, ſo the other evangeliſts never take notice of Nathanael, probably becauſe the ſame perſon under two ſeveral names, and as in John, Philip and Nathanael are joined together in their coming to Chriſt, ſo in the reſt of the evangeliſts Philip and Bartholomew are conſtantly put together without the leaſt variation; for no other reaſon, I conceive, than becauſe they were jointly called to the diſcipleſhip, ſo they are jointly referred in the apoſtolick catalogue; as afterwards we find them joint-companions in the writings of the church. But that which renders the thing moſt ſpecious and probable is, that we find Nathanael particularly reckoned up with the other apoſtles, to whom our Lord appeared at the ſea of Tiberias after his reſurrection, where there were together Simon Peter, and Thomas, and Nathanael of Cana in Galilee,[a] and the two ſons of Zebedee, and two other of his diſciples, who probably were Andrew and Philip. That by diſciples is here meant apoſtles, is evident, partly from the names of thoſe that are reckoned up, partly becauſe it is ſaid, that [b] *this was the third time that Jeſus appeared to his diſciples*, it being plain, that the two foregoing appearances were made to none but the apoſtles.

2. HAD he been no more than an ordinary diſciple, I think no tolerable reaſon can be given, why in filling up the vacancy made by the death of Judas, he, being ſo eminently qualified for the place, ſhould not have been propounded as well as either Barſabas or Matthias, but that he was one of the twelve already. Nor indeed is it reaſonable to ſuppoſe,

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[a] John xxi. 1, 2.

[b] Ibid. v. 14.

S.^t BARTHOLOMEW the APOSTLE.

BRITISH MUSEUM 5 AU 70

poſe, that Bartholomew ſhould be his proper name, any more than Bar-jona the proper name of Peter, importing no more than his relative capacity either as a ſon, or a ſcholar. As a ſon it notes no more than his being בר תולמי *the ſon of Tholmai*, a name not uncommon amongſt the Jews, it being cuſtomary among them for the ſon thus to derive his name; ſo Barjona, Bartimæus, the ſon of Timæus, &c. and to be uſually called rather by this relative, than his own proper name; thus Joſeph was called Barſabas, thus Barnabas conſtantly ſo ſtiled, though his right name was Joſes. Or elſe it may relate to him as a diſciple of ſome particular ſect and inſtitution among the Jews, it being a cuſtom for ſcholars out of a great reverence for their maſters, or firſt inſtitutors of that way, to adopt their names, as Ben-ezra, Ben-uziel, &c. And this will be much more evident, if the obſervation which [c] one makes be true (which yet I will not contend for) that as ſeveral ſects in the Jewiſh church denominated themſelves from ſome famous perſon of that nation, the Eſſenes from Enoſh, the Sadducees from Sadoc, ſo there were others that called themſelves Tholmæans, from Tholmai, ſcholar to Heber the antient maſter of the Hebrews, who was of the race or inſtitution of the Enakim, who flouriſhed in Debir and Hebron, with whom Abraham was confederate, that is, joined himſelf to their ſociety. And of this order and inſtitution, he tells us Nathanael ſeems to have been, hence called Bartholomew, the ſon or ſcholar of the Tholomæans; hence ſaid to be *an Iſraelite indeed*, that is, one of the antient race of the ſchools and ſocieties of Iſrael. This, if ſo, would give us an account of his ſkill and ability in the Jewiſh law, wherein he is generally ſuppoſed to have been a doctor or teacher. But which ſoever of theſe two accounts of his denomination ſhall find moſt favour with the reader, either of them will ſerve my purpoſe, and reconcile the difference that ſeems to be between St. John and the other evangeliſts about his name, the one ſtiling him by his proper name, the other by his relative and paternal title. To all this, if neceſſary, I might add the conſent of learned men, who have given in their ſuffrages in this matter, that it is but the ſame perſon under ſeveral names [d]. But hints of this may ſuffice. Theſe arguments, I confeſs, are not ſo forcible and convictive as to command aſſent, but with all their circumſtances conſidered, are ſufficient to incline and ſway any man's belief. The great and indeed only reaſon brought againſt it, is what [e] St. Auguſtine objected of old, that it is not probable that our Lord would chuſe Nathanael, a doctor of the law, to be one of his apoſtles, as deſigning to confound the wiſdom of the world by the preaching of the ideot and the unlearned. But this is no reaſon to him that conſiders, that this objection equally lies againſt St. Philip, for whoſe ſkill in the law and prophets there is as much evidence in the hiſtory of the goſpel, as for Nathanael's; and much ſtronglier againſt St. Paul, than whom (beſides his abilities in all human learning) there were few greater maſters in the Jewiſh law.

3. This difficulty being cleared, we proceed to a more particular account of our apoſtle. By ſome he is thought to have been a Syrian, of a noble extract, and to have derived his pedigree from the Ptolomies of Egypt, upon no other ground, I believe, than the mere analogy and ſound of the name. It is plain that he, as the reſt of the apoſtles, was a Galilean, and of Nathanael we know it is particularly ſaid, that he was of Cana in Galilee. The ſcripture takes no notice of his trade or way of life, though ſome circumſtances might ſeem to intimate that he was a fiſherman, which Theodoret affirms of the apoſtles in general, and another particularly reports of our apoſtle. At his firſt coming to Chriſt (ſuppoſing him ſtill the ſame with Nathanael) he was conducted by Philip, who told him that now they had found the long-looked for Meſſiah, ſo oft foretold by Moſes and the Prophets, [f] *Jeſus of Nazareth, the Son of Joſeph:* And when he objected that the Meſſiah could not be born at Nazareth, Philip bids him come and ſatiſfy himſelf. At his firſt approach our Lord entertains him with this honourable character, that he was an Iſraelite indeed, a man of true ſimplicity and integrity; as indeed his ſimplicity particularly appears in this, that when told of Jeſus he did not object againſt the meanneſs of his original, the low condition of his parents, the narrowneſs of their fortunes, but only againſt the place of his birth, which could not be Nazareth, the prophets having peremptorily foretold, that the Meſſiah ſhould be born at Bethlehem. By this therefore he appeared to be a true Iſraelite, one that *waited for redemption in Iſrael*, which from the date of the ſcripture-predictions he was aſſured did now draw nigh. Surprized he was at our Lord's ſalutation, wondring how he ſhould know him ſo well at firſt ſight, whoſe face he had never ſeen before. But he was anſwered, that he had ſeen him while he was yet

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[c] Bolduc. de Eccleſ. poſt Leg. c. 7. p. 45. vid. de Eccl. ante Leg. lib. 2. c. 8.

[d] Rupert. Tuit. Comm. in Joan. 1. Janſen. Concord. c. 17. Onuphr. in Faſt. Salmer. Tract. 18. Tom. 4. Montac. Orig. Sacr. Part 2. p. 18. Dr. H. Annot. in Joh. 1. aliique.

[e] Tract. VII. in Joan. Col. 68. Tom. 9. & in Pſalm LXV. Col. 671. Tom. 8.

[f] John i. 45.

under the fig-tree, before Philip called him. Convinced with this inſtance of our Lord's divinity, he preſently made his confeſſion, That now he was ſure, that Jeſus was the promiſed Meſſiah, the ſon of God, whom he had appointed to be the king and governor of his church. Our Saviour told him, that if upon this inducement he could believe him to be the Meſſiah, he ſhould have far greater arguments to confirm his faith, yea, that ere long he ſhould behold the heavens opened to receive him thither, and the angels viſibly appearing to wait and attend upon him.

4. CONCERNING our apoſtle's travels up and down the world to propagate the Chriſtian faith, we ſhall preſent the reader with a brief account, though we cannot warrant the exact order of them. That he went as far as India, is owned by all, which ſurely is meant of the hither India, or the part of it lying next to Aſia. [g] Socrates tells us, it was the India bordering upon Æthiopia, meaning no doubt the Aſian Æthiopia (whereof we ſhall ſpeak in the life of St. Thomas) [h] Sophronius calls it the fortunate India, and tells us, that here he left behind him St. Matthew's goſpel, whereof [i] Euſebius gives a more particular relation: That when Pantænus, a man famous for his ſkill in philoſophy, and eſpecially the inſtitutions of the Stoicks, but much more for his hearty affection to chriſtianity, in a devout and zealous imitation of the apoſtles, was inflamed with a deſire to propagate the Chriſtian religion unto the Eaſtern Countries, he came as far as India itſelf. Here amongſt ſome that yet retained the knowledge of Chriſt, he found St. Matthew's goſpel written in Hebrew, left here (as the tradition was) by St. Bartholomew, one of the twelve apoſtles, when he preached the goſpel to theſe nations.

5. AFTER his labours in theſe parts of the world, he returned to the more Weſtern and Northern parts of Aſia. At Hierapolis in Phrygia we find him in company with St. Philip, inſtructing that place in the principles of chriſtianity, and convincing them of the folly of their blind idolatries. Here by the enraged magiſtrates he was at the ſame time with Philip deſigned for martyrdom; in order whereunto he was faſtned upon the croſs, with an intent to diſpatch him: but upon a ſudden conviction that the Divine Juſtice would revenge their death, he was taken down again and diſmiſſed. Hence probably he went into Lycaonia, the people whereof [k] Chryſoſtom aſſures us, he inſtructed and trained up in the Chriſtian diſcipline. His laſt remove was to Albanople, in Armenia the [l] Great (the ſame no doubt which [m] Nicephorus calls Urbanople, a city of Cilicia) a place miſerably overgrown with idolatry; from which while he ſought to reclaim the people, he was by the governour of the place commanded to be crucified, which he chearfully underwent, comforting and confirming the convert Gentiles to the laſt minute of his life. [n] Some add, that he was crucified with his head downwards, others that he was flead, and his ſkin firſt taken off, which might conſiſt well enough with his crucifixion, excoriation being a puniſhment in uſe, not only in Egypt, but amongſt the Perſians, next neighbours to theſe Armenians (as [o] Ammianus Marcellinus aſſures us, and [p] Plutarch records a particular inſtance of Meſabates the Perſian Eunuch firſt flead alive, and then crucified) from whom they might eaſily borrow this piece of barbarous and inhuman cruelty. As for the ſeveral ſtages to which his body was removed after his death, firſt to Daras, a city in the borders of Perſia, then to Liparis, one of the Æolian iſlands, thence to Beneventum in Italy, and laſt of all to Rome, they that are fond of thoſe things, and have better leiſure, may enquire. Hereticks perſecuted his memory after his death, no leſs than Heathens did his perſon while alive, by forging and fathering a fabulous goſpel upon his name, which, together with others of like ſtamp, [q] Gelaſius biſhop of Rome juſtly branded as Apocryphal, altogether unworthy the name and patronage of an apoſtle. And perhaps of no better authority is the ſentence, which Dionyſius the pretended Areopagite records [r] of our apoſtle, καὶ πολλὴν τὴν θεολογίαν εἶναι, καὶ ἐλαχίστην. Καὶ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον πλατὺ καὶ μέγα, καὶ αὖθις συντετμημένον, *that theology is both copious, and yet very ſmall; and the goſpel diffuſe and large, and yet withal conciſe and ſhort*, which he according to his vein expounds concerning the boundleſs benignity, but withal incomprehenſibleneſs of the divine nature, which is βραχύλεκτος ἅμα καὶ ἄλογος, quickly diſpatch'd, becauſe ineffable, and is not without the veil diſcoverable to any, but thoſe that have got above not only all ſenſe and matter, but above all ſenſe and underſtanding, that is, to the very height of myſtical and unintelligible Religion.

[g] H. Eccl. lib. 1 c. 19. p 50.
[h] Apud Hier. de Scrip. Eccl. in Barthol.
[i] H. Eccl. lib. 5. c. 10. p. 175.
[k] Serm. in SS. XII. App. p. 269. T. 6.
[l] Sophron. ap. Hier. in Barth. Iſid. de SS. utriuſque T. c. 77.
[m] Lib. 2. c. 39 p. 201. vid. Metaphr. ad Aug. 24.
[n] Hippol. de App. ap. Bar. in Not. ad Martyr. ad Aug. 25.
[o] Am. Mar. lib. 23.
[p] In vit. Artaxerx. p. 1019. Vid. Greg. Turon. de glor. Martyr. lib. 1. c. 34. p. 46.
[q] Decret. Part. 1. Diſtinct. 15. c. 3. Sect. Cæterum.
[r] De Myſtic. Theol. c. 1. Sect. 3. p 3.

The End of St. Bartholomew's *Life.*

THE

BRITISH MUSEUM
5 AU 70

S.^t MATTHEW the EVANGELIST.

THE LIFE OF ST. MATTHEW.

His Birth-place and kindred. His trade, the office of a publican. The great dignity of this office among the Romans. The honours done to Veſpaſian's father for the faithful diſcharge of it. This office infamous among the Greeks, but eſpecially the Jews. What things concurred to render it odious and grievous to them. Their bitter abhorrency of this ſort of men. St. Matthew's employment, wherein it particularly conſiſted. The publican's ticket what. St. Matthew's call, and his ready obedience. His inviting our Lord to dinner. The Phariſees cavil, and our Saviour's anſwer. His preaching in Judæa. His travels into Parthia, Æthiopia, &c. to propagate chriſtianity. The ſucceſs of his miniſtry. His death. His ſingular contempt of the world. Cenſured herein by Julian and Porphyry. His exemplary temperance and ſobriety. His humility and modeſty. Unreaſonable to reproach penitents with the vices of their former life. His goſpel when and why written. Compoſed by him in Hebrew. The general conſent of antiquity herein. Its tranſlation into Greek, when and by whom. The Hebrew copy by whom owned and interpolated. Thoſe now extant not the ſame with thoſe mentioned in antiquity.

I. SAINT Matthew, called alſo Levi, was, though a Roman officer, an Hebrew of the Hebrews, (both his names ſpeaking him purely of Jewiſh extract and original) and probably a Galilean, and whom I ſhould have concluded born at, or near Capernaum, but that the Arabick [a] writer of his life tells us, he was born at Nazareth, a city in the tribe of Zebulun, famous for the habitation of Joſeph and Mary, but eſpecially the education and reſidence of our bleſſed Saviour, who though born at Bethlehem, was both conceived and bred up here, where he lived the whole time of his private life, whence he derived the title of Jeſus of Nazareth. St. Matthew was the ſon of Alpheus and Mary, ſiſter or kinſwoman to the Bleſſed Virgin; in the ſame Arabick author his father is called Ducu, and his mother Karutias, both originally deſcended of the tribe of Iſſachar, nothing being more common among the Jews, than for the ſame perſon to have ſeveral names, theſe latter probably expreſſed in Arabick according to their Jewiſh ſignification. His trade or way of life was that of a publican or toll-gatherer to the Romans (which probably had been his father's trade, his name denoting a broker or money-changer) an office of bad report among the Jews. Indeed among the Romans it was accounted a place of power and credit, and honourable reputation, not ordinarily conferred upon any but Roman knights; inſomuch that T. Fl. Sabinus, father to the emperor Veſpaſian, was the publican of the Aſian provinces, an office which he diſcharged ſo much to the content and ſatisfaction of the people, that they erected ſtatues to him with

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[a] Apud Kirſten. Vit. 4. Evangel. p. 22.

with this inſcription, ΚΑΛΩΣ ΤΕΛΩΝΗΣΑΝΤΙ [b], *To him that has well managed the publican-office.* Theſe officers being ſent into the provinces to gather the tributes, were wont to employ the natives under them, as perſons beſt ſkilled in the affairs and cuſtoms of their own country. Two things eſpecially concurred to render this office odious to the Jews. Firſt, that the perſons that managed it were uſually covetous, and great exactors; for having themſelves farmed the cuſtoms of the Romans, they muſt gripe and ſcrape by all methods of extortion, that they might be able both to pay their rent, and to raiſe gain and advantage to themſelves: which doubtleſs Zacchæus, the chief of theſe farmers, was ſenſible of, when after his converſion, [c] he offered four-fold reſtitution to any man from whom he had taken any thing by fraud and evil arts. [d] And upon this account they became infamous, even among the Gentiles themſelves, who commonly ſpeak of them as cheats, and thieves, and publick robbers, and worſe members of a community, more voracious and deſtructive in a city, than wild beaſts in the foreſt. The other thing that made the Jews ſo much deteſt them was, that this tribute was not only a grievance to their purſes, but an affront to the liberty and freedom of their nation; for they looked upon themſelves as a free-born people, and that they had been immediately inveſted in this privilege by God himſelf, and accordingly beheld this as a daily and ſtanding inſtance of their ſlavery, which of all other things they could leaſt endure, and which therefore betrayed them into ſo many unfortunate rebellions againſt the Romans. Add to this, that theſe Publicans were not only obliged by the neceſſity of their trade to have frequent dealing and converſe with the Gentiles (which the Jews held unlawful and abominable) but that being Jews themſelves they rigorouſly exacted theſe things of their brethren, and thereby ſeemed to conſpire with the Romans to entail perpetual ſlavery upon their own nation. For though [e] Tertullian thought that none but Gentiles were employed in this ſordid office, yet the contrary is too evident to need any argument to prove it.

2. By theſe means publicans became univerſally abhorred by the Jewiſh nation, that it was accounted unlawful to do them any office of common kindneſs and courteſy; nay, they held it no ſin to cozen and over-reach a publican, and that with the ſolemnity of an oath; they might not eat or drink, walk or travel with them; they were looked upon as common thieves and robbers, and money received of them might not be put to the reſt of a man's eſtate, it being preſumed to have been gained by rapine and violence; they were not admitted as perſons fit to give teſtimony and evidence in any cauſe: ſo infamous were they, as not only to be baniſhed all communion in the matters of divine worſhip, but to be ſhunned in all affairs of civil ſociety and commerce, as the peſts of their country, perſons of an infectious converſe, of as vile a claſs as Heathens themſelves. Hence the common proverb among them. [f] *Take not a wife out of that family, wherein there is a publican, for they are all publicans,* that is, thieves, robbers, and wicked ſinners. To this proverbial uſage our Lord alludes, when ſpeaking of a contumacious ſinner, whom neither private reproofs, nor the publick cenſures and admonitions of the church, can prevail upon, [g] *Let him be unto thee* (ſays he) *as an Heathen and a publican*; as elſewhere publicans and ſinners are yoked together, as perſons of equal eſteem and reputation. Of this trade and office was our St. Matthew, and it ſeems more particularly to have conſiſted in gathering the cuſtoms of commodities that came by the ſea of Galilee, and the tribute which paſſengers were to pay that went by water; a thing frequently mentioned in the Jewiſh writings, where we are alſo told of the קשר or ticket, conſiſting of two greater letters written in paper or ſome ſuch matter, called קשר מוכסין the ticket or ſignature of the publicans [h], which the paſſenger had with him to certify them on the other ſide the water, that he had already paid the toll or cuſtom: upon which account the Hebrew goſpel of St. Matthew publiſhed by Munſter, renders publican by בַּעַל עֲבָרָה *the Lord of the paſſage.* For this purpoſe they kept their office or cuſtom-houſe by the ſea-ſide, that they might be always near at hand; and here it was (as St. Mark intimates) that Matthew had his toll-booth, where *he ſat at the receit of cuſtom.*

3. Our Lord having lately cured a famous Paralytick, retired out of Capernaum [i] to walk by the ſea-ſide, where he taught the people that flocked after him. Here he eſpied

Matthew

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[b] Sueton. in vit. Veſpaſ. cap. 1. p. 722.

[c] Luke xix. 8.

[d] Κακὸν τέλος γένοιτο τοῖς Ὠρωπίοις.
Πάντες τελῶναι, πάντες εἰσὶν ἅρπαγες.
Xeno Comic. apud Dicæarch de vit. Græciæ cap. 4. p. 29. Θεόκριτος ἐρωτηθεὶς ποῖα τῶν θηρίων ἐστὶ χαλεπώτατα, εἶπεν· ἐν μὲν τοῖς ὄρεσιν, ἄρκτοι καὶ λέοντες· ἐν δὲ ταῖς πόλεσιν τελῶναι καὶ συκοφάνται. Muſon. apud Stob. Serm 2. de Malit. p. 31. Διεβέβλητο παρὰ τοῖς παλαιοῖς, καὶ τὸ τοῦ τελώνου ὄνομα, πεπαρρησιασμένη βία, ἀνεπιτίμητος ἁρπαγὴ, ἀναίσχυντος πλεονεξία, πραγματεία λόγον μὴ ἔχουσα, ἀναιδὴς ἐμπορία. Suid. in voc. τελώνης.

[e] De pudicit. c. 7. p. 561.

[f] אין לך ממשפחה שיש בה מוכס שהם כולם מוכסין׃

[g] Matth. xviii. 17.

[h] Vid. Buxtorf. Lex. in voc. מוכס

[i] Matth. ix. 9. Mark ii. 13, 14. Luke v. 27, 28, 29.

BRITISH MUSEUM
5 AU 70

And as Jeſus *paſsed ſorth from thence he saw a Man named Matthew ſitting at the Receipt of Custom and he saith unto him Follow me and he arose and ſollowed him.* *St. Matt. Chap. 9. Ver. 9.*

Matthew ſitting in his cuſtom-office, whom he called to come and follow him: The man was rich, had a wealthy and a gainful trade, a wiſe and prudent perſon (no fools being put into that office) and underſtood no doubt what it would coſt him to comply with this new employment; that he muſt exchange wealth for poverty, a cuſtom-houſe for a priſon, gainful maſters for a naked and deſpiſed Saviour. But he overlooked all theſe conſiderations, left all his intereſts and relations, to become our Lord's diſciple, and to embrace πραγματείαν πνευματικὴν (as [k] Chryſoſtom obſerves) a more ſpiritual way of commerce and traffick. We cannot ſuppoſe that he was before wholly unacquainted with our Saviour's perſon or doctrine, eſpecially living at Capernaum, the place of Chriſt's uſual reſidence, where his ſermons and miracles were ſo frequent, by which he could not but in ſome meaſure be prepared to receive the impreſſions, which our Saviour's call now made upon him. And to ſhew that he was not diſcontented at his change, nor apprehended himſelf a loſer by this bargain, he entertained our Lord and his diſciples at a great dinner in his houſe, whither he invited his friends, eſpecially thoſe of his own profeſſion, piouſly hoping that they alſo might be caught by our Saviour's converſe and company. The Phariſees, whoſe eye was conſtantly evil where another man's was good, and who would either find or make occaſions to ſnarl at him, began to ſuggeſt to his diſciples, that it was unbecoming ſo pure and holy a perſon as their maſter pretended himſelf to be, thus familiarly to converſe with the worſt of men, publicans and ſinners, perſons infamous to a proverb. But he preſently replied upon them, that they were the ſick that needed the phyſician, not the ſound and healthy; that his company was moſt ſuitable, where the neceſſities of ſouls did moſt require it; that God himſelf preferred acts of mercy and charity, eſpecially in reclaiming ſinners, and doing good to ſouls, infinitely before all ritual obſervances, and the nice rules of perſons converſing with one another; and that the main deſign of his coming into the world was not to bring the righteous, or thoſe who like themſelves proudly conceited themſelves to be ſo, and in a vain opinion of their own ſtrictneſs, loftily ſcorned all mankind beſides; but ſinners, modeſt, humble, ſelf-convinced offenders, to repentance, and to reduce them to a better ſtate and courſe of life.

4. **After** his election to the apoſtolate, he continued with the reſt till our Lord's aſcenſion, and then for the firſt eight years at leaſt preached up and down Judæa. After which, being to betake himſelf to the converſion of the Gentile world, he was intreated by the convert Jews to commit to writing the hiſtory of our Saviour's life and actions, and to leave it among them as the ſtanding record of what he had preached to them; which he did accordingly, and ſo compoſed his goſpel, whereof more in due place. Little certainty can be had what travels he underwent for the advancement of the Chriſtian faith, ſo irrecoverably is truth loſt in a crowd of legendary ſtories. [l] Æthiopia is generally aſſigned as the province of his apoſtolical miniſtry. [m] Metaphraſtes tells us, that he went firſt into Parthia, and having ſucceſsfully planted chriſtianity in thoſe parts, thence travelled into Æthiopia, that is, the Aſiatick Æthiopia, lying near to India: here by preaching and miracles he mightily triumphed over errors and idolatry, convinced and converted multitudes, ordained ſpiritual guides and paſtors to confirm and build them up, and bring over others to the faith, and then finiſhed his own courſe. As for what is related by [n] Nicephorus of his going into the country of the Cannibals, conſtituting Plato, one of his followers, biſhop of Myrmena; of Chriſt's appearing to him in the form of a beautiful youth, and giving him a wand, which he pitching into the ground, immediately it grew up into a tree; of his ſtrange converting the prince of that country, of his numerous miracles, peaceable death, and ſumptuous funerals, with abundance more of the ſame ſtamp and coin, they are juſtly to be reckoned amongſt thoſe fabulous reports, that have no pillar or ground either of truth or probability to ſupport them. Moſt probable it is (what an antient [o] writer affirms) that he ſuffered martyrdom at Naddaber a city in Æthiopia, but by what kind of death, is altogether uncertain. Whether this Naddaber be the ſame with Beſchberi, where the Arabick [p] writer of his life affirms him to have ſuffered martyrdom, let others enquire: he alſo adds, [pp] that he was buried at Arthaganetu Cæſarea, but where that is, is to me unknown. [q] Dorotheus makes him honourably buried at Hierapolis in Parthia, one of the firſt places to which he preached the goſpel.

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[k] Homil. 11. in 1. ad Corinth. p. 419.

[l] Socrat. l. 1. c. 19. p. 50.

[m] Apud Sur. ad diem 21. Septemb. Vol. 3. p. 217.

[n] H. Eccl. l. 2. c. 41. p. 203.

[o] Inde triumphantem fert India Bartholomæum:
Matthæum eximium Naddaber alta virum.
Ven. Fortun. de Senat. Cur. Cæl. Poem. lib. 7. p. 817.

[p] Ubi ſupr. p. 30.

[pp] Ibid. p. 31.

[q] Synopſ. de vit. & mort. App. in Bibl. Pp. Tom. 3. p 148.

5. He was a great inſtance of the power of religion, how much a man may be brought off to a better temper. If we reflect upon his circumſtances, while yet a ſtranger to Chriſt, we ſhall find that the world had very great advantages upon him. He was become a maſter of a plentiful eſtate, engaged in a rich and a gainful trade, ſupported by the power and favour of the Romans, prompted by covetous inclinations, and theſe confirmed by long habits and cuſtoms. And yet notwithſtanding all this, no ſooner did Chriſt call, but without the leaſt ſcruple or diſſatisfaction, he flung up all at once; and not only renounced (as St. Baſil [r] obſerves) his gainful incomes, but ran an immediate hazard of the diſpleaſure of his maſters that employed him, for quitting their ſervice, and leaving his accounts entangled and confuſed behind him. Had our Saviour been a mighty prince, it had been no wonder, that he ſhould run over to his ſervice: but when he appeared under all the circumſtances of meanneſs and diſgrace, when he ſeemed to promiſe his followers nothing but miſery and ſuffering in this life, and to propound no other rewards but the inviſible encouragements of another world; his change in this caſe was the more ſtrange and admirable. Indeed ſo admirable, that Porphyry and [f] Julian (two ſubtil and acute adverſaries of the Chriſtian religion) hence took occaſion to charge him either with falſhood, or with folly; either that he gave not a true account of the thing; or, that it was very weakly done of him, ſo haſtily to follow any one that called him. But the holy Jeſus was no common perſon, in all his commands there was ſomewhat more than ordinary. Indeed St. Hierom conceives, that beſides the divinity that manifeſted itſelf in his miracles, there was a divine brightneſs and a kind of majeſty in our Saviour's looks, that at firſt ſight was attractive enough to draw perſons after him. However, his miraculous powers, that reflected a luſtre from every quarter, and the efficacy of his doctrine accompanied with the grace of God, made way for the ſummons that was ſent our apoſtle, and enabled him to conquer all oppoſitions that ſtood in the way to hinder him.

6. His contempt of the world farther appeared in his exemplary temperance and abſtemiouſneſs from all the delights and pleaſures, yea the ordinary conveniences and accommodations of it; ſo far from indulging his appetite with nice and delicate curioſities, that he refuſed to gratify it with lawful and ordinary proviſions, eating no fleſh; his uſual diet being nothing but herbs, roots, ſeeds and [t] berries. But what appeared moſt remarkable in him, and which though the leaſt virtue in itſelf, is the greateſt in a wiſe man's eſteem and value, was his humility, mean and modeſt in his own conceit, in honour preferring others before himſelf. [u] Whereas the other evangeliſts in deſcribing the apoſtles by pairs, conſtantly place him before Thomas, he modeſtly places him before himſelf. The reſt of the evangeliſts openly mention the honour of his apoſtleſhip, but ſpeak of his former ſordid diſhoneſt and diſgraceful courſe of life, only under the name of Levi, while he himſelf ſets it down, with all its circumſtances, under his own proper and common name. Which as at once it commends his own candour and ingenuity, ſo it adminiſters to us this not unuſeful conſideration, that the greateſt ſinners are not excluded the lines of divine grace; nor can any, if penitent, have juſt reaſon to deſpair, when publicans and ſinners are taken in. [x] And as St. Matthew himſelf does freely and impartially record his own vile and diſhonourable courſe of life; ſo the two other evangeliſts, though ſetting down the ſtory, take notice of him only under another name; to teach us to treat a penitent brother with all modeſty and tenderneſs. *If a man repent* (ſay the Jews) לא יאמר לו זכור מעשיך הראשונים [xx] *Let no man ſay to him, remember thy former works*; which they explain not only concerning Iſraelites, but even ſtrangers and proſelytes. It being againſt the rules of civility, as well as the laws of religion, when a man hath repented, to upbraid and reproach him with the errors and follies of his paſt life.

7. The laſt thing that calls for any remarks in the life of this apoſtle is his goſpel, written at the intreaty of the Jewiſh converts, and as Epiphanius tells [y] us, at the command of the apoſtles, while he was yet in Palæſtine, about eight years after the death of Chriſt: though [z] Nicephorus will have it to be written fifteen years after our Lord's aſcenſion; and [a] Irenæus yet much wider, who ſeems to imply that it was written while Peter and Paul preached at Rome, which was not according to the common account till near thirty years after. But moſt plain it is, that it muſt be written before the diſperſion of the apoſtles, ſeeing St. Bartholomew (as we have noted in his life) took it along with

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[r] Leg. fuſius diſput. Interrog. VIII. p. 431. Tom. 2.

[f] Ap. Hieron. in Matth. 9. p. 26. Tom. 9.

[t] Clem. Alex. Pædag. lib. 2. p. 148.

[u] Cæteri Evangeliſtæ in conjunctione nominum primum ponunt Matthæum, & poſtea Thomam: iſte verò & poſt Thomam ſe ponit, & Publicanum appellat; ut ubi abundavit iniquitas, ſuperabundet & gratia. Hieron. Comm. in Matth. c. 10. p. 29. T. 9.

[x] Cæteri Evangeliſtæ nec Publicani nomen aſcribunt: ne antiquæ converſationis recordantes, ſugillare Evangeliſtam viderentur. Hieron. ibid.

[xx] Bava Metſia, fol. 58. 2.

[y] Hæreſ. 51. p. 185.

[z] H. Eccl. lib. 2. c. 45. p. 213.

[a] Adv. Hær. lib. 3. c. 1. p. 229.

him into India, and left it there. [b] He wrote it in Hebrew, as primarily deſigning it for the uſe of his country-men; and ſtrange it is, that any ſhould queſtion its being originally written in that language, when the thing is ſo univerſally and uncontroulably aſſerted by all antiquity, not one that I know of, after the ſtricteſt enquiry I could make, diſſenting in this matter, and who certainly had far greater opportunities of being ſatisfied in theſe things, than we can have at ſo great a diſtance. It was no doubt ſoon after tranſlated into Greek, though by whom St. Hierom profeſſes he could not tell; [c] Theophylact ſays it was reported to have been done by St. John, but [d] Athanaſius more expreſly attributes the tranſlation to St. James the leſs. The beſt is, it matters not much whether it was tranſlated by an apoſtle, or ſome diſciple, ſo long as the apoſtles approved the verſion, and that the church has ever received the Greek copy for authentick, and repoſed it in the ſacred Canon. And therefore when the late Arian advocate [e] brings in one of his party challenging the divine authority of this goſpel, becauſe but a tranſlation, he might have remembred it is ſuch a tranſlation, as has all the advantages of an original; as being tranſlated while the apoſtles were yet in being to ſuperviſe and ratify it, and whoſe authority has always been held ſacred and inviolable by the whole church of God. But the plain truth of the caſe is, St. Matthew is a back-friend to the antitrinitarian cauſe, as recording that expreſs command, *Go teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghoſt.* Which words muſt needs be ſuppoſititious, and added by ſome ignorant hand, for no other reaſon but becauſe they make againſt them. Nay the whole goſpel we ſee muſt be diſcarded, rather than ſtand in the way of a dear and beloved opinion.

8. After the Greek tranſlation was entertained, the Hebrew copy was chiefly owned and uſed by the [f] Nazaræi, a middle ſect of men between Jews and Chriſtians; with the Chriſtians they believed in Chriſt, and embraced his religion; with the Jews they adhered to the rites and ceremonies of the Moſaick law; and hence this goſpel came to be ſtiled *the goſpel according to the Hebrews*, and *the goſpel of the Nazarenes.* By them it was by degrees interpolated, ſeveral paſſages of the evangelical hiſtory, which they had heard either from the apoſtles, or thoſe who had familiarly converſed with them, being inſerted, which the antient fathers frequently referr to in their Writings; as by the [g] Ebionites it was mutilated, and many things cut off, for the ſame reaſon for which the followers of Cerinthus, though making uſe of the greateſt part of it, rejected the reſt, becauſe it made ſo much againſt them. This Hebrew copy (though whether exactly the ſame as it was written by St. Matthew, I will not ſay) was found among other books in the treaſury of the Jews at [h] Tiberias, by Joſeph a Jew, and after his converſion a man of great honour and eſteem in the time of Conſtantine; another [i] St. Hierom aſſures us, was kept in the library at Cæſarea in his time, and another by the Nazarenes at Berœa, from whom he had the liberty to tranſcribe it, and which he afterwards tranſlated both into Greek and Latin; with this particular obſervation, that in quoting the text of the Old Teſtament, the evangeliſt immediately follows the Hebrew, without taking notice of the tranſlation of the ſeptuagint. A copy alſo of this goſpel was *Anno* 485. dug up and found in the grave of Barnabas in Cyprus, tranſcribed with his own [k] hand. But theſe copies are long ſince periſhed, and for thoſe that have been ſince publiſhed to the world, both by Tile and Munſter, were there no other argument, they too openly betray themſelves by their barbarous and improper ſtile, not to be the genuine iſſue of that leſs corrupt and better age.

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[b] Papias ap. Euſeb. l. 3. c. 39. p. 113. Iren. l. 3. c. 1. p. 229. Origen. Expoſit. in Matt. l. 5. ap. Euſeb. lib. 6. c. 25. p. 226. Athan. Synopſ. S. Script. p. 493. Cyril. Hieroſolym. Catech. 14. p. 341. Epiphan. Hæreſ. 29. p. 59. Hær. 51. p. 185. Chryſoſt. Homil. 1. in Matth. p. 4. Hier. de Script. Eccl. in Matth. Præf. in 4 Evang. ad Dam. Tom. 3. p. 30. & alibi ſæpe. Auguſt. de Conſenſ. Evang. lib. 1. c. 2. col. 372. Doroth. Synopſ. de vit. App. p. 148. Anaſt. Sinait. Hexaem. lib. 8. Arabs quidam in vit. MS. Matthæi apud Kirſten. de vit. Quat. Evangel. n. 10. p. 29. Paraph. Syrus ad cal. Evangel. S. Matth. Ita Arabs & verſio Perſic. Præfat. ad id. Evangel.

[c] Præf. Comment. in Matth. pag. 2.

[d] Synopſ. S. Script. p. 493.

[e] Sand. interpret. paradox. ad Matth. 28. 20.

[f] Epiph. Hæreſ. 29. p. 59.

[g] Epiph. Hæreſ. 40. p. 64. id. Hær. 27. p. 54.

[h] Epiph. ib. Hæreſ. XXX. p. 60. vid. p. 61.

[i] De Script. Eccl. in Matth.

[k] Teodor. Lect. Collectan. lib. 2. non longe ab init. p. 184.

The End of St. Matthew's *Life.*

THE LIFE OF St. THOMAS.

The cuſtom of the Jews to have both an Hebrew and a Roman name. St. Thomas his name the ſame in Syriack and Greek. His country and trade. His call to the apoſtleſhip. His great affection to our Saviour. Chriſt's diſcourſe with him concerning the way to eternal life. His obſtinate refuſal to believe our Lord's reſurrection, and the unreaſonableneſs of his infidelity. Our Lord's convincing him by ſenſible demonſtrations. St. Thomas his deputing Thaddæus to Abgarus of Edeſſa. His travels into Parthia, Media, Perſia, &c. Æthiopia, what, and where ſituate. His coming into India, and the ſucceſs of his preaching there. An account of his acts in India, from the relation of the Portugals at their firſt coming thither. His converting the king of Malipur. The manner of his martyrdom by the Brachmans. The miracles ſaid to be done at his tomb. His bones dug up by the Portugals. A croſs, and ſeveral braſs tables with inſcriptions found there. An account of the Indian or St. Thomas Chriſtians; their number, ſtate, rites, and way of life.

1. IT was cuſtomary with the Jews, when travelling into foreign countries, or ſamiliarly converſing with the Greeks and Romans, to aſſume to themſelves a Greek or a Latin name, of great affinity, and ſometimes of the very ſame ſignification with that of their own country. Thus our Lord was called Chriſt, anſwering to his Hebrew title Maſhiach, or the anointed; Simon ſtiled Peter according to that of Cephas, which our Lord put upon him: Tabitha called Dorcas, both ſignifying a Goat: Thus our St. Thomas according to the Syriack importance of his name, had the title of Didymus, which ſignifies a twin; Thomas which is called Didymus. Accordingly the Syriack verſion renders it, Thauma; which is called ܬܐܘܡܐ Thama; that is, a twin: the not underſtanding whereof impoſed upon Nonnus the Greek Paraphraſt, who makes him ἄνδρα διώνυμον, to have had two diſtinct Names,

[a] ——— διώνυμος ἔννεπε Θωμᾶς,
Ὃν Δίδυμον καλέȣσι. ———

it being but the ſame name expreſſed in different languages. The hiſtory of the goſpel takes no particular notice either of the country or kindred of this apoſtle. That he was a Jew is certain, and in all probability a Galilean: He was born (if we may believe [b] Symeon Metaphraſtes) of very mean parents, who brought him up to the trade of fiſhing, but withal took care to give him a more uſeful education, inſtructing him in the knowledge of

[a] Nonn. Panop. in Joan. c. 11.
[b] Apud Sur. ad diem 21 Decemb. n. 2.

S.^t THOMAS the APOSTLE.

BRITISH
5 AU 70
MUSEUM

BRITISH MUSEUM
5 AU 70

J. Sturt sculp.

Jeſus *saith unto Thomas reach hither thy Finger & behold my Hands; and reach hither thy Hand and thrust it into my Side: and be not faithleſs but believing.* St. John; Chap: 20th Ver: 27th.

of the ſcriptures, whereby he learnt wiſely to govern his life and manners. He was together with the reſt called to the apoſtleſhip, and not long after gave an eminent inſtance of his hearty willingneſs to undergo the ſaddeſt fate that might attend them. For when the reſt of the apoſtles diſſuaded our Saviour from going into Judæa (whither he was now reſolved for the raiſing his dear Lazarus lately dead) leſt the Jews ſhould ſtone him, as but a little before they had attempted it, St. Thomas deſires them not to hinder Chriſt's journey thither, though it might coſt their lives, [c] *Let us alſo go that we may die with him*; probably concluding, that inſtead of raiſing Lazarus from the dead, they themſelves ſhould be ſent with him to their own graves. So that he made up in pious affections, what he ſeemed to want in the quickneſs and acumen of his underſtanding, not readily apprehending ſome of our Lord's diſcourſes, nor over-forward to believe more than himſelf had ſeen. When the holy Jeſus a little before his fatal ſufferings, had been ſpeaking to them of the joys of heaven, [d] and had told them that he was going to prepare, that they might follow him, that they knew both the place whither he was going, and the way thither: our apoſtle replied, that they knew not whither he went, and much leſs the way that led to it. To which our Lord returns this ſhort but ſatisfactory anſwer, that he was the true living way, the perſon whom the father had ſent into the world to ſhew men the paths of eternal life; and that they could not miſs of heaven, if they did but keep to that way, which he had preſcribed and chalked out before them.

2. Our Lord being dead, it is evident how much the apoſtles were diſtracted between hopes and fears concerning his reſurrection, not yet fully ſatisfied about it: which engaged him the ſooner to haſten his appearance, that by the ſenſible manifeſtations of himſelf he might put the caſe beyond all poſſibilities of diſpute. The very day whereon he aroſe he came into the houſe where they were, while for fear of the Jews the doors were yet faſt ſhut about them, and gave them ſufficient aſſurance that he was really riſen from the dead [e]. At this meeting St. Thomas was abſent, having probably never recovered their company, ſince their laſt diſperſion in the garden, when every one's fears prompted him to conſult his own ſafety. At his return, they told him that their Lord had appeared to them; but he obſtinately refuſed to give credit to what they ſaid, or to believe that it was he; preſuming it rather a phantaſm or mere apparition, unleſs he might ſee the very prints of the nails, and feel the wounds in his hands and ſides. A ſtrange piece of infidelity! Was this any more than what Moſes and the prophets had long ſince foretold? had not our Lord frequently told them in plain terms that he muſt riſe again the third day? could he queſtion the poſſibility of it, who had ſo often ſeen him do the greateſt miracles? was it reaſonable to reject the teſtimony of ſo many eye-witneſſes, ten to one againſt himſelf, and of whoſe fidelity he was aſſured; or could he think that either themſelves ſhould be deceived, or that they would jeſt and trifle with him in ſo ſolemn and ſerious a matter? A ſtubbornneſs that might have betrayed him into an eternal infidelity. But our compaſſionate Saviour would not take the advantage of the man's refractory unbelief, but on that day ſeven-night again came to them, as they were ſolemnly met at their devotions, and calling to Thomas, bad him look upon his hands, put his fingers into the prints of the nails, and thruſt his hand into the hole of his ſide, and ſatisfy his faith by a demonſtration from ſenſe. The man was quickly convinced of his error and obſtinacy, confeſſing that he now acknowledged him to be his very Lord and maſter, a God omnipotent, that was thus able to reſcue himſelf from the powers of death. Our Lord replied no more, than that it was well he believed his own ſenſes, but that it was a more noble and commendable act of faith to acquieſce in a rational evidence, and to entertain the doctrines and relations of the goſpel upon ſuch teſtimonies and aſſurances of the truth of things, as will ſatisfy a wiſe and ſober man, though he did not ſee them with his own eyes.

3. The bleſſed Jeſus being gone to heaven, and having eminently given gifts and miraculous powers to the apoſtles, St. Thomas moved thereto by ſome divine intimation, is [f] ſaid to have diſpatched Thaddæus, one of the ſeventy diſciples to Abgarus toparch of Edeſſa, (between whom and our Saviour the letters commonly ſaid to have paſſed, are ſtill extant in Euſebius) whom he firſt cured of an inveterate diſtemper, and after converted him and his ſubjects to the faith. The apoſtolical province aſſigned to St. Thomas (as [g] Origen tells us) was Parthia, after which [h] Sophronius and others inform us, that he preached the goſpel to the Medes, Perſians, Carmans, Hyrcani, Bactrians, and the neighbour nations. In Perſia, one of the [i] antients (upon what ground I know not) acquaints us, that he met

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[c] John xi. 16.

[d] John xiv. 5.

[e] John xx. 19.

[f] Euſeb. lib. 1. c. 13. p. 32. & lib. 2. c. 1. p. 39.

[g] Lib. 3. in Gen. ap. Euſeb. lib. 3. c. 1. p. 71. Socr. lib. 1. c. 19. Clem. Recognit. lib. 9. p. 101. fac. 2.

[h] Ap. Hier. de Script. in Thoma. Theod. de Leg. Serm. 9.

[i] Auth. Oper. Imperf. in Matth. ap Chryſoſt. Hom. 2. p. 776.

with the Magi or Wiſemen, who came that long journey from the eaſt to bring preſents to our new-born Saviour, whom he baptized and took along with him as his companions and aſſiſtants in the propagation of the goſpel. Hence he preached in and paſſed through [k] Æthiopia, that is (that we may a little clear this by the way) the Aſian Æthiopia, conterminous to, if not the ſame with Chaldæa; whence [l] Tacitus does not only make the Jews deſcendants from the Æthiopians, as whoſe anceſtors came from Ur of the Chaldeans; but [m] Heſychius makes the inhabitants of Zagrus, a mountain beyond Tigris, ἔθνος Αἰθιόπων, *a people of the Æthiopians*; this is the לארץ כוש mentioned by Benjamin the Jew, in his [n] Itinerary, the land of Cuſh or Æthiopia, the inhabitants whereof are ſtiled by [o] Herodotus, οἱ ἀφ' ἡλίου ἀνατολέων Αἰθίοπες, the oriental Æthiopians; by way of diſtinction from thoſe ὑπὲρ Αἰγύπτου, who lived ſouth of Egypt, and were under the ſame military prefecture with the Arabians, under the command of Arſames, as the other were joined with the Indians, and in the ſame place are called οἱ ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας Αἰθίοπες, the Aſian Æthiopians. Having travelled through theſe countries, he at laſt came into India. We are told by [p] Nicephorus, that he was at firſt unwilling to venture himſelf into thoſe countries, fearing he ſhould find their manners as rude and intractable as their faces were black and deformed, till encouraged by a viſion, that aſſured him of the divine preſence to aſſiſt him, he travelled a great way into thoſe eaſtern nations, as far as the iſland Taprobane, ſince called Sumatra, and the country of the Brachmans, preaching every where with all the arts of gentleneſs and mild [q] perſuaſives, not flying out into tart invectives, and furious heats againſt their idolatrous practices, but calmly inſtructing them in the principles of chriſtianity, by degrees perſuading them to renounce their follies, knowing that confirmed habits muſt be cured by patience and long forbearing, by ſlow and gentle methods; and by theſe means he wrought upon the people, and brought them over from the groſſeſt errors and ſuperſtition to the hearty belief and entertainment of religion.

4. In want of better evidence from antiquity, it may not be amiſs to enquire, what account the Portugals in their firſt diſcoveries of theſe countries, received of theſe matters, partly from antient monuments and writings, partly from conſtant and uncontrolled traditions, which the Chriſtians whom they found in thoſe parts, preſerved amongſt them. They tell [r] us, that St. Thomas came firſt to Socotora, an iſland in the Arabian ſea, thence to Cranganor, where having converted many, he travelled farther into the Eaſt, and having ſucceſsfully preached the goſpel, returned back into the kingdom of Cormandel, where at Malipur, the metropolis of the kingdom, not far from the influx of the Ganges into the gulph of Bengala, he began to erect a place for divine worſhip, till prohibited by the prieſts, and Sagamo, prince of that country. But upon the conviction of ſeveral miracles the work went on, and the Sagamo himſelf embraced the Chriſtian faith, whoſe example was ſoon followed by great numbers of his friends and ſubjects. The Brachmans, who plainly perceived that this would certainly ſpoil their trade, and in time extirpate the religion of their country, thought it high time to put a ſtop to this growing Noveliſm, and reſolved in council, that ſome way or other the apoſtle muſt be put to death. There was a tomb not far from the city, whither the apoſtle was wont to retire to his ſolitudes and private devotions; hither the Brachmans and their armed followers purſue the apoſtle, and while he was intent at prayer, they firſt load him with darts and ſtones, till one of them coming nearer, ran him through with a lance. His body was taken up by his diſciples, and buried in the church which he had lately built, and which was afterwards improved into a fabrick of great ſtatelineſs and magnificence. Gregory of [s] Tours relates many miracles done upon the annual ſolemnities of his martyrdom, and one ſtanding miracle, an account whereof, he tells us, he received from one Theodorus, who had himſelf been in that place, *viz.* that in the temple where the apoſtle was buried there hung a lamp before his tomb, which burnt perpetually, without oil or any fewel to feed and nouriſh it, the light whereof was never diminiſhed, nor by wind or any other accident could be extinguiſhed. But whether travellers might not herein be impoſed upon by the crafty artifices of the prieſts, or thoſe who did attend the church; or if true, whether it might not be performed by art, I leave to others to enquire. Some will have his body to have been afterwards tranſlated to Edeſſa, a city in Meſopotamia; but the Chriſtians in the Eaſt conſtantly affirm it to have remained in the place of his martyrdom, where (if we may believe [t] relations) it was after dug up with great coſt and care at the

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[k] Chryſoſt. Serm. in XII. App. T. 6. p. 269.

[l] Hiſt. lib. 5. c. 2. p. 534.

[m] Heſych. in voc. Σάγρος.

[n] Itin. D. Benj. Jud. p. 98.

[o] Lib. 7. c. 69, 70. p. 408.

[p] H. Eccl. l. 2. c. 40. p. 201.

[q] S. Metaphr. ad 21. Decem. n. 8, 9.

[r] Maff. Hiſtor. Indic. lib. 2. p. 85.

[s] De glor. Martyr. lib. 1. cap. 32. p. 41.

[t] Maff. ib. lib. 8. p. 363.

command of Don Emanuel Frea, governor of the coaſt of Cormandel, and together with it was found the bones of the Sagamo, whom he had converted to the faith.

5. **While** Don Alfonſo Souſa,[u] one of the viceroys in India under John the third, king of Portugal, reſided in theſe parts, certain braſs tables were brought to him, whoſe antient inſcriptions could ſcarce be read, till at laſt, by the help of a Jew, an excellent antiquary, they were found to contain nothing but a donation made to St. Thomas, whereby the king, who then reigned, granted to him a piece of ground for the building of a church. They tell us alſo of a famous croſs found in St. Thomas's chapel at Malipur, wherein was an unintelligible inſcription, which by a learned Bramin (whom they compelled to read and expound it) gave an account to this effect, that Thomas a divine perſon was ſent into thoſe countries by the Son of God in the time of king Sagamo, to inſtruct them in the knowledge of the true God, that he built a church, and performed admirable miracles, but at laſt while upon his knees at prayer was by a Brachman thruſt through with a ſpear; and that that croſs ſtained with his blood had been left as a memorial of theſe matters. An interpretation that was afterwards confirmed by another grave and learned Bramin, who expounded the inſcription to the very ſame effect. The judicious reader will meaſure his belief of theſe things by the credit of the reporters, and the rational probability of the things themſelves, which for my part, as I cannot certainly affirm to be true, ſo I will not utterly conclude them to be falſe.

6. **From** theſe firſt plantations of chriſtianity in the Eaſtern-Indies by our apoſtle, there is ſaid to have been a continued ſeries and ſucceſſion of Chriſtians (hence called St. Thomas-Chriſtians) in thoſe parts unto this day. The Portugals at their firſt arrival here found them in great numbers in ſeveral places, no leſs, as ſome tell us, than fifteen or ſixteen thouſand families.[x] They are very poor, and their churches generally mean and ſordid, wherein they had no images of Saints, nor any repreſentations but that of the croſs; they are governed in ſpirituals by an high-prieſt (whom ſome make an Armenian patriarch, of the ſect of Neſtorius, but in truth is no other than the patriarch of Muzal, the remainder, as is probable, of the antient Seleucia, and by ſome, though erroneouſly, ſtiled Babylon) reſiding northward in the mountains, who, together with twelve cardinals, two patriarchs and ſeveral biſhops, diſpoſes all affairs referring to religion; and to him all the Chriſtians of the Eaſt yield ſubjection. They promiſcuouſly admit all to the holy communion, which they receive under both kinds of bread and wine; though inſtead of wine, which their country affords not, making uſe of the juice of raiſins, ſteeped one night in water, and then preſſed forth. Children, unleſs in caſe of ſickneſs, are not baptized till the fortieth day. At the death of friends, their kindred and relations keep an eight days feaſt in memory of the departed. Every Lord's day they have their publick aſſemblies for prayer and preaching, their devotions being managed with great reverence and ſolemnity. Their Bible, at leaſt the New Teſtament, is in the Syriack language, to the ſtudy whereof the preachers earneſtly exhort the people. They obſerve the times of Advent and Lent, the feſtivals of our Lord, and many of the ſaints, thoſe eſpecially that relate to St. Thomas, the Dominica in Albis, or ſunday after Eaſter, in memory of the famous confeſſion which St. Thomas on that day made of Chriſt, after he had been ſenſibly cured of his unbelief; another on the firſt of July, celebrated not only by Chriſtians, but by Moors and Pagans, the people who come to his ſepulchre on pilgrimage carrying away a little of the red earth of the place where he was interred, which they keep as an ineſtimable treaſure, and conceit it ſovereign againſt diſeaſes. They have a kind of monaſteries of the religious, who live in great abſtinence and chaſtity. Their prieſts are ſhaven in faſhion of a croſs, have leave to marry once, but denied a ſecond time: no marriages to be diſſolved, but by death. Theſe rites and cuſtoms they ſolemnly pretend to have derived from the very time of St. Thomas, and with the greateſt care and diligence do obſerve them at this day.

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[u] Oſor. de reb. Eman. lib. 3. p. 120.

[x] Oſor. ibid. p. 119. & ſeq. Maff. lib. 2. p. 88. Joſeph. Ind. Navig. inter relat. Nov. Orb. c. 133, 134. p. 204. vid. M. Paul. Ven. lib. 3. c. 17. ibid. p. 394.

The End of St. Thomas's *Life.*

THE LIFE OF St. JAMES the Leſs.

St. James the Leſs proved to be the ſame with him that was biſhop of Jeruſalem. His kindred and relations. The ſon of Joſeph by a former wife. The brethren of our Lord, who. His country what. Our Lord's appearance to him after his reſurrection. Inveſted in the See of Jeruſalem, by whom, and why. His authority in the ſynod at Jeruſalem. His great diligence and fidelity in his miniſtry. The conſpiracy of his enemies to take away his life. His diſcourſe with the Scribes and Phariſees about the Meſſiah. His martyrdom, and the manner of it. His burial where. His death reſented by the Jews. His ſtrictneſs in religion. His prieſthood whence. His ſingular delight in prayer, and efficacy in it. His great love and charity to men. His admirable humility. His temperance according to the rules of the Nazarite order. The love and reſpect of the people towards him. His death an inlet to the deſtruction of the Jewiſh nation. His epiſtle when written. What the deſign and purpoſe of it. The proto-evangelium aſcribed to him.

1. BEFORE we can enter upon the life of this apoſtle, ſome difficulty muſt be cleared, relating to his perſon. Doubted it has been by ſome, whether this was the ſame with that St. James that was biſhop of Jeruſalem, three of this name being preſented to us; St. James the Great, this St. James the Leſs (both apoſtles) and a third ſirnamed the Juſt, diſtinct (ſay they) from the former, and biſhop of Jeruſalem. But this (however pretending to ſome little countenance from antiquity) is a very great miſtake, and built upon a ſandy bottom. For beſides that the ſcripture mentions no more than two of this name, and both apoſtles, nothing can be plainer, than that that St. James the apoſtle, whom St. Paul calls our Lord's brother, and reckons with Peter and John one of the pillars of the church, was the ſame that preſided among the apoſtles (no doubt by virtue of his place,) it being his epiſcopal chair, and determined in the ſynod at Jeruſalem. Nor do either Clemens [a] Alexandrinus or Euſebius out of him mention any more than two; St. James put to death by Herod, and St. James the Juſt, biſhop of Jeruſalem, whom they expreſly affirm to be the ſame with him whom St. Paul calls the brother of our Lord. Once indeed [b] Euſebius makes our St. James one of the ſeventy, [c] though elſewhere quoting a place of Clemens of Alexandria, he numbers him with the chief of the apoſtles, and expreſly diſtinguiſhes him from the ſeventy diſciples.

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[a] Δύο δὲ γεγόνασιν Ἰάκωβοι· εἷς ὁ δίκαιος, ὁ κατὰ τοῦ πτερυγίου βληθεὶς, καὶ ὑπὸ κναφέως ξύλῳ πληγεὶς εἰς θάνατον· ἕτερος δὲ ὁ καρατομηθείς. Αὐτοῦ δὲ τοῦ δικαίου καὶ ὁ Παῦλος μνημονεύει γράφων· ἕτερον δὲ τῶν Ἀποστόλων οὐκ εἶδον εἰ μὴ Ἰάκωβον τὸν ἀδελφὸν τοῦ κυρίου. Clem. Alex. Hypotyp. l. 7. ap. Euſ. l. 2. c. 1. p. 38.

[b] H. Eccl. lib. 1. c. 12. p. 31.

[c] Lib. 2. c. 1. p. 38.

Pag. 572.

LXX

St. JAMES MINOR the APOSTLE.

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ciples. Nay [d] St. Hierom, though when repreſenting the opinion of others, he ſtyles him the thirteenth apoſtle, yet [e] elſewhere when ſpeaking his own ſenſe, ſufficiently proves that there were but two, James the ſon of Zebedee, and the other the ſon of Alphæus; the one ſirnamed the greater, the other the leſs. Beſides, that the main ſupport of the other opinion is built upon the authority of Clemens his Recognitions, a book in doubtful caſes of no eſteem and value.

2. This doubt being removed, we proceed to the hiſtory of his life. He was the ſon (as we may probably conjecture) of Joſeph (afterwards huſband to the bleſſed Virgin) and his firſt wife, whom [f] St. Hierom from tradition ſtyles Eſcha, Hippolytus biſhop of Porto calls Salome; and farther adds, [g] that ſhe was the daughter of Aggi, brother to Zacharias, father to John the Baptiſt: Hence reputed our Lord's brother, in the ſame ſenſe that he was reputed the ſon of Joſeph. Indeed we find ſeveral ſpoken of in the hiſtory of the goſpel, who were Chriſt's brethren; but in what ſenſe, was controverted of old. St. Hierom, Chryſoſtom, and ſome others will have them ſo called, becauſe the ſons of Mary, couſin-german, or according to the cuſtom of the Hebrew language, ſiſter to the Virgin Mary. But [h] Euſebius, [i] Epiphanius, and the far greater part of the antients (from whom, eſpecially in matters of fact, we are not raſhly to depart) make them the children of Joſeph, by a former wife. And this ſeems moſt genuine and natural, the evangeliſts ſeeming very expreſs and accurate in the account which they give of them: *Is not this the carpenter's ſon? Is not his mother called Mary? and his brethren James, and Joſes, and Simon, and Jude? and his ſiſters* (whoſe Names, ſays the foreſaid Hippolytus, were Eſther and Thamar) *are they not all with us? whence then hath this man theſe things?* By which it is plain, that the Jews underſtood theſe perſons not to be Chriſt's kinſmen only, but his brothers, the ſame carpenter's ſons, having the ſame relation to him that Chriſt himſelf had: though indeed they had more, Chriſt being but his reputed, they his natural ſons. Upon this account the bleſſed Virgin is ſometimes called *the mother of James and Joſes*; for ſo amongſt the women that attended at our Lord's crucifixion, we find three eminently taken notice of, [k] *Mary Magdalen, Mary the mother of James and Joſes*, and *the mother of Zebedee's children*. Where by *Mary the mother of James and Joſes*, no other can be meant than the Virgin Mary: it not being reaſonable to ſuppoſe that the evangeliſts ſhould omit the bleſſed Virgin, who was certainly there; and therefore St. John reckoning up the ſame perſons, expreſly ſtyles her *the mother of Jeſus*. And though it is true ſhe was but St. James's mother-in-law, yet the evangeliſts might chuſe ſo to ſtyle her, becauſe commonly ſo called after Joſeph's death; and probably (as Gregory of Nyſſa [l] thinks) known by that name all along, chuſing that title that the Son of God, whom as a virgin ſhe had brought forth, might be better concealed, and leſs expoſed to the malice of the envious Jews: Nor is it any more wonder, that ſhe ſhould be eſteemed and called the *mother of James*, than that Joſeph ſhould be ſtiled and accounted the *father of Jeſus*. To which add, that [m] Joſephus, eminently ſkilful in matters of genealogy and deſcent, expreſly ſays that our St. James was the *brother of Jeſus Chriſt*. One thing there is that may ſeem to lie againſt it, that he is called *the ſon of Alphæus*. But this may probably mean no more, than either that Joſeph was ſo called by another name (it being frequent, yea almoſt conſtant among the Jews for the ſame perſon to have two names; *Quis unquam prohibuerit duobus vel tribus nominibus hominem unum vocari?* as [n] St. Auguſtin ſpeaks in a parallel caſe) or (as a learned [o] man conjectures) it may relate to his being a diſciple of ſome particular ſect or ſynagogue among the Jews called Alphæans; from אלף denoting a family or ſociety of devout and learned men of ſomewhat more eminency than the reſt, there being as he tells us many ſuch at this time among the Jews; and in this probably St. James had entred himſelf, the great reputation of his piety and ſtrictneſs, his wiſdom, parts and learning rendring the conjecture above the cenſure of being trifling and contemptible.

3. Of the place of his birth the ſacred ſtory makes no mention. The Jews in their [p] Talmud (for doubtleſs they intend the ſame perſon) ſtyle him more than once איש כפר סכניא *a man of the town of Sechania*; though where that was, I am not able to conjecture.

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[d] Comment. in Iſai. cap. 17. p. 60. T. 5.

[e] Adv. Helvid. T. 2. p. 10.

[f] Comment. in Mat. 12. p. 38. T. 9.

[g] Ap. Niceph. l. 2. c. 3. p. 135.

[h] H. Eccl. lib. 2. c. 1. p. 38.

[i] Cont. Cerinth. Hæreſ. XXVIII. p. 55. contr. Naz. Hæreſ. XXIX. p. 56. & contra Antidicomar. Hæreſ. lxxviii. p. 438, 439. Greg. Nyſſen. de Reſurrect. Chriſt. Orat. II. p. 844. Tom. 2. Matt. xiii. 55, 56.

[k] Matth. xxvii. 56. Mark xiv. 40. Μαριὰμ τὴν Ἰακώβου ϗ Ἰωσῆ μητέρα παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις Εὐαγγελισταῖς ὀνομασθεῖσαν, τὴν θεοτόκον εἶναι ϗ οὐκ ἄλλην πεπιστεύκαμεν. Greg. Nyſſen. loc. ſupr. laud. John xix. 25.

[l] Ubi ſupr.

[m] Antiquit. Jud. l. 20. c. 8. p 698. Matth. x. 3.

[n] De Conſenſ. Evangel. lib. 2. c. 28. col. 432.

[o] Bolduc. de Eccl. poſt leg. c. 7. p. 47.

[p] Midr. Kobel. & Abod Zarah. cap. 2. & Gloſſa En Miſchp. vid. Chr. Nold. Hiſt. Idum. p. 394.

What was his particular way and courſe of life before his being called to the diſcipleſhip and apoſtolate, we find no intimations of in the hiſtory of the goſpel, nor any diſtinct account concerning him during our Saviour's life. After the reſurrection he was honoured with a particular appearance of our Lord to him, which though ſilently paſſed over by the evangeliſts, is recorded by St. Paul, next to the manifeſting himſelf to the five hundred brethren at once, [q] *he was ſeen of James*, which is by all underſtood of our apoſtle. [r] St. Hierom out of the Hebrew goſpel of the Nazarenes (wherein many paſſages are ſet down, omitted by the evangelical hiſtorians) gives us a fuller relation of it; *viz.* that St. James had ſolemnly ſworn, that from the time that he had drank of the cup at the inſtitution of the ſupper, he would eat bread no more, till he ſaw the Lord riſen from the dead. Our Lord therefore being returned from the grave, came and appeared to him, commanded bread to be ſet before him, which he took, bleſſed, and brake, and gave to St. James, ſaying, *eat thy bread, my brother, for the ſon of man is truly riſen from among them that ſleep.* After Chriſt's aſcenſion (though I will not adventure to determine the preciſe time) he was choſen biſhop of Jeruſalem, preferred before all the reſt, for his near relation unto Chriſt; for this we find to have been the reaſon why they choſe [ſ] Symeon to be his immediate ſucceſſor in that ſee, becauſe he was after him our Lord's next kinſman. A conſideration that made Peter, and the two ſons of Zebedee, though they had been peculiarly honoured by our Saviour, not to contend for this high and honourable [t] place, but freely chuſe James the Juſt to be biſhop of it. This dignity is by ſome of the [u] antients ſaid to have been conferred on him by Chriſt himſelf, conſtituting him biſhop at the time of his appearing to him. But it is ſafeſt with others, to underſtand it of its being done by the apoſtles, or poſſibly by ſome particular intimation concerning it, which our Lord might leave behind him.

4. To him we find [w] St. Paul making his addreſs after his converſion, by whom he was honoured with the right hand of fellowſhip: to him Peter ſent the news of his miraculous deliverance out of priſon, [x] *Go ſhew theſe things unto James, and to the brethren*; that is, to the whole church, and eſpecially St. James the biſhop and paſtor of it. But he was principally active in the ſynod at Jeruſalem in the great controverſy about the Moſaick rites: for the caſe being opened by Peter, and farther debated by Paul and Barnabas, at laſt ſtood up St. James [y] to paſs the final and decretory ſentence, that the Gentile converts were not to be troubled with the bondage of the Jewiſh yoak, only that for a preſent accommodation ſome few indifferent rites ſhould be obſerved; uſhering in the expedient with this poſitive concluſion; διὸ ἐγὼ κρίνω, I thus judge or decide the matter, *this is my ſentence* and determination. A circumſtance the more conſiderable, becauſe ſpoken at the ſame time [z] when Peter was in council, who produced no ſuch intimation of his authority. Had the champions of the church of Rome but ſuch a paſſage for Peter's judiciary authority and power, it would no doubt have made a louder noiſe in the world, than *Thou art Peter*, or *feed my ſheep.*

5. He adminiſtred his province with all poſſible care and induſtry, omitting no part of a diligent and faithful guide of ſouls; ſtrengthening the weak, informing the ignorant, reducing the erroneous, reproving the obſtinate, and by the conſtancy of his preaching, conquering the ſtubbornneſs of that perverſe and refractary generation that he had to deal with; many of the nobler and better ſort being brought over to a compliance with the Chriſtian faith. So careful, ſo ſucceſsful in his charge, [a] that he awakened the ſpite and malice of his enemies to conſpire his ruin: a ſort of men, of whom the apoſtle has given too true a character, *that they pleaſe not God, and are contrary to all men.* Vexed they were to ſee, that St. Paul by appealing to Cæſar [b] had eſcaped their hands: (malice is as greedy and inſatiable as Hell itſelf,) and therefore now turn their revenge upon St. James, which not being able to effect under Feſtus his government, they more effectually attempted under the procuratorſhip of Albinus his ſucceſſor, Ananus the Younger, then high prieſt, and of the ſect of the Sadducees, (περὶ τὰς κρίσεις ὠμοὶ παρὰ πάντας τοὺς Ἰουδαίους, ſays [c] Joſephus, ſpeaking of this very paſſage, of all others the moſt mercileſs and implacable juſticers) reſolving to diſpatch him before the new governor could arrive. To this

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[q] 1 Cor. xv. 7.

[r] De Script. Eccleſ. in Jacob. min.

[ſ] Hegeſip. apud Euſeb. lib. 4. c. 22. p. 142.

[t] Clem. Al. Hypot. l. 5. ap. Euſeb. l. 2. c. 1. p. 38.

[u] Phot. Ep. 117. ad Theodoſ. 1. Monach. p. 158. Theophyl. in 1. ad Cor. xv. 7. vid. Euſeb. l. 7. c. 13. p. 265.

[w] Gal. i. 19. ii. 9. [x] Acts xii. 17.

[y] Acts xv. 13.

[z] Μετὰ Πέτρον Παῦλος φθέγγεται, καὶ οὐδεὶς ἐπιστομίζει. Ἰάκωβος ἀνέχεται, καὶ οὐκ ἀποπηδᾷ· ἐκεῖνος γὰρ ἦν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐγκεχειρισμένος, Chryſoſt. Homil. in Act. App. p. 676. Πέτρος δημηγορεῖ, ἀλλ' Ἰάκωβος νομοθετεῖ, καὶ ὀλίγαι λέξεις τὸ τοῦ ζητήματος συνέστειλαν μέγεθος. Ἐγὼ κρίνω, οὗ τὴν κρίσιν ἀθετεῖν οὐ θέμις, οὔτε φαυλίζειν τὸ ψήφισμα. Heſych. Preſb. Hieroſol. Serm. in Jac. apud Phot. Cod. CLXXV. col. 1525.

[a] Euſeb. lib. 2. c. 23. p. 64.

[b] Id. ib. p. 63.

[c] Joſephus Antiquit. Jud. lib. 20. c. 8. p. 698.

end a council is haſtily ſummoned, and the apoſtle with ſome others arraigned and condemned as violators of the law. But that the thing might be carried in a more plauſible and popular way, they ſet the Scribes and Phariſees (crafts-maſters in the arts of diſſimulation) at work to enſnare him, who coming to him, began by flattering inſinuations to ſet upon him. [d] They tell him, that they all had a mighty confidence in him, and that the whole nation as well as they gave him the teſtimony of a moſt juſt man, and one that was no reſpecter of perſons; that therefore they deſired he would correct the error and falſe opinion which the people had of Jeſus, whom they looked upon as the Meſſiah, and would take this opportunity of the univerſal confluence to the paſchal ſolemnity, to ſet them right in their notions about theſe things, and would to that end go up with them to the top of the temple, where he might be ſeen and heard by all. Being advantageouſly placed upon a pinnacle or wing of the temple, they made this addreſs to him. *Tell us, O Juſtus, whom we have all the reaſon in the world to believe, that ſeeing the people are thus generally led away with the doctrine of Jeſus that was crucified,* tell us, *What is this inſtitution of the crucified Jeſus?* To which the apoſtle anſwered with an audible voice; *Why do ye enquire of Jeſus the ſon of man? he ſits in heaven on the right hand of the majeſty on high, and will come again in the clouds of heaven.* The people below hearing it glorified the bleſſed Jeſus, and openly proclaimed *Hoſanna to the ſon of David.* The Scribes and Phariſees perceived now that they had over-ſhot themſelves, and that inſtead of reclaiming, they had confirmed the people in their error; that there was no way left, but preſently to diſpatch him, that by his ſad fate others might be warned not to believe him. Whereupon ſuddenly crying out, that Juſtus himſelf was ſeduced and become an impoſtor, they threw him down from the place where he ſtood: though bruiſed, he was not killed by the fall, but recovered ſo much ſtrength, as to get upon his knees, and pray to heaven for them. Malice is of too bad a nature either to be pacified with kindneſs, or ſatisfied with cruelty: jealouſy is not more the rage of a man, than malice is the rage of the devil, the very ſoul and ſpirit of the apoſtate-nature. Little portions of revenge do but inflame it, and ſerve to fleſh it up into a fiercer violence. Vexed that they had not done his work, they fell freſh upon the poor remainders of his life; and while he was yet at prayer, and that a Rechabite who ſtood by (which ſays [e] Epiphanius, was Symeon, his kinſman and ſucceſſor) ſtept in and entreated them to ſpare him, a juſt and a righteous man, and who was then praying for them, they began to load him with a ſhower of ſtones, till one more mercifully cruel than the reſt with a Fuller's club beat out his brains. [f] Thus died this good man in the 96th year of his age, and about 24 Years after Chriſt's aſcenſion into heaven, (as Epiphanius tells us;) being taken away to the great grief and regret of all good men, yea of all ſober and juſt perſons even amongſt the Jews themſelves; ὅσοι δὲ ἐδόκουν ἐπιεικέστατοι τῶν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν εἶναι, καὶ περὶ τοὺς νόμους ἀκριβεῖς, βαρέως ἤνεγκαν ἐπὶ τούτῳ, as [g] Joſephus himſelf confeſſes, ſpeaking of this matter. He was buried (ſays [h] Gregory biſhop of Tours) upon Mount Olivet, in a tomb which he had built for himſelf, and wherein he had buried Zacharias, and old Symeon: which I am rather inclinable to believe, than what [i] Hegeſippus reports, that he was buried near the temple in the place of his martyrdom, and that a monument was there erected for him, which remained a long time after: for the Jews were not ordinarily wont to bury within the city, much leſs ſo near the temple; and leaſt of all would they ſuffer him, whom as a blaſphemer and impoſtor they had ſo lately put to death.

6. He was a man of exemplary and extraordinary piety and devotion, educated under the ſtricteſt rules and inſtitutions of religion, a prieſt (as we may probably gueſs) of the antient order of the Rechabites; or rather, as [k] Epiphanius conjectures, κατὰ τὴν παλαιὰν ἱερωσύνην, *according to the moſt antient order and form of prieſthood,* when the ſacerdotal office was the prerogative of the firſt-born: and ſuch was St. James the eldeſt ſon of Joſeph, and thereby ſanctified and ſet apart for it. Though whether this way of prieſthood at any time held under the Moſaick diſpenſation, we have no intimations in the holy ſtory. But however he came by it, upon ſome ſuch account it muſt be that he had a privilege (which the [l] antients ſay was peculiar to him, probably, becauſe more frequently made uſe of by him than by any others) to enter εἰς τὰ ἅγια, not into the *Sancta Sanctorum,* or *moſt holy of all,* but the *ſanctuary,* or *holy place,* whither the prieſts of the Aaronical order might come. Prayer was his conſtant buſineſs and delight; he ſeemed

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[d] Hegeſip. Comment. lib. 5. apud Euſeb. lib. 2. c. 23. pag. 64.

[e] Hæreſ. 78. p. 441.

[f] Epiph. ibid.

[g] Antiquit. Jud. l. 20. c. 8. p. 698.

[h] De glor. Martyr. lib. 1. c. 27. p. 33.

[i] Ap. Euſeb. lib. 2. c. 23. p. 65.

[k] Contr. Nazar. Hæreſ. XXIX. p. 56.

[l] Hegeſip. apud. Euſeb. loc. laudat. p. 63. Epiphan. ibid.

to live upon it, and to trade in nothing but the frequent returns of converſe with heaven: and was therefore wont to retire alone into the temple to pray, which he always performed kneeling, and with the greateſt reverence, till by his daily devotions his knees were become as hard and brawny as a Camel's. And he who has told us, that [m] *the effectual fervent prayer of a righteous man availeth much,* himſelf found it true by his own experience, heaven lending a more immediate ear to his petitions; ſo that when in a time of great drought he prayed for rain, the heavens preſently melted into fruitful ſhowers. Nor was his charity towards men leſs than his piety towards God; he did good to all, watched over men's ſouls, and ſtudied to advance their eternal intereſts; his daily errand into the temple was to pray for the happineſs of the people, and that God would not ſeverely reckon with them: he could forgive his fierceſt enemies, and *overcome evil with good:* when thrown from the top of the temple, he made uſe of all the breath he had left in him, only to ſend up this petition to heaven for the pardon of his murtherers, *I beſeech thee, O Lord God, heavenly father, forgive them, for they know not what they do.*

7. He was of a moſt meek humble temper, honouring what was excellent in others, concealing what was valuable in himſelf: the eminency of his relation, and the dignity of his place did not exalt him in lofty thoughts above the meaſures of his brethren, induſtriouſly hiding whatever might ſet him up above the reſt. Though he was our Lord's brother, yet in the inſcription of his epiſtle he ſtiles himſelf but the *ſervant of the Lord Jeſus,* not ſo much as giving himſelf the title of an apoſtle. His temperance was admirable, he wholly abſtained from fleſh, and drank neither wine nor ſtrong drink, nor ever uſed the bath. His holy and mortified mind was content with the meaneſt accommodations, he went bare-foot, and never wore other than linen garments. Indeed he lived after the ſtricteſt rules of the Nazarite order; and as the miter, or ſacerdotal plate, (τὸ πέταλον the [n] antients call it) which he wore upon his head, evinced his prieſthood, which was rather after Melchiſedeck's, or the prieſthood of the firſt-born, than the Aaronical order; ſo his never ſhaving his head, nor uſing unguents, his habit and diet, and the great ſeverity of his life, ſhewed him to appertain to the Nazarite inſtitution, to which he was holy (ſays Hegeſippus) or conſecrated from his mother's womb. A man of that divine temper, that he was the love and wonder of his age; and for the reputation of his holy and religious life was univerſally ſtiled, James the Juſt. Indeed the ſafety and happineſs of the nation was reckoned to depend upon his prayers and intereſt in heaven, which gained him the honourable title of Oblias or Ozliam,[o] the *defence* and *fortreſs of the people*; as if when he was gone, their garriſons would be diſmantled, and their ſtrength laid level with the ground. And ſo we find it was, when ſome few years after his death the Roman army broke in upon them, and turned all into blood and ruin. As what wonder if the Judgments of God like a flood come rowling in upon a nation, when the ſluces are plucked up, and the Moſes taken away that before ſtood in the gap to keep them out? *Eliſha died, and a band of the Moabites invaded the land* [p]. In ſhort, he was the delight of all good men, in ſo much favour and eſtimation with the people, that they uſed to flock after [q] him, and ſtrive who ſhould touch, though it were but the hem of his garment; his very epiſcopal chair, wherein he uſed to ſit, being (as [r] Euſebius informs us) carefully preſerved, and having a kind of veneration paid to it, even unto his time: loved and honoured not by his friends only, but by his enemies; the [ſ] Jews in their Talmud mentioning James as a worker of miracles in the name of *Jeſus his maſter*; yea, the [t] wiſeſt of them looked upon his martyrdom as the inlet to all thoſe miſeries and calamities that ſoon after flowed in upon them. Sure I am that [u] Joſephus particularly reckons the death of this St. James, as that which more immediately alarmed the divine vengeance, and haſtned the univerſal ruin and deſtruction of that nation.

8. He wrote only one epiſtle, probably not long before his martyrdom, as appears by ſome paſſages in it relating to the near approaching ruin of the Jewiſh nation. He directed it to the Jewiſh converts, diſperſed up and down thoſe Eaſtern countries, to comfort them under ſufferings, and confirm them againſt error. He ſaw a great degeneracy and declenſion of manners coming on, and that the purity of the Chriſtian faith began to be undermined by the looſe doctrines and practices of the Gnoſticks, who under a pretence of zeal for the legal rites, generally mixt themſelves with the Jews: he beheld

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[m] Jam. v. 17. Epiph. Hæreſ. LXXVIII. p. 441.

[n] Epiph. Hæreſ. XXIX. p. 56. ex Clem. Al. & Euſeb. Hæreſ. LXXVIII. p. 441.

[o] Διὰ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῆς δικαιοσύνης αὐτοῦ ἐκαλεῖτο Δίκαιος καὶ Ὠβλίας ὅ ἐστιν ἑλληνιστὶ περιοχὴ τοῦ λαοῦ, καὶ δικαιοσύνη. Hunc Hegeſippi locum feliciter ſane emendat & reſtituit N. Fullerus noſter. Διὰ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῆς δικαιοσύνης ἐκαλεῖτο Σαδδὶκ, καὶ Ὠζλίαμ, ὅ ἐστιν ἑλληνιστὶ, Δίκαιος καὶ περιοχὴ τοῦ λαοῦ. Miſcellan. Sacr. lib. 3. c. 1.

[p] 2 Kings xiii. 20.

[q] Hieron. Com. in c. 1. ad Gal. p. 165. T. 9.

[r] H. Eccl. lib. 7. c. 19. p. 295.

[ſ] Vid. ſupr. num. 3.

[t] Euſeb l. 2. c. 23. p. 65.

[u] Verba ejus cit. Euſeb. loc. laudat.

libertiniſm marching on apace, and the way to heaven made ſoft and eaſy, men declaiming againſt good works, as uſeleſs and unneceſſary; and aſſerting a naked belief of the Chriſtian doctrine to be ſufficient to ſalvation. Againſt theſe the apoſtle oppoſes himſelf, preſſes purity, patience and charity, and all the virtues of a good life; and by undeniable arguments evinces, that that faith only that carries along with it obedience and an holy life, can juſtify us before God, and entitle us to eternal life. Beſides this epiſtle, there is a kind of preparatory goſpel aſcribed to him, publiſhed under the name of ΠΡΩΤΕΥΑΓΓΕ'ΛΙΟΝ, (ſtill extant at this day) containing the deſcent, birth and firſt originals of Chriſt, and the virgin Mary; at the end whereof the author pretends to have written it at a time, when Herod having raiſed a great tumult in Jeruſalem, he was forced to retire into the wilderneſs. But though in many things conſiſtent enough with the hiſtory of the goſpel, yet has it ever been rejected as ſpurious and Apocryphal, forged in that licentious age, when men took the boldneſs to ſtamp any writing with the name of an apoſtle.

The End of the Life of St. James the Leſs.

THE LIFE OF St. SIMON the Zealot.

His kindred. Whence ſtiled the Canaanite, and the Zealot. An enquiry into the nature and temper, and original of the ſect of the Zealots among the Jews. An account of their wild and licentious practices. This no reflection upon our apoſtle. In what parts of the world he preached the goſpel. His planting chriſtianity in Africk. His removal into the Weſt, and preaching in Britain. His martyrdom there. By whom ſaid to have preached and ſuffered in Perſia. The difference between him and Symeon biſhop of Jeruſalem.

SAINT Simon the apoſtle was, as ſome think, one of the four brothers of our Saviour, Sons of Joſeph by his former marriage,[a] though no other evidence appear for it, but that there was a Simon one of the number; too infirm a foundation to build any thing more upon than a mere conjecture. In the catalogue of the apoſtles he is ſtiled Simon the Canaanite; whence ſome, led by no other reaſon that I know of than the bare ſound of the name, have concluded him born at Cana in Galilee; as for the ſame reaſon[b] others have made him the bridegroom, at whoſe marriage our Lord was there preſent, when he honoured the ſolemnity with his firſt miracle, turning water into wine. But this word has no relation to his country, or the place from whence he borrowed his original, as plainly deſcending from קנה or קנאה which ſignify zeal, and denote a hot and ſprightly temper.[c] Therefore what ſome of the evangeliſts call Canaanite, others rendring the Hebrew by the Greek word, ſtile Simon Zelotes, or the Zealot: So called, not (as[d] Nicephorus thinks) from his burning zeal, and ardent affection to his maſter, and his eager deſire to advance his religion in the world; but from his warm active temper, and zealous forwardneſs in ſome particular way and profeſſion of religion before his coming to our Saviour.

2. FOR the better underſtanding of this we are to know, that as there were ſeveral ſects and parties among the Jews, ſo was there one, either a diſtinct ſect, or at leaſt a branch of the Phariſees, called the ſect of the Zealots:[e] they were mighty aſſertors of the honour of the law, and the ſtrictneſs and purity of religion, aſſuming a liberty to themſelves to queſtion notorious offenders, without ſtaying for the ordinary formalities of law; nay, when they thought good, and when the caſe required, executing capital vengeance upon them. Thus when a blaſphemer curſed God by the name of any idol (ſays[f] Maimonides) the קנאים or Zealots that next met him might immediately kill him, without ever

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[a] Matth. x. 4. Mark iii. 18.

[b] Niceph. H. Eccl. lib. 8. c. 30. p. 596.

[c] Luke vi. 15. Acts i. 13.

[d] Ζηλωτὴς διὰ τὸν πρὸς τὸν διδάσκαλον διάπυρον ζῆλον, καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ πάσης τῆς εὐαγγελικῆς πολιτείας ἀκρίβειαν ὠνόμαστο. H. Eccl. lib. 2. c. 40. p. 202.

[e] Ζηλωταὶ, παρὰ Ἰουδαίοις οἱ τοῦ νόμου φύλακες. Suid in voc. Ζηλωταί.

[f] De Idol. c. 2. Sect. 12. p. 19.

S^t. SIMON the APOSTLE.

BRITISH MUSEUM
5 AU 70

ever bringing him לבית דין before the Sanhedrim. They looked upon themſelves as the ſucceſſors of Phineas, who in a mighty paſſion for the honour of God, did immediate execution upon Zimri and Cozbi. An act which was *counted to him for righteouſneſs unto all poſterities for evermore*;[g] and God ſo well pleaſed with it, that he made *with him and his ſeed after him the covenant of an everlaſting prieſthood, becauſe he was zealous for his God, and made an atonement for Iſrael.*[h] In imitation whereof theſe men took upon them to execute judgment in extraordinary caſes, and that not only by the connivance, but with the leave both of the rulers and the people; till in after times under a pretence of this, their zeal degenerated into all manner of licentiouſneſs and wild extravagance, and they not only became the peſts of the common-wealth at home, but opened the door for the Romans to break in upon them, to their final and irrecoverable ruin; they were continually prompting the people to throw off the Roman yoak, and vindicate themſelves into their native liberty; and when they had turned all things into hurry and confuſion, themſelves in the mean while fiſhed in theſe troubled waters. Joſephus gives a large account of them, and every where bewails them as the great plague of the nation. He tells us of[i] them, that they ſcrupled not to rob any, to kill many of the prime of the nobility, under pretence of holding correſpondence with the Romans, and betraying the liberty of their country; openly glorying, that herein they were the benefactors and ſaviours of the people. They abrogated the ſucceſſion of antient families, thruſting obſcure and ignoble perſons into the high-prieſt's office, that ſo they might oblige the moſt infamous villains to their party; and as if not content to injure men, they affronted heaven, and proclaimed defiance to the divinity itſelf, breaking into and profaning the moſt holy place. Stiling themſelves Zealots (ſays he) *as if their undertakings were good and honourable, while they were greedy and emulous of the greateſt wickedneſs, and out-did the worſt of men.* Many attempts were made, eſpecially by Annas the high-prieſt, to reduce them to order and ſobriety. But neither force of arms, nor fair and gentle methods could do any good upon them; they held out, and went on in their violent proceedings, and joining with the Idumeans, committed all manner of outrage, ſlaying the high-prieſts themſelves. Nay, when Jeruſalem was ſtraitly beſieged by the Roman army, they ceaſed not to create tumults and factions within, and were indeed the main cauſe of the Jews ill ſucceſs in that fatal war. 'Tis probable, that all that went under the notion of this ſect were not of this wretched and ungovernable temper, but that ſome of them were of a better make, of a more ſober and peaceable diſpoſition: And as it is not to be doubted, but that our Simon was of this Sect in general, ſo there's reaſon to believe he was of the better ſort. However this makes no more reflection upon his being called to the apoſtleſhip, than it did for St. Matthew, who was before a Publican, or St. Paul's being a Phariſee, and ſo zealouſly perſecuting the church of God.

3. Being inveſted in the apoſtolical office, no farther mention appears of him in the hiſtory of the goſpel. Continuing with the apoſtles till their diſperſion up and down the world, he then applied himſelf to the execution of his charge. He is[k] ſaid to have directed his journey towards Egypt, thence to Cyrene, and Africk (this indeed[l] Baronius is not willing to believe, being deſirous that St. Peter ſhould have the honour to be the firſt that planted chriſtianity in Africk) and throughout Mauritania and all Libya, preaching the goſpel to thoſe remote and barbarous countries. Nor could the coldneſs of the climate benumb his zeal, or hinder him from ſhipping himſelf and the Chriſtian doctrine over to the Weſtern iſlands, yea, even to Britain itſelf. Here he preached, and wrought many miracles; and after infinite troubles and difficulties which he underwent (if we may believe our authors, whom, though[m] Baronius in this caſe makes no great account of, yet never ſcruples freely to uſe their verdict and ſuffrage when they give in evidence to his purpoſe) ſuffered martyrdom for the faith of Chriſt, as is not only affirmed by[n] Nicephorus and[o] Dorotheus, but expreſly owned in the Greek[p] Menologies; where we are told, that he went at laſt into Britain, and having enlightned the minds of many with the doctrine of the goſpel, was crucified by the Infidels, and buried there.

4. I know indeed, that there want not thoſe who tell[q] us, that after his preaching the goſpel in Egypt, he went into Meſopotamia, where he met with St. Jude the apoſtle, and

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[g] Pſal. cvi. 30. [h] Num. xxv. 11—13.

[i] De Bell. Jud. lib. 4. κεφ. ιά. ιϛ. p. 871. & ſeqq.

[k] Niceph. loc. ſupra laudat.

[l] Ad Ann. 44. n. 38.

[m] Ubi ſupra.

[n] Niceph. ib.

[o] Doroth. in Synopſ. de vit. App. p. 148.

[p] Ὕστερον δὲ ἐν Βρεττανίᾳ γενόμενος, καὶ πολλοὺς τῷ λόγῳ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου φωτίσας, ὑπὸ τῶν ἀπίστων σταυρωθεὶς καὶ τεθεὶς θάπτεται ἐκεῖ. Menolog. Græc. ad diem X. Maii.

[q] Vid. Breviar. Roman. ad diem 28. Octobr. & Martyrol. Rom. ad eund. diem, & Baron. Not. ibid. vid. illum ad Ann. 68. n. 7.

together with him took his journey into Perſia, where having gained a conſiderable harveſt to the Chriſtian faith, they were both crowned with martyrdom; which Baronius himſelf confeſſes to be founded on no better authority, than the *Paſſions of the Apoſtles*, a book which at every turn he rejects as trifling and impertinent, as falſe and fabulous. But however, wide is the miſtake of [r] thoſe who confound our apoſtle with Symeon the ſon of Cleophas, ſucceſſor to St. James the Juſt in the See of Jeruſalem, who was crucified in the hundred and twentieth year of his age, in the perſecution under Trajan: The different character of their perſons, and the account both of their acts and martyrdoms being ſufficiently diſtinguiſhed in the writings of the church.

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[r] Sophron. apud Hieron. de Script. Eccl. in Simone. Iſidor. de vit. & obit. SS. utriuſque T. cap. 83.

The End of St. Simon's *Life.*

THE

S^t. JUDE the APOSTLE.

THE LIFE OF St. JUDE.

The ſeveral names attributed to him in the goſpel. Thaddeus, whence. The cuſtom of the Jews to alter their names, when bearing affinity with the great name Jehovah. The name Judas why diſtaſteful to the apoſtles. Lebbæus, whence derived. His parentage, and relation to our Lord. The queſtion put by him to Chriſt. Whether the ſame with Thaddeus ſent to Edeſſa. In what places he preached. His death. His married condition. The ſtory of his grandchildren brought before Domitian. His epiſtle, and why queſtioned of old. Its canonicalneſs vindicated. The book of Enoch, and what its authority. The contention between Michael and the devil about Moſes his Body, whence borrowed. St. Jude proved to be the author of this epiſtle. Grotius his conceit of its being written by a younger Jude, rejected. Its affinity with the ſecond epiſtle of St. Peter. The deſign of it.

1. THERE are three ſeveral names by which this apoſtle is deſcribed in the hiſtory of the goſpel, Jude, Thaddeus and Lebbæus, it being uſual in the holy volumes for the ſame perſon to have more proper names than one. For the firſt, it was a name common amongſt the Jews, recommended to them as being the name of one of the great patriarchs of their nation. This name he ſeems to have changed afterwards for Thaddeus, a word ſpringing from the ſame root, and of the very ſame import and ſignification, which might ariſe from a double cauſe: partly from the ſuperſtitious veneration, which the Jews had for the name Jehova (the Nomen τετραγράμματον, or name conſiſting of four letters) which they held unlawful to be pronounced by any but the high-prieſt; and not by him neither, but at the moſt ſolemn times. Hence it was, that when any man had a name, wherein there was the major part of the letters of this ineffable title (and ſuch was Jehuda or Juda) they would not raſhly pronounce it in common uſage, but choſe rather to mould it into another like it, and of the ſame importance, or that which had a near affinity and reſemblance with it: partly from a particular diſlike of the name of Judas among the apoſtles, the bloody and treaſonable practices of Judas Iſcariot having rendred that name very odious and deteſtable to them. To prevent therefore all poſſibility of miſtake, and that they might not confound the righteous with the wicked, St. Matthew and Mark never call him by this, but by ſome other name, as no queſtion for the ſame reaſon he both ſtiles himſelf, and is frequently called by others, [a] *Judas the brother of James*; and that this was one great deſign of it, the evangeliſt plainly intimates, when ſpeaking of him, he ſays, *Judas not Iſcariot.* For his name Lebbæus, it ſeems to have been derived either from לב an Heart, whence St. Hierom

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[a] John xiv. 22.

St. Hierom renders it Corculum, probably to denote his wiſdom and prudence; or elſe from לבי a lion, and therein to have reſpect to old Jacob's prophecy concerning Judah, *That he ſhould be as a lion, an old lion, and as a lion's whelp*; which probably might have a main ſtroke in faſtning this name upon St. Jude. From this patriarchal prophecy, we are [b] told, that one of the ſchools or ſynagogues of learned men among the Jews (who to avoid confuſion were wont to diſtinguiſh themſelves by different appellations) took occaſion to denominate themſelves Labii, as accounting themſelves the ſcholars and deſcendents of this lion-like ſon of Jacob; and that St. Jude was of this ſociety, and becauſe of his eminency among them retained the title of Labius, or as it was corruptly pronounced, Lebbæus. I confeſs I ſhould have thought the conjecture of a learned [c] man very probable, that he might have derived this name from the place of his nativity, as being born at Lebba, a town which, he tells us, [d] Pliny ſpeaks of in the province of Galilee, not far from Carmel; but that it is not Lebba, but Jebba in all copies of Pliny that I have ſeen. But let the reader pleaſe himſelf in which conjecture he likes beſt.

2. For his deſcent and parentage, he was of our Lord's kindred, [e] Nicephorus truly making him the ſon of Joſeph, and brother to James biſhop of Jeruſalem; that there was a Jude one of the number is very evident, *are not his brethren James, and Joſes, and Simon, and Judas?* which makes me the more to wonder at Scaliger, who ſo confidently denies that any of the evangeliſts ever mention a *Jude the brother of our Lord.* St. Hierom ſeems often to confound him with Simon the Zealot, whoſe title he aſcribes to him; though ſecond thoughts ſet him right, as indeed common advertency could do no leſs, ſo plain is the account which the evangeliſts give of this matter. When called to the diſcipleſhip we find not, as not meeting with him, till we find him enumerated in the catalogue of apoſtles; nor is any thing particularly recorded of him afterwards, more than one queſtion that he propounded to our Saviour, [f] who having told them what great things he and his father would do, and what particular manifeſtations after his reſurrection he would make of himſelf to his ſincere diſciples and followers, St. Jude (whoſe thoughts as well as the reſt were taken up with the expectations of a temporal kingdom of the Meſſiah) not knowing how this could conſiſt with the publick ſolemnity of that glorious ſtate they looked for, aſked him, what was the reaſon that he would manifeſt himſelf to them, and not to the world? Our Lord replied, that the world was not capable of theſe divine manifeſtations, as being a ſtranger and an enemy to what ſhould fit them for fellowſhip with Heaven; that they were only good men, perſons of a divine temper of mind, and religious obſervers of his laws and will, whom God would honour with theſe familiar converſes, and admit to ſuch particular acts of grace and favour.

3. Eusebius [g] relates, that ſoon after our Lord's aſcenſion St. Thomas diſpatched Thaddeus the apoſtle to Abgarus governor of Edeſſa, where he healed diſeaſes, wrought miracles, expounded the doctrines of chriſtianity, and converted Abgarus and his people to the faith: for all which pains when the Toparch offered him vaſt gifts and preſents, he refuſed them with a noble ſcorn, telling him, they had little reaſon to receive from others, what they had freely relinquiſhed and left themſelves. A large account of this whole affair is extant in Euſebius, tranſlated by him out of Syriack from the records of the city of Edeſſa. This Thaddeus [h] St. Hierom expreſly makes to be our St. Jude, though his bare authority is not in this caſe ſufficient evidence; eſpecially ſince Euſebius makes him no more than one of the ſeventy diſciples, which he would ſcarce have done, had he been one of the twelve. He calls him indeed an apoſtle, but that may imply no more than according to the large acception of the word, that he was a diſciple, a companion, and an aſſiſtant to them, as we know the ſeventy eminently were. Nor is any thing more common in antient eccleſiaſtick writers, than for the firſt planters and propagators of Chriſtian religion in any country to be honoured with the name and title of apoſtles. But however this be, at his firſt ſetting out to preach the goſpel, he went up and down Judæa and Galilee, then through Samaria into Idumea, and to the cities of Arabia, and the neighbour countries, and after to Syria and Meſopotamia. [i] Nicephorus adds, that he came at laſt to Edeſſa, where Abgarus was governor; and where the other Thaddæus, one of the ſeventy, had been before him. Here he perfected what the other had begun, and having by his ſermons and miracles eſtabliſhed the religion of our Saviour, died a peaceable and a quiet death; though [k] Dorotheus makes him ſlain at Berytus, and honourably buried there. By the almoſt general conſent of the writers of the Latin church he is ſaid to have travelled

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[b] Bolduc. de Eccl. poſt leg. cap. 7. p. 47, 48.

[c] Lightf. H. Hebr. in Matth. p. 147.

[d] Hiſt. Nat. lib. 5. c. 19.

[e] H. Eccl. lib 2. c. 40. p. 202. Matth. xiii. 55. Animadv. in Euſeb. Chron. ad Num. MMCXII. p. 205.

[f] John xiv. 22.

[g] H. Eccl. lib. 1. c. 13. p. 32.

[h] Comment. in Matth. c. 10.

[i] Niceph. H. Eccl. l. 2. c. 40. p. 202.

[k] Synopſ. de vit. & mort. App. in Bibl. Pp. T. 3. p. 148.

into Perſia, where after great ſucceſs in his apoſtolical miniſtry for many years, he was at laſt for his free and open reproving the ſuperſtitious rites and uſages of the Magi, cruelly put to death.

4. **That** he was one of the married apoſtles ſufficiently appears from his υἱωνοὶ, or grandſons mentioned by [l] Euſebius, of whom Hegeſippus gives this account. Domitian the emperor, whoſe enormous wickedneſs had awakened in him the quickeſt jealouſies, and made him ſuſpect every one that might look like a corrival in the empire, had heard that there were ſome of the line of David and Chriſt's kindred that did yet remain. Two grandchildren of St. Jude the brother of our Lord were brought before him: having confeſſed that they were of the race and poſterity of David, he aſked what poſſeſſions and eſtate they had; they told him that they had but a very few acres of land, out of the improvement whereof they both paid him tribute, and maintained themſelves with their own hard labour, as by the hardneſs and callouſneſs of their hands (which they then ſhewed him) did appear. He then enquired of them concerning Chriſt, and the ſtate of his kingdom, what kind of empire it was, and when and where it would commence. To which they replied, that his kingdom was not of this world, nor of the ſeigniories and dominions of it, but heavenly and angelical, and would finally take place in the end of the world; when coming with great glory, he would judge the quick and the dead, and award all men recompences according to their works. The iſſue was, that looking upon the meanneſs and ſimplicity of the men, as below his jealouſies and fears, he diſmiſſed them without any ſeverity uſed againſt them; who being now beheld not only as kinſmen, but as martyrs of our Lord, were honoured by all, preferred to places of authority and government in the church, and lived till the times of Trajan.

5. St. **Jude** left only one epiſtle of catholick and univerſal concernment, inſcribed at large to all Chriſtians. It was ſome time before it met with general reception in the [m] church, or was taken notice of. The author indeed ſtiles not himſelf an apoſtle, but no more does St. James, St. John, nor ſometimes St. Paul himſelf. And why ſhould he fare the worſe for his humility, only for calling himſelf the *ſervant of Chriſt*, when he might have added not only *apoſtle*, but *the brother of our Lord?* The beſt is, he has added what was equivalent, *Jude the brother of James*, a character that can belong to none but our apoſtle; beſide, that the title of the epiſtle, which is of great antiquity, runs thus, *the general epiſtle of Jude the apoſtle*. One great argument, as St. Hierom [n] informs us, againſt the authority of this epiſtle of old, was its quoting a paſſage out of an Apocryphal book of Enoch. This book called the *Apocalypſe of Enoch* was very early extant in the church, frequently mentioned, and paſſages cited out of it by Irenæus, [o] Tertullian, Clemens Alexandrinus, Origen, and others, ſome of whom accounted it little leſs than canonical. But what if our apoſtle had it not out of this Apocryphal book, but from ſome prophecy current from age to age, handed to him by common tradition, or immediately revealed to him by the ſpirit of God? But ſuppoſe it taken out of that book going under Enoch's name, this makes nothing againſt the authority of the epiſtle; every thing, I hope, is not preſently falſe, that is contained in an apocryphal and uncanonical writing; nor does the taking a ſingle teſtimony out of it any more infer the apoſtle's approbation of all the reſt, than St. Paul's quoting a good ſentence or two out of Menander, Aratus, and Epimenides, imply that he approved all the reſt of the writings of thoſe heathen poets. And indeed nothing could be more fit and proper than this way, if we conſider that the apoſtle in this epiſtle chiefly argues againſt the Gnoſticks, who mainly traded in ſuch traditionary and apocryphal writings, and probably in this very book of Enoch. The ſame account may be given of that other paſſage in this epiſtle concerning the contention between Michael the archangel and the devil about the burial of Moſes's body, no where extant in the holy records, ſuppoſed to have been taken out of a Jewiſh writing called פטירת משה or the *diſmiſſion of Moſes*, mentioned by ſome of the Greek fathers under the title [p] of Ἀνάβασις Μωσέως, or *the aſcenſion of Moſes*, in which this paſſage was upon record. Nor is it any more a wonder, that St.

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[l] Apud Euſeb. lib. 3. c. 20. p. 89.

[m] Euſeb. lib. 2. c. 23. p. 66. & lib. 3. c. 25.

[n] De Script. Eccl. in Juda.

[o] Scio Scripturam Enoch, quæ hunc ordinem Angelis dedit, non recipi à quibuſdam, quia nec in Armarium Judaicum admittitur. Opinor non putaverunt illam ante Cataclyſmum editam, poſt eum caſum Orbis omnium rerum abolitorem, ſalvam eſſe potuiſſe. Si iſta ratio eſt, recordentur, &c. Sed cum Enoch eadem Scriptura etiam de Domino prædicarit, à nobis quidem nihil omnino rejiciendum eſt, quod pertineat ad nos. A Judæis poteſt jam videri propterea rejecta, ſicut & cætera ferè quæ Chriſtum ſonant. Eò accidit quod Enoch apud Judam Apoſtolum teſtimonium poſſidet. Tertull. de Cult. Fœmin. lib. 1. c. 3. p. 151.

Vid. Hieron. Comment. in Tit. c. 1. p. 249. T. 9.

[p] De quo in aſcenſione Moyſi (cujus libelli meminit in epiſtola apoſtolus Judas) Michael archangelus cum diabolo diſputans de corpore Moyſi, ait diabolo, Inſpiratum ſerpentem cauſam extitiſſe prævaricationis Adæ & Evæ. Origen. περὶ Ἀρχῶν, lib. c. 2. fol. 142. p. 2.

Plurimi erant alii libri antiquitùs ſub nomine Moſis conficti, & in iis liber dictus Ἀνάληψις Μωσέως, memoratus Athan. in Synopſ. S. Script. Tom. 2. p. 134. confer quæ ex hoc libro habet Clem. Alexandr. Stromat. l 6. p. 679, 680.

Jude ſhould do this, than that St. Paul ſhould put down Jannes and Jambres for the two magicians of Pharaoh that oppoſed Moſes, which he muſt either derive from tradition, or fetch out of ſome uncanonical author of thoſe times, there being no mention of their names in Moſes's relation of that matter. But be theſe paſſages whence they will, it is enough to us, that the ſpirit of God has made them authentick, and conſecrated them part of the holy canon.

6. Being thus ſatisfied in the canonicalneſs of this epiſtle, none but St. Jude could be the author of it; for who but he was the brother of St. James? a character by which he is deſcribed in the evangelical ſtory more than once. [q] Grotius indeed will needs have it written by a younger Jude, the fifteenth biſhop of Jeruſalem, in the reign of Adrian; and becauſe he ſaw that that paſſage [*the brother of James*] ſtood full in his way, he concludes without any ſhadow of reaſon, that it was added by ſome tranſcriber. But is not this to make too bold with ſacred things? is not this to indulge too great a liberty? this once allowed, it will ſoon open a door to the wildeſt and moſt extravagant conjectures, and no man ſhall know where to find ſure-footing for his faith. But the reader may remember, what we have elſewhere obſerved concerning the poſthume annotations of that learned man. Not to ſay that there are many things in this epiſtle that evidently refer to the time of this apoſtle, and imply it to have been written upon the ſame occaſion, and about the ſame time with the ſecond epiſtle of Peter, between which and this there is a very great affinity both in words and matter, nay, there want not [r] ſome that endeavour to prove this epiſtle to have been written no leſs than twenty-ſeven years before that of Peter; and that hence it was that Peter borrowed thoſe paſſages that are ſo near a-kin to thoſe in this epiſtle. The deſign of the epiſtle is to preſerve Chriſtians from the infection of Gnoſticiſm, the looſe and debauched principles vented by Simon Magus and his followers, whoſe wretched doctrines and practices he briefly and elegantly repreſents, perſuading Chriſtians heartily *to contend for the faith that had been delivered to them*; and to avoid theſe pernicious ſeducers as peſts and fire-brands, not to communicate with them in their ſins, leſt they periſhed with them in that terrible vengeance that was ready to overtake them.

[q] Annot. in itin. Epiſt. Jud.

[r] Bolduc. præluد. in Epiſt. Jud. p. 606. ad calcem lib. de Eccl. poſt leg.

The End of St. Jude's *Life.*

THE

BRITISH MUSEUM
5 AU 70

S^t. MATTHIAS the APOSTLE.

THE
LIFE
OF
St. MATTHIAS.

St. Matthias one of the seventy. Judas Iſcariot, whence. A bad miniſter nulls not the ends of his miniſtration. His worldly and covetous temper. His monſtrous ingratitude. His betraying his maſter, and the aggravations of the ſin. The diſtraction and horrour of his mind. The miſerable ſtate of an evil and guilty conſcience. His violent death. The election of a new apoſtle: the candidates, who. The lot caſt upon Matthias. His preaching the goſpel, and in what part of the world. His martyrdom when, where, and how. His body whither tranſlated. The goſpel and traditions vented under his name.

1. SAINT Matthias not being an apoſtle of the firſt election, immediately called and choſen by our Saviour, particular remarks concerning him are not to be expected in the hiſtory of the goſpel. He was one of our Lord's diſciples (and probably one of the ſeventy) that had attended on him the whole time of his publick miniſtry, and after his death was elected into the apoſtleſhip upon this occaſion. Judas Iſcariot (ſo called, probably from the place of his nativity, איש קריות *a man of Kerioth*, a city antiently ſituate in the tribe of Judah) had been one of the twelve, immediately called by Chriſt to be one of his intimate diſciples, equally impowered and commiſſioned with the reſt to preach and work miracles, *was numbred with them, and had obtained part of their miniſtry.* And yet all this while was a man of vile and corrupt deſign, branded with no meaner a character, than thief and murtherer. To let us ſee that there may be bad ſervants in Chriſt's own family, and that the wickedneſs of a miniſter does not evacuate his commiſſion, nor render his office uſeleſs and ineffectual. The unworthineſs of the inſtrument hinders not the ends of the miniſtration: ſeeing the efficacy of an ordinance depends not upon the quality of the perſon, but the divine inſtitution, and the bleſſing which God has entailed upon it. Judas preached Chriſt no doubt with zeal and ferveney, and for any thing we know, with as much ſucceſs as the reſt of the apoſtles; and yet he was a bad man, a man acted by ſordid and mean deſigns, one that had proſtituted religion and the honour of his place to covetouſneſs and evil arts. The love of Money had ſo entirely poſſeſſed his thoughts, that his reſolutions were bound for nothing but intereſt and advantage. *But they that will be rich fall into temptation and a ſnare.* This covetous temper betrayed him, as in the iſſue to the moſt fatal end, ſo to the moſt deſperate attempt, [a] ἄγος τὸ πάντων ἀνοσιώτατον, as Origen calls the putting Chriſt to death, the moſt prodigious impiety that the ſun ever ſhone on, the betraying his innocent Lord into the hands of thoſe, who he knew would treat him with all the circumſtances of inſolent ſcorn and cruelty. How little does kindneſs work upon a diſingenuous mind! It was not the honour of the place, to which, when thouſands of others

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[a] Contr. Celſ. lib. 4. p. 175.

were paſſed by, our Lord had called him, the admitting him into a free and intimate fellowſhip with his perſon, the taking him to be one of his peculiar domeſticks and attendants, that could divert the wretch from his wicked purpoſe. He knew how deſirous the great men of the nation were to get Chriſt into their hands, eſpecially at the time of the paſſover, that he might with the more publick diſgrace be ſacrificed before all the people, and therefore bargains with them, and for no greater a ſum than under four pounds, to betray the *Lamb of God* into the paws of theſe wolves and lions: in ſhort, he heads the party, conducts the officers, and ſees him delivered into their hands.

2. BUT there is an active principle in man's breaſt, that ſeldom ſuffers daring ſinners to paſs in quiet to their graves: awakened with the horror of the fact, conſcience began to rouze and follow cloſe, and the man was unable to bear up under the furious revenges of his own mind: as indeed all wilful and deliberate ſins, and eſpecially the guilt of blood, are wont more ſenſibly to alarm the natural notions of our minds, and to excite in us the fears of ſome preſent vengeance that will ſeize upon us. And how intolerable are thoſe ſcourges that laſh us in this vital and tender part? The ſpirit of the man ſinks under him, and all ſupports ſnap aſunder: as what eaſe or comfort can he enjoy, that carries a Vultur in his boſom, always gnawing and preying upon his heart? which made [b] Plutarch compare an evil conſcience to a cancer in the breaſt, that perpetually gripes and ſtings the ſoul with the pains of an intolerable repentance. Guilt is naturally troubleſome and uneaſy, it diſturbs the peace and ſerenity of the mind, and fills the ſoul with ſtorms and thunder. [c] Did *ever any harden himſelf againſt God, and proſper?* And indeed how ſhould he, when God has ſuch a powerful and inviſible executioner in his own boſom? Whoever rebels againſt the laws of his duty, and plainly affronts the dictates of his conſcience, does that moment bid adieu to all true repoſe and quiet, and expoſe himſelf to the ſevere reſentments of a ſelf-tormenting mind. And though by ſecret arts of wickedneſs he may be able poſſibly to drown and ſtifle the voice of it for a while, yet every little affliction or petty accident will be apt to awaken it into horror, and to let in terror like an armed man upon him. A torment infinitely beyond what the moſt ingenious tyrants could ever contrive. Nothing ſo effectually invades our eaſe, as the reproaches of our own minds. The wrath of man may be endured, but the irruptions of conſcience are irreſiſtible; it is τῷ συνειδότι ἀπάγχεσθαι (as Chryſoſtom very elegantly ſtiles it) to be choaked or ſtrangled with an evil conſcience, which oft reduces the man to ſuch diſtreſſes, as to make him chuſe death rather than life. A ſad inſtance of all which we have in this unhappy man: who being wearied with furious and melancholy reflections upon what was paſt, threw back the wages of iniquity in open court, and diſpatched himſelf by a violent death: vainly hoping to take ſanctuary in the grave, and that he ſhould meet with that eaſe in another world which he could not find in this. *He departed, and went and hanged himſelf, and falling down burſt aſunder, and his bowels guſhed out:* leaving a memorable warning to all treacherous and ingrateful, to all greedy and covetous perſons, not to let the world inſinuate itſelf too far into them; and indeed to all, *to watch and pray, that they enter not into temptation.* Our preſent ſtate is ſlippery and inſecure; *Let him that thinketh he ſtandeth, take heed leſt he fall.* What privileges can be a ſufficient fence, a foundation firm enough to rely upon, when the miracles, ſermons, favours, and familiar converſes of Chriſt himſelf could not ſecure one of the apoſtles from ſo fatal an apoſtacy?

3. A VACANCY being thus made in the college of apoſtles, the firſt thing they did after their return from mount Olivet, where our Lord took his leave of them, to St. John's houſe in mount Sion, (the place, if we may believe [d] Nicephorus, where the church met together) was to fill up their number with a fit proper perſon. To which purpoſe Peter acquainted them, that Judas, according to the prophetical prediction, being fallen from his miniſtry, it was neceſſary that another ſhould be ſubſtituted in his room; one that had been a conſtant companion and diſciple of the holy Jeſus, and conſequently capable of bearing witneſs to his life, death and reſurrection. Two were propounded in order to the choice, Joſeph called Barſabas and Juſtus (whom ſome make the ſame with Joſes one of the brothers of our Lord) and Matthias, both duly qualified for the place. The way

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[b] Τὸ μὲν συνειδὸς οἷον ἕλκος ἐν σαρκὶ, τῇ ψυχῇ τὴν μεταμέλειαν αἱμάσσουσαν ἀεὶ καὶ νύσσουσαν ἐναπολείπει. Plut. de Anim. tranquil. p. 476. Ἀλλὰ τάδ' ἐκτελέειν, ἅ σε μὴ μετέπειτ' ἀνιήσῃ. Pythag. in aur. carm. in quem locum hæc inter alia Hierocles, optima prorſus & huic loco ſatis appoſita Τί ὄφελος ἐπιορκίαις ἢ φόνοις, ἢ ἄλλαις τισὶ κακοπραγίαις λῄσασθαι χρήματα, καὶ πλουτεῖν τὰ ἔξω; καὶ πρὸς τοῦτο ἢ ἀναισθήτως ἔχειν, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μᾶλλον ἐπιτείνειν τὸ κακόν· ἢ εἰς αἴσθησιν τῶν εἰργασμένων ὑπὸ τῆς συνειδήσεως ἑλκόμενον στρεβλοῦσθαι τὴν ψυχὴν, καὶ δειμαίνειν τὰ ἐν ᾅδου κολαστήρια· καὶ μόνην ἴασιν εὑρίσκειν τὴν εἰς τὸ μὴ εἶναι καταφυγὴν, ὅθεν αὐτῷ παρίσταται κακῷ τὸ κακὸν ἰᾶσθαι. φθορᾷ τῆς ψυχῆς τὴν κακίαν παραμυθούμενος, καὶ τὴν μετὰ θάνατον οὐδένειαν ἑαυτοῦ καταψηφίζεσθαι φυγὴν τῶν τῆς κρίσεως πόνων; οὐ βούλεται γὰρ ὁ κακὸς ἀθάνατον εἶναι τὴν αὑτοῦ ψυχὴν, ἵνα μὴ ὑπομείνῃ τιμωρούμενος. Καὶ φθάνει τὸν ἐκεῖ δικαστὴν θάνατον ἑαυτοῦ καταψηφιζόμενος, ὡς πρέπον τὴν πονηρὰν ψυχὴν μηδὲ εἶναι· ἀλλ' οὗτος μὲν, ὡς ἀβουλίᾳ πρὸς κακίαν ὑπενεχθεὶς, εἰκότως ἀμετρίᾳ τὴν καθ' ἑαυτοῦ ψῆφον ἐκφέρει. Hier. in Aur. Carm. p. 165.

[c] Job ix. 4.

[d] H. Eccl. l. 2. c. 1. p. 131.

of election was by lots, a way frequently uſed both among Jews and Gentiles for the determination of doubtful and difficult caſes, and eſpecially the chuſing judges and magiſtrates: and this way was here taken (ſays one of the [e] antients) on purpoſe to comply with the old cuſtom obſerved among the Jews, that in the election of an apoſtle, they might not ſeem to depart from the way that had been uſed under the legal ſtate. The Pſeudo-Dionyſius, [f] author of the Eccleſiaſtick Hierarchy, together with his two [g] Paraphraſts, expreſly ſays, that it was not a lot that was uſed in this caſe, to determine the matter; but θεαρχικόν τι δῶρον, or σύμβολόν τι ἐξ ἀποκαλύψεως, ſome immediate and extraordinary ſign from heaven, falling upon the candidate, and diſcovering him to be the perſon choſen by God. But this is directly contrary to the very words of the ſacred ſtory, which ſay, that *they gave forth the lots, and that the lot fell upon Matthias.* And this courſe the apoſtles the rather took, becauſe the Holy Ghoſt [h] was not yet given, by whoſe immediate dictates and inſpirations they were chiefly guided afterwards. And that the buſineſs might proceed with the greater regularity and ſucceſs, they firſt ſolemnly make their addreſs to heaven, that the omniſcient Being that governed the world, and perfectly underſtood the tempers and diſpoſitions of men, would immediately guide and direct the choice, and ſhew which of theſe two he would appoint to take that part of the apoſtolick charge, from which Judas was ſo lately fallen. The lots being put into the urn, Matthias's name was drawn out, and thereby the apoſtolate devolved upon him.

4. Not long after, the promiſed powers of the Holy Ghoſt were conferred upon the apoſtles, to fit them for that great and difficult imployment, upon which they were ſent; and among the reſt St. Matthias betook himſelf to his charge and province. The firſt-fruits of his miniſtry he ſpent in Judæa, where having reaped a conſiderable harveſt, he betook himſelf to other provinces. An [i] author, I confeſs, of no great credit in theſe matters, tells us, that he preached the goſpel in Macedonia, where the Gentiles, to make an experiment of his faith and integrity, gave him a poiſonous and intoxicating potion, which he chearfully drunk off, in the name of Chriſt, without the leaſt prejudice to himſelf; and that when the ſame potion had deprived above two hundred and fifty of their ſight, he laying his hands upon them, reſtored them to their ſight; with a great deal more of the ſame ſtamp, which I have neither faith enough to believe, nor leiſure enough to relate. The Greeks with more probability report him to have travelled Eaſtward; he came (ſays [k] Nicephorus) into the firſt, (ſays [l] Sophronius) into the ſecond Æthiopia, and in both, I believe, it is a miſtake, either of the authors or tranſcribers, for Cappadocia; his reſidence being principally near the irruption of the river Apſarus, and the haven Hyſſus, both places in Cappadocia. Nor is there any Æthiopia nearer thoſe places than that conterminous to Chaldæa, whereof before. And as for thoſe that tell us, that he might well enough preach both in the Aſian and African Æthiopia; and that both might be comprehended under that general name, as the Eaſtern and Weſtern parts of the world were heretofore contained under the general title of the Indias; it is a fancy without any other ground to ſtand on, than their own bare conjecture. The place whither he came was very barbarous, and his uſage was accordingly. For here meeting with a people of a fierce and untractable temper, he was treated by them with great rudeneſs and inhumanity, from whom, after all his labours and ſufferings, and a numerous converſion of men to chriſtianity, he obtained at laſt the crown of martyrdom, Ann. Chr. 61. or as others, 64. Little certainty can be retrieved concerning the manner of his death. [m] Dorotheus will have him to die at Sebaſtople, and to be buried there near the temple of the ſun. An antient [n] Martyrology reports him to have been ſeized by the Jews, and as a blaſphemer to have been firſt ſtoned, and then beheaded. But the Greek [o] offices, ſeconded herein by ſeveral antient Breviaries, tell us that he was crucified; and that as Judas was hanged upon a tree, ſo Matthias ſuffered upon a croſs. His body is ſaid to have been kept a long time at Jeruſalem, thence thought, by Helen the mother of the great Conſtantine, to have been tranſlated to Rome, where ſome parts of it are ſhewed with great veneration at this day. Though [p] others with as great eagerneſs, and probably as much truth, contend that his relicks were brought to, and are ſtill preſerved at Triers in Germany

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[e] Ambroſ. in Luc. c. 1. p. 11.

[f] De Eccleſ. Hierarch. c. 5. §. 5. p. 367.

[g] Maxim, ib. p. 376. Pachym. p. 383.

[h] Ἔδωκαν κλήρους αὐτῶν· οὐδέπω γὰρ πνεῦμα ἦν. Chryſoſt. in loc.

[i] Petr. de Natal. Hiſtor. Sanct. lib. 3. c. 149.

[k] H. Eccl. l. 2. c. 30. p. 203.

[l] Ap. Hieron. de Script. Eccl. in Matthia.

[m] Synopſ. de vit. App. in Bibl Pp. Tom. 3. p. 148.

[n] Colon. Impreſſ. 1490. ad Febr. 24.

[o] Ἐξῆλθεν ἀρθεὶς Ἰούδας ἐπὶ βρόχου.
Εἰσῆλθεν ἀρθεὶς Ματθίας ἐπὶ ξύλου.
Ἤρθη ἀμφ' ἐνάτῃ ξύλῳ ἔνθεος Ματθίας.
Menæon Græco. ad diem IX. Auguſt. apud Bolland. de vit. SS. ad Febr. XXIV. Tom. 3. p. 433.

[p] Vid. Chr. Brower Annal. Treverenſ. lib. 2. p. 658. & ſcriptores ex utraque parte contendentes ap. Boll. loc. cit. p. 435.

many, a controverſy wherein I ſhall not concern myſelf. His memory is celebrated in the Greek church Auguſt 9, as appears not only from their menologies, but from a novel [q] conſtitution of Manuel Comnenus, appointing what holy days ſhould be kept in the church; while the Weſtern churches kept February 24. ſacred to his memory. Among many other Apocryphal writings attributed to the apoſtles, there was a goſpel publiſhed under his name, mentioned by [r] Euſebius and the antients, and condemned with the reſt by [s] Gelaſius biſhop of Rome, as it had been rejected by others before him: under his name alſo there were extant traditions, cited by [t] Clemens of Alexandria, from whence no queſtion it was that the Nicolaitans borrowed that ſaying of his, which they abuſed to ſo vile and beaſtly purpoſes; as under the pretended patronage of his name and doctrines the Marcionites and [u] Valentinians defended ſome of their moſt abſurd and impious opinions.

[q] Extat in Jur. Gr. Rom. lib. 2. p. 161.

[r] H. Eccl. l. 3. c. 25. p. 97. Orig. in Luc. Hom. 10. Amb. præf. in Luc. Tom. 5. p. 7.

[s] Decr. Part 1. Diſt. 15. cap. Sanct. Rom. Sect. Cæterum.

[t] Strom. lib. 2 p. 380. ibid. lib. 3. p. 436.

[u] Ibid. lib. 7. p. 765.

The End of St. Matthias's *Life.*

THE

BRITISH
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MUSEUM

S^t. MARK the EVANGELIST.

THE
LIFE
OF
St. MARK the Evangeliſt.

His kindred, and diſtinction from others of the ſame name. Whether one of the ſeventy. His converſion. His attendance upon Peter, and preaching the goſpel in Italy, and at Rome. His planting chriſtianity at Alexandria, and great ſucceſs there. An account of the Therapeutæ (mentioned by Philo) and their excellent manners, rules, and way of life. Theſe proved not to have been Chriſtians by ſeveral arguments. The original of the miſtake whence. St. Mark's preaching in the parts of Africk. His return to Alexandria, and diligence in his miniſtry. The manner of his martyrdom. The time of it enquired into. The deſcription of his perſon. His goſpel, when and where written, and why ſaid to be Peter's. His great impartiality in his relations. In what language written. The original, whether extant at this day.

1. SAINT Mark, though carrying ſomething of Roman in his name, probably aſſumed by him upon ſome great change or accident of his life, or which was not unuſual among the Jews, when going in the Europæan provinces of the Roman empire, taken up at his going for Italy and Rome, was doubtleſs born of Jewiſh parents, originally deſcended of the tribe of [a] Levi, and the line of the prieſthood, and (if [b] Nicephorus ſay true) Siſter's Son to Peter, though by others againſt all reaſon confounded with John ſirnamed Mark the ſon of Mary, and Mark ſiſter's ſon to Barnabas. By the antients he is generally thought to have been one of the ſeventy diſciples, and [c] Epiphanius expreſly tells us, that he was one of thoſe who taking exception at our Lord's diſcourſe of *eating his fleſh and drinking his blood, went back and walked no more with him*; but was ſeaſonably reduced and reclaimed by Peter. But no foundation appears either for the one or for the other; nay [d] Papias biſhop of Hierapolis, who lived near thoſe times, poſitively affirms that he was no hearer nor follower of our Saviour. He was converted by ſome of the apoſtles, and probably by St. Peter, who is ſaid to have been his undertaker at his baptiſm (if I underſtand Iſidore [e] aright) for no other reaſon I ſuppoſe, but becauſe he calls him his ſon. Indeed he was his conſtant attendant in his travels, ſupplying the place of an amanuenſis and interpreter; for though the apoſtles were divinely inſpired, and among other miraculous powers had the gift of languages conferred upon them, yet was the *interpretation of tongues* a gift more peculiar to ſome than others. This might probably be St. Mark's talent in expounding St. Peter's diſcourſes,

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[a] Hieron. præf. in Marc. Tom. 9. p. 87.

[b] H. Eccl. l. 2. c. 43. p. 209.

[c] Hæreſ. LI. p. 186.

[d] Apud Euſeb. l. 3. c. 39. p. 113.

[e] Petri diſcipulus, & in baptiſmate filius. Iſid. de vit. & ob. SS. c. 84. p. 543.

whether by word or writing, to thoſe who underſtood not the language wherein they were delivered. He accompanied him in his apoſtolical progreſs, preached the goſpel in [f] Italy and at Rome, where at the requeſt of the Chriſtians of thoſe parts he compoſed and wrote his goſpel.

2. By Peter he was ſent into Egypt to plant Chriſtianity in thoſe parts, fixing his main reſidence at Alexandria, and the places thereabouts: where ſo great (ſays [g] Euſebius,) was the ſucceſs of his miniſtry, that he converted multitudes both of men and women, not only to the embracing of the Chriſtian religion, but to a more than ordinary ſtrict profeſſion of it, inſomuch that Philo wrote a book of their peculiar rites and way of life; the only reaſon why [h] St. Hierom reckons him among the writers of the church. Indeed Philo the Jew wrote a book περὶ βίου θεωρητικοῦ, extant at this day, wherein he ſpeaks of a ſort of perſons called Θεραπευταὶ, who in many parts of the world, but eſpecially in a pleaſant place near the Mareotick lake in Egypt had formed themſelves into religious ſocieties, and and gives a large account of their rites and cuſtoms, their ſtrict, philoſophical, and contemplative courſe of life. He tells [i] us of them, that when they firſt enter upon this way, they renounce all ſecular intereſts and employments, and leaving their eſtates to their relations, retire into groves and gardens, and places devoted to ſolitude and contemplation; that they had their houſes or colleges, not contiguous, that ſo being free from noiſe and tumult, they might the better miniſter to the deſigns of a contemplative life; nor yet removed at too great a diſtance that they might maintain mutual ſociety, and be conveniently capable of helping and aſſiſting one another. In each of theſe houſes there was an oratory, call'd Σεμνεῖον and Μοναστήριον, wherein they diſcharged the more ſecret and ſolemn rites of their religion; divided in the middle with a partition-wall three or four cubits high, the one apartment being for the men, and the other for the women: here they publickly met every ſeventh day, where being ſet according to their ſeniority, and having compoſed themſelves with great decency and reverence, the moſt aged perſon among them, and beſt ſkilled in the Dogmata and principles of their inſtitution, came forth into the midſt, gravely and ſoberly diſcourſing what might make the deepeſt impreſſion upon their minds; the reſt attending with a profound ſilence, and only teſtifying their aſſent with the motion of their eyes or head. Their diſcourſes were uſually myſtical and allegorical, ſeeking hidden ſenſes under plain words; and of ſuch an allegorical philoſophy conſiſted the books of their religion, left them by their anceſtors: the law they compared to an animal, the letter of it reſembling the body, while the ſoul of it lay in thoſe abſtruſe and recondite notions, which the external veil and ſurface of the words concealed from vulgar underſtandings. He tells us alſo, that they took very little care of the body, perfecting their minds by precepts of wiſdom and religion; the day they entirely ſpent in pious and divine meditations, in reading and expounding the law and the prophets, and the holy volumes of the antient founders of their ſect, and in ſinging hymns to the honour of their maker; abſolutely temperate and abſtemious, neither eating nor drinking till night, the only time they thought fit to refreſh and regard the body; ſome of them out of an inſatiable deſire of growing in knowledge and virtue, faſting many days together. What diet they had was very plain and ſimple, ſufficient only to provide againſt hunger and thirſt; a little bread, ſalt and water being their conſtant bill of fare: their cloaths were as mean as their food, deſigned only as a preſent ſecurity againſt cold and nakedneſs. And this not only the caſe of men, but of pious and devout women that lived (though ſeparately) among them; that they religiouſly obſerved every ſeventh day, and eſpecially the preparatory week to the great ſolemnity, which they kept with all expreſſions of a more ſevere abſtinence and devotion. This and much more he has in that tract concerning them.

3. These excellent perſons Euſebius peremptorily affirms to have been Chriſtians, converted and brought under theſe admirable rules and inſtitutions of life by St. Mark at his coming hither, accommodating all paſſages to the manners and diſcipline of Chriſtians: followed herein by [k] Epiphanius, [l] Hierom, and others of old, as by [m] Baronius, and ſome others of later time: and this ſo far taken for granted, that [n] many have hence fetched the riſe of monaſteries and religious orders among Chriſtians. But whoever ſeriouſly and impartially conſiders Philo's account, will plainly find that he intends it of Jews and profeſſors of the Moſaick religion, though whether Eſſenes, or of ſome other particular ſect among them, I ſtand not to determine. [o] That they were not Chriſtians, is evi-

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[f] Naz. Orat. 25. p. 438.
[g] H. Eccl. lib. 2. c. 16. p. 53.
[h] De Scrip. Eccl. in Philone.
[i] Phil. lib. de vita contemplat. p. 891, 892. & ſeq.
[k] Hæreſ. XXIX. p. 57.
[l] De Scrip. in Philone.
[m] Ad Ann. 64. n. 11.
[n] Sozom. H. Eccl. lib. 1. c. 12. p. 419. Caſſian. de Inſtit. Monach. lib. 2. c. 5. p. 12.

dent, beſides that Philo gives not the leaſt intimation of it, partly becauſe it is improbable that Philo being a Jew ſhould give ſo great a character and commendation of Chriſtians, ſo hateful to the Jews at that time in all places of the world; partly in that Philo ſpeaks of them as an inſtitution of ſome conſiderable ſtanding, whereas Chriſtians had but lately appeared in the world, and were later come into Egypt; partly, becauſe many parts of Philo's account do no way ſuit with the ſtate and manners of Chriſtians at that time; as that they withdrew themſelves from publick converſe, and all affairs of civil life, which Chriſtians never did, but when forced by violent perſecutions; for ordinarily, as Juſtin Martyr and Tertullian tell us, they promiſcuouſly dwelt in towns and cities, plowed their lands, and followed their trades, eat and drank, and were clothed and habited like other men. So when he ſays, that beſides the books of Moſes and the Prophets, they had the writings of the antient authors of their ſect and inſtitution; this cannot be meant of Chriſtians: for though Euſebius would underſtand it of the writings of the evangeliſts and apoſtles, yet beſides that they were few of them publiſhed when Philo wrote this diſcourſe, they were however of too late an edition to come under the character of antient authors. Not to ſay that ſome of their rites and cuſtoms were ſuch, as the Chriſtians of thoſe days were mere ſtrangers to, not taken up by the Chriſtian church till many years, and ſome of them not till ſome ages after. Nay ſome of them never uſed by any of the primitive Chriſtians; ſuch were their *religious dances*[o], which they had at their feſtival ſolemnities, eſpecially that great one which they held at the end of every ſeven weeks; when their entertainment being ended, they all roſe up, the men in one company, and the women in another, dancing with various meaſures and motions, each company ſinging divine hymns and ſongs, and having a Præcentor going before them, now one ſinging, and anon another, till in the concluſion they joined in one common chorus, in imitation of the triumphant ſong ſung by Moſes and the Iſraelites after their deliverance at the Red Sea. To all which let me add, what a learned [p] man has obſerved, that the Eſſenes (if Philo means them) were great phyſicians (thence probably called Θεραπευταὶ, Healers, though [q] Philo, who is apt to turn all things into allegory, refers it only to their curing τὰς ψυχὰς νόσοις κεκρατημένας χαλεπαῖς καὶ δυσιάτοις, ἃς κατέσκηψαν ἡδοναὶ καὶ ἐπιθυμίαι, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων παθῶν, καὶ κακιῶν ἀνήνυτον πλῆθος, *the ſouls of men infected and over-run with difficult and deſperate diſtempers, created by pleaſures and extravagant appetites, and a long train of other luſts and paſſions.*) [r] Joſephus reporting of them that they accurately ſtudy the writings of the antients, excerping thence whatever is conducive either to ſoul or body; and that for the curing of diſeaſes, they diligently enquired into the virtues of roots and ſtones, that were moſt proper to drive away diſtempers. An account no ways agreeing with the Chriſtians of thoſe times, who miraculouſly cured diſeaſes without the arts of phyſick, or any other preparations, than calling the name of Chriſt over the afflicted perſon. Doubtleſs that which led Euſebius into the miſtake, was the conformity that he obſerved between the Chriſtian Ἀσκηταὶ, in and before his time, who entred upon a more ſtrict and ſevere courſe of life, and theſe Therapeutæ deſcribed by Philo, an ordinary fancy being able to draw a fair parallel between them, and ſo it was but removing them ſome ages higher, and imagining them to have been converted and founded by St. Mark, and the work was done. Indeed it is not to be doubted, but that perſons educated under theſe excellent rules and methods of life, were more than ordinarily prepared for the reception of Chriſtianity (between which and their principles and rules of life, there was ſo great an affinity and agreement) which muſt needs render our evangeliſt's ſucceſs great in thoſe parts, and open the way for men to come flocking over to the faith.

4. St. Mark did not confine his preaching to Alexandria, and the oriental parts of Egypt, but removed [s] Weſtward to the parts of Libya, going through the countries of Marmarica, Pentapolis, and others thereabouts, where though the people were both barbarous in their manners, and idolatrous in their worſhip, yet by his preaching and miracles he made way for the entertainment of the goſpel, and left them not, till he had not only gained them to, but confirmed them in the profeſſion of it. Returning to Alexandria he preached freely, and ordered and diſpoſed the affairs of the church, and wiſely provided for ſucceſſion by conſtituting governors and paſtors of it. But the reſtleſs enemy of the ſouls of men would not long ſuffer him to be quiet: It was the time of Eaſter, at what time the great ſolemnities of Serapis happened to be celebrated, when the minds of the people being excited to a paſſionate vindication of the honour of their idol, broke in

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[o] Phil. ibid. p. 901, 902.

[p] N. Full. Miſcell. Sacr. lib. 1. cap. 3.

[q] Lib. ſupr. citat. p. 889.

[r] De Bell. Judaic. lib. 2. κεφ. 18. p. 786.

[s] S. Metaphr. Martyr. S. Marc. apud Sur. ad diem 25. Apr. Procop. Diac. laudat. S. Marc. ib. n. 8. Niceph. H. Eccl. l. 2. c. 43. p. 209. Id. ibid.

upon St. Mark, then engaged in the ſolemn celebration of divine worſhip, and binding his feet with cords, dragged him through the ſtreets and the moſt craggy places to the Bucelus[t] a precipice near the ſea, and for that night thruſt him into priſon, where his ſoul was by a divine viſion erected and encouraged under the ruins of his ſhattered body. Early the next morning the tragedy began again, dragging him about in the ſame manner, till his fleſh being raked off, and his blood run out, his ſpirits failed, and he expired. But their malice died not with him, Metaphraſtes adds that they burnt his body, whoſe bones and aſhes the Chriſtians there decently entombed near the place where he was wont to preach. His body, at leaſt the remains of it, were afterwards with great pomp removed from Alexandria to Venice, where they are religiouſly honoured, and he adopted as the tutelar ſaint and patron of that ſtate, and one of the richeſt and ſtatelieſt churches erected to his memory, that the world can boaſt of at this day. He ſuffered in the month Pharmuthi, on the 25th of April, though the certain year of his martyrdom is not preciſely determined by the antients. [u] Kirſtenius out of the Arabick memoirs of his life ſays, it was in the fourteenth or the laſt year of Claudius: [x] St. Hierom places it in the eighth of Nero. But extravagantly wide is [y] Dorotheus his computation, who makes him to ſuffer in the time of Trajan, with as much truth as [z] Nicephorus on the other hand affirms him to have come into Egypt in the reign of Tiberius. If in ſo great variety of opinions I may interpoſe my conjecture, I ſhould reckon him to have ſuffered about the end of Nero's reign: for ſuppoſing him to have come with St. Peter to Rome about the fifth or ſixth year of Nero, he might thence be diſpatched to Alexandria, and ſpend the reſidue of his life, and of that emperor's reign, in planting chriſtianity in thoſe parts of the world. Sure I am that [a] Irenæus reports St. Mark to have out-lived Peter and Paul, and that after their deceaſe he compoſed his goſpel out of thoſe things which he had heard Peter preach. But whatever becomes of that, it is evident that Irenæus ſuppoſed (whoſe ſuppoſition certainly was not founded upon mere fancy and conjecture) that St. Mark for ſome conſiderable time ſurvived the martyrdom of thoſe two great apoſtles. A paſſage that ſo troubled Chriſtophorſon (one of thoſe who in theſe latter ages firſt tranſlated Euſebius into Latin) becauſe croſſing the accounts of their writers in this matter, that he choſe rather to expunge the word, deceaſe, and ſubſtitute another of a quite different ſenſe, expreſly contrary to the faith of all antient copies, and to the moſt antient verſion of Irenæus itſelf. But to return. St. Mark as to his [b] perſon was of a middle ſize and ſtature, his noſe long, his eye-brows turning back, his eyes graceful and amiable, his head bald, his beard prolix and gray, his gate quick, the conſtitution of his body ſtrong and healthful.

5. His goſpel, the only book he left behind him, was, as before we obſerved, written at the intreaty of the converts at [c] Rome, who not content to have heard Peter preach, preſſed St. Mark his diſciple, that he would commit to writing an hiſtorical account of what he had delivered to them: which he performed with no leſs faithfulneſs than brevity, all which St. Peter peruſed, ratified with his authority, and commanded to be publickly read in their religious aſſemblies. And though, as we noted but now, Irenæus ſeems to intimate that it was written after St. Peter's death: yet all that can be inferred hence will be, what in itſelf is a matter of no great moment and importance, that the antients were not agreed in aſſigning the exact time when the ſeveral goſpels were publiſhed to the world. If we will give way to the conjectures of a [d] learned man, the difficulty will ſoon ceaſe: he tells us, that the *μετὰ τούτων ἔξοδον* in Irenæus, ſhould be rendred not *after their death*, but *after their departure, viz.* from Rome. And though this be not the common uſage of the word, yet might it have been admitted, had there been any authority of the antients to prove that St. Peter was twice at Rome. Therefore not relying upon this, he flies to an *antient copy*, where the words are read *μετὰ τούτου ἔκδοσιν after the publication* of St. Matthew's goſpel, whereof Irenæus had ſpoken in the words before. But he ſhould have done well to have named his antient copy, no ſuch having been hitherto mentioned by any other writer. And therefore it leaves a ſuſpicion that he had no better authority, than the boldneſs of Chriſtopherſon, who indeed thruſts ſuch a conjecture into the margin of his book, and accordingly ſo renders it in his tranſlation, with what deſign, we obſerved before. But to return. It was frequently ſtiled St. Peter's goſpel, [e] not ſo much becauſe dictated by him to St. Mark, as becauſe he principally compoſed it out of that account

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[t] Vid. vit. ejus M. S. Arabice ſcript. ap. Kirſten. p. 37.

[u] Ubi ſupra.

[x] De ſcript. Eccl. in Marc.

[y] Synopſ. de vit. & mort. App. in Bibl. Pp. Tom. 3. p. 148. col. 2.

[z] Lib. 2. c. 43. p. 209.

[a] Adv. Hæreſ. lib. 3. c. 1. pag. 229. citat. etiam ap. Euſeb. lib. 5. c. 8. p. 172.

[b] Metaphr. ibid. n. 10. Niceph. ib. p. 210.

[c] Clem. Al. Hypotyp. lib. 6. ap. Euſeb. l. 2. c. 15. p. 53. Papias ib. l. 3. c. 39. p. 113.

[d] Grot. Annot. in procem. Marc.

[e] Vid. Pap. loc. ſupr. citat.

which St. Peter uſually delivered in his diſcourſes to the people. Which probably is the reaſon of what [f] Chryſoſtom obſerves, that in his ſtile and manner of expreſſion he delights to imitate St. Peter, repreſenting much in a few words. Though he commonly reduces the ſtory of our Saviour's acts into a narrower compaſs than St. Matthew, yet want there not paſſages, which he relates more largely than he. The laſt chapter of his goſpel, at leaſt part of it, was (as [g] Hierom informs us) wanting in all antient Greek copies, rejected upon pretence of ſome diſagreement with the other goſpels, though, as he there ſhews, they are fairly conſiſtent with each other. His great impartiality in his relations appears from hence, that he is ſo far from concealing the ſhameful lapſe and denial of Peter [h], his dear tutor and maſter, that he ſets it down with ſome particular circumſtances and aggravations, which the other evangeliſts take no notice of. Some diſpute has been made in what language it was written, whether in Greek or Latin: That which ſeems to give moſt countenance to the Latin original, is the note that we find at the end of the Syriack verſion of this goſpel, where it is ſaid that Mark preached and declared his holy goſpel at Rome ܪܗܘܡܐܝܬ; in the Roman, or the Latin tongue. An evidence that with me would almoſt carry the force of a demonſtration, were I aſſured that this note is of equal value and authority with that antient verſion, generally ſuppoſed to come very few centuries ſhort of the apoſtolick age. But we know how uſual it is for ſuch additions to be made by ſome later hand. And what credit is to be given to the ſubſcriptions at the end of St. Paul's epiſtles, we have ſhewed elſewhere. Beſides, that it is not here ſaid that he wrote, but that he preached his goſpel at Rome in that language. The advocates of the Romiſh church plead, that it is very congruous and ſuitable, that it ſhould at firſt be conſigned to writing in that language, being principally deſigned for the uſe of the Chriſtians at Rome. An objection that will eaſily vaniſh, when we conſider that as the convert Jews there underſtood very little Latin, ſo there were very few Romans that underſtood not Greek, it being (as appears from the writers of that age) the gentile and faſhionable language of thoſe times. Nor can any good reaſon be aſſigned, why it ſhould be more inconvenient for St. Mark to write his goſpel in Greek for the uſe of the Romans, than that St. Paul ſhould in the ſame language write his epiſtle to that church. The original Greek copy, written with St. Mark's own hand, is ſaid to be extant at Venice at this day; written (as they tell us) by him at Aquileia, [i] and thence after many hundreds of years tranſlated to Venice, where it is ſtill preſerved, though the letters ſo worn out with length of time, that they are not capable of being read. A ſtory which as I cannot abſolutely diſprove, ſo I am not very forward to believe, and that for more reaſons than I think worth while to inſiſt on in this place.

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[f] Homil. 3. in Matth. p. 30.

[g] Ad Hedib. Quæſt. 3. p. 143. T. 3.

[h] Ταῦτα παρὰ τοῦ διδασκάλου μαθών. καὶ γὰρ φοιτητὴς ἦν Πέτρου. ὅθεν μάλιστα ἄν τις αὐτὸν ἐκπλαγείη, ὅτι οὐ μόνον οὐκ ἀπέκρυψε τὸ ἐλάττωμα, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων σαφέστερον ἀπήγγειλεν, αὐτὸς τούτου τῷ μαθητῇ. Chryſ. Homil. 86. in Matth. p. 719.

[i] Corn. à Lap. præfat. in Marc. p. 562.

The End of St. Mark's Life.

THE LIFE OF S^{T.} LUKE the Evangeliſt.

Antioch St. Luke's birth-place. The ſame and dignity of it. His learned and liberal education. His ſtudy of phyſick. His skill in painting. St. Luke none of the ſeventy. Converted, where, and by whom. His conſtant attendance upon St. Paul. In what parts he principally exerciſed his miniſtry. The place and manner of his death. The tranſlation of his body to Conſtantinople. His writings. Theophilus, who. His goſpel, where written, and upon what occaſion. How fitted for it. The acts of the apoſtles written at Rome, and when. Why principally containing the acts of St. Paul. This book why publickly read juſt after Eaſter in the primitive church. St. Luke's polite and exact ſtile and way of writing above the reſt.

I. SAINT Luke was born at Antioch, the metropolis of Syria, a city celebrated for its extraordinary bleſſings and eminence, the pleaſantneſs of its ſituation, the fertility of its ſoil, the riches of its traffick, the wiſdom of its ſenate, the learning of its profeſſors, the civility and politeneſs of its inhabitants, by the pens of ſome of the greateſt [a] orators of their times: and yet above all theſe renowned for this one peculiar honour, that here it was that *the diſciples were firſt called Chriſtians.* It was an univerſity, repleniſhed with ſchools of learning, wherein were profeſſors of all arts and ſciences. So that being born in the very lap of the muſes, he could not well miſs of an ingenuous and liberal education, his natural parts meeting with the advantages of great improvements. Nay, we are [b] told, that he ſtudied not only at Antioch, but in all the ſchools both of Greece and Egypt, whereby he became accompliſhed in all parts of learning and human ſciences. Being thus furniſhed out with ſkill in all the preparatory inſtitutions of philoſophy, he more particularly applied himſelf to the ſtudy of phyſick, for which the Grecian academies were moſt famous; though they that hence infer the quality of his birth and fortunes, forget to conſider, that this noble art was in thoſe times generally managed by perſons of no better rank than ſervants: upon which account a learned [c] man conceives St. Luke, though a Syrian by birth, to have been a ſervant at Rome, where he ſometimes practiſed phyſick, and whence being manumitted, he returned into his own country, and probably continued his profeſſion all his life, it being ſo fairly conſiſtent with, and in many caſes ſo ſubſervient to the miniſtry of the goſpel, and the care of ſouls. Beſides his abilities in phyſick, he is ſaid to have been very ſkilful in painting,

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[a] Dion. Chryſ. Orat. 47. de Patria. Liban. Orat. 11. cui Tit. Ἀντιοχικός. Tom. 2. Chryſoſt. Encom. Antioch. Τί ποτ' οὖν ἐστὶ τὸ παρ' ἡμῖν πόλεως ἀξίωμα; ἐγένετο πρῶτον ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ τοὺς μαθητὰς χρηματίσαι Χριστιανούς. τοῦτο δὲ οὐδεμία τῶν κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην ἔχει πόλεων, οὐδ' αὐτὴ ἡ Ῥωμύλου πόλις. Chryſoſt. Hom. 17. ad Pop. Antioch. p. 198. Tom. 1.

[b] S. Metaphr. apud Sur. ad diem 18 Octob. p. 289.

[c] Grot. Annot. in Luc. 1.

S.^t LUKE the EVANGELIST.

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painting[d], and there are no leſs than three or four ſeveral pieces ſtill in being, pretended to have been drawn with his own hand; a tradition which [e] Gretſer the Jeſuit ſets himſelf with a great deal of pains, and to very little purpoſe to defend; though his authors, either in reſpect of credit or antiquity, deſerve very little eſteem and value. Of more authority with me would be an antient inſcription found in a vault near the church of St. Mary in via lata at Rome, ſuppoſed to have been the place where St. Paul dwelt, wherein mention is made of a picture of the bleſſed Virgin, UNA EX VII. AB LUCA DEPICTIS, *being one of the ſeven painted by St. Luke.*

2. HE was a Jewiſh proſelyte, Antioch abounding with men of that nation, who had here their ſynagogues and ſchools of education; ſo that we need not with [f] Theophylact ſend him to Jeruſalem, to be inſtructed in the ſtudy of the law. As for that opinion of [g] Epiphanius and others, that he was one of the ſeventy diſciples, one of thoſe that deſerted our Lord for the unwelcome diſcourſe he made to them, but recalled afterward by St. Paul, I behold it as a ſtory of the ſame coin and ſtamp with that of St. Mark's leaving Chriſt upon the ſame occaſion, and being reduced by Peter, and that the one was made to anſwer the other; as upon no better ground it is [h] ſaid, that he was one of thoſe two diſciples that were going to Emmaus. For beſides the ſilence of ſcripture in the caſe, he himſelf plainly confeſſes, that he was not from the beginning an *eye-witneſs and miniſter of the word.* Moſt probable it is, that he was converted by St. Paul during his abode at Antioch, when as the apoſtles of catchers of fiſh were become fiſhers of men, ſo he of a phyſician of the body became a phyſician of the Soul.[i] This, Nicephorus will have to have been done at Thebes, the chief city of Bœotia, about forty miles from Athens, though it appears not to me by any credible author that ever St. Paul was there. He became ever after his inſeparable companion and fellow-labourer in the miniſtry of the goſpel, eſpecially after his going into Macedonia, from which time in recording the hiſtory of St. Paul's travels, [k] he always ſpeaks of himſelf in his own perſon. He followed him in all his dangers, was with him at his ſeveral arraignments at Jeruſalem, accompanied him in his deſperate voyage to Rome, where he ſtill attended on him to ſerve his neceſſities, and ſupply thoſe miniſterial offices, which the apoſtle's confinement would not ſuffer him to undergo, and eſpecially in carrying meſſages to thoſe churches where he had planted chriſtianity. This infinitely endeared him to St. Paul, who owned him for his fellow-labourer, called him *the beloved phyſician*, and *the brother whoſe praiſe is in the goſpel, throughout all the churches*; which the antients, and eſpecially [l] Ignatius, apply to our evangeliſt.

3. PROBABLE it is that he did not wholly leave St. Paul till he had finiſhed his courſe, and crowned all with martyrdom; though there are that tell [m] us, that he left St. Paul at Rome, and returned back into the Eaſt, travelled into Egypt and the parts of Libya, preached the goſpel, wrought miracles, converted multitudes, conſtituted guides and miniſters of religion, yea, that he himſelf took upon him the epiſcopal charge of the city of Thebais. Epiphanius [n] gives us this account, that he firſt preached in Dalmatia and Galatia (he reads it ἐν τῇ Γαλλίᾳ, *in Gaul*, or *France*, and peremptorily affirms, that they are all miſtaken that ſay it was Galatia where Creſcens preached, though ſome think that himſelf in the mean while is under the moſt confident miſtake) then in Italy and Macedonia; where he ſpared no pains, declined no dangers, that he might faithfully diſcharge the truſt committed to him. The antients are not very well agreed, either about the time or manner of his death, ſome affirming him to die in Egypt, others in Greece, the [o] Roman martyrology in Bithynia, [p] Dorotheus at Epheſus; ſome make him die a natural, others a violent death. Indeed neither Euſebius nor St. Hierom take any notice of it: but [q] Nazianzen, [r] Paulinus biſhop of Nola, and ſeveral others expreſly aſſert his martyrdom; whereof [s] Nicephorus gives this particular account, that coming into Greece he ſucceſsfully preached, and baptized many converts into the Chriſtian faith, till a party of infidels, making head againſt him, drew him to execution; and in want of a croſs whereon to diſpatch him preſently, hanged him upon an olive-tree, in the eightieth (the eighty-fourth ſays [t] St. Hierom) year of his age. [u] Kirſtenius from an antient Arabick

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[d] Metaphr. ib Niceph. l. 2. c. 43.

[e] De imag. non manuf. & à S. Luca pict. c. 18. & 19. p. 354. Rom. Subterr. Part 2. c. 46. n. 10. p. 188.

[f] Theophyl. Argum. in Luc. p. 293.

[g] Hæreſ. 51. p. 188.

[h] Theoph. ut prius. Arabs vit. Script. ap. Kirſten. de Quat. Evang. p. 39. Luke i. 2.

[i] Loc. ſupra laudat.

[k] Acts xvi. 10.

[l] Epiſt. ad Epheſ. p. 44.

[m] Metaphr. ubi ſupr. n. 11.

[n] Ubi ſupra.

[o] Ad diem 18. Octob. p. 645.

[p] De vit. & mor. App. in Bibl. Pp. Tom. 3. p 148.

[q] Orat. 1. in Julian. p. 76.

[r] Epiſt. 12. ad Sever. de Baſil. p. 138.

[s] Lib. 2. c. 43. p. 210.

[t] De Script. Ecc. in Luca.

[u] Vit. Quat. Evang. p. 45.

writer, makes him to have ſuffered martyrdom at Rome, which he thinks might probably be after St. Paul's firſt impriſonment there, and departure thence; when St. Luke being left behind as his deputy to ſupply his place, was ſhortly after put to death; the reaſon (ſays he) why he no longer continued his hiſtory of the apoſtles acts, which ſurely he would have done, had he lived any conſiderable time after St. Paul's departure. His body afterwards, by the command of Conſtantine, or his ſon Conſtantius, was ſolemnly removed to Conſtantinople, and buried in the great church built to the memory of the apoſtles.

4. Two books he wrote for the uſe of the church, his goſpel, and the hiſtory of the apoſtles acts, both dedicated to Theophilus, which many of the [x] antients ſuppoſe to be but a feigned name, denoting no more than a lover of God, a title common to every Chriſtian. While others with better reaſon conclude it the proper name of a particular perſon, eſpecially ſince the ſtile of moſt excellent is attributed to him, the uſual title and form of addreſs in thoſe times to princes and great men. [y] Theophylact ſtiles him συγκλητικὸν ἄνδρα καὶ ἄρχοντα ἴσως, *a man of conſular dignity, and probably a prince*; the [z] author of the recognitions makes him a nobleman of Antioch, converted by St. Peter, and who upon his converſion gave his houſe to the church for the place of their publick and ſolemn meetings. We may probably ſuppoſe him to have been ſome magiſtrate, whom St. Luke had converted and baptized, to whom he now dedicated theſe books, not only as a teſtimony of honourable reſpect, but as a means of giving him farther certainty and aſſurance of thoſe things, wherein he had been inſtructed by him. For his goſpel, [a] St. Hierom ſuppoſes it to have been written in Achaia during his travels with St. Paul in thoſe parts, whoſe help he is generally ſaid to have made uſe of in the compoſing of it, and that this the apoſtle primarily intends when he ſo often ſpeaks of his goſpel. But whatever aſſiſtance St. Paul might contribute towards it, we are ſure the evangeliſt himſelf tells us, that he derived his intelligence in theſe matters from thoſe, *who from the beginning had been eye-witneſſes and miniſters of the word.* Nor does it in the leaſt detract from the authority of his relations, that he himſelf was not preſent at the doing of them; for if we conſider who they were from whom he derived his accounts of things, *Habuit utique authenticam paraturam*, as [b] Tertullian ſpeaks, he had a ſtock both of credit and intelligence ſufficiently authentick to proceed upon, delivering nothing in his whole hiſtory but what he had immediately received from perſons preſent at, and concerned in the thing which he has left upon record. The occaſion of his writing it, is thought to have been partly to prevent thoſe falſe and fabulous relations which even then began to be obtruded upon the world, partly to ſupply what ſeemed wanting in thoſe two evangeliſts that wrote before him, and the additions or larger explications of things are particularly enumerated by [c] Irenæus. He mainly inſiſts upon what relates to Chriſt's prieſtly-office, and though recording other parts of the evangelical ſtory, yet it ever is with a peculiar reſpect to his prieſthood. Upon which account the antients in accommodating the four ſymbolical repreſentments in the prophet's viſion to the four evangeliſts, aſſigned the ox or calf to St. Luke.

5. His hiſtory of the apoſtolical acts was written no doubt at Rome, at the end of St. Paul's two years impriſonment there, with which he concludes his ſtory; it contains the actions, and ſometimes the ſufferings of ſome principal apoſtles, eſpecially St. Paul; for, beſides that his activity in the cauſe of Chriſt made him bear a greater part both in doing and ſuffering, St. Luke was his conſtant attendant, an eye-witneſs of the whole carriage of his life, and privy to his moſt intimate tranſactions, and therefore capable of giving a more full and ſatisfactory account and relation of them; ſeeing no evidence or teſtimony in matters of fact can be more rational and convictive, than his who reports nothing but what he has heard and ſeen. Among other things, he gives us a particular account of thoſe great miracles which the apoſtles did for the confirmation of their doctrine. And this (as [d] St. Chryſoſtom informs us) was the reaſon why in the primitive times the Book of the Acts, though containing thoſe actions of the apoſtles that were done after Pentecoſt, was yet uſually read in the church before it, in the ſpace between that and Eaſter, when as at all other times thoſe parts of the goſpel were read which were proper to the ſeaſon; it was (ſays he) becauſe the apoſtles miracles being the grand confirmation of the truth of Chriſt's reſurrection, and thoſe miracles recorded in that book, it was therefore thought moſt proper to be read next to the feaſt of the reſurrection. In both theſe books

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[x] Orig. Hom. 1. in Luc. fol. 94. Ambroſ in Luc. 1. p 9. T. 5. vid. Epiph. Hæreſ. LI. p. 186.

[y] Argum. in Luc. p. 293.

[z] Lib. 10 propè fin. fol. 120.

[a] Proœm. in Matth. Tom. 9.

[b] Adv. Marc. lib. 4. c. 2. p. 414.

[c] Adv. Hæreſ. lib. 3. c 14. p. 272.

[d] Serm. 73. Cur Act. App. legantur in Pentec. Tom. 5.

his way and manner of writing is exact and accurate; his ſtile polite and elegant, ſublime and lofty, and yet clear and perſpicuous, flowing with an eaſy and natural grace and ſweetneſs, admirably accommodate to an hiſtorical deſign, all along expreſſing himſelf in a vein of purer Greek, than is to be found in the other writers of the holy ſtory. Indeed being born and bred at Antioch (than which no place more famous for oratory and eloquence) he could not but carry away a great ſhare of the native genius of that place, though his ſtile is ſometimes allayed with a tang of the Syriack and Hebrew dialect. It was obſerved of old (as [e] St. Hierom tells us) that his ſkill was greater in Greek than Hebrew, that therefore he always makes uſe of the ſeptuagint tranſlation, and refuſes ſometimes to render words, when the propriety of the Greek tongue will not bear it. In ſhort, as an hiſtorian, he was faithful in his relations, elegant in his writings; as a miniſter, careful and diligent for the good of ſouls; as a Chriſtian, devout and pious: and who crowned all the reſt with the laying down his life for the teſtimony of that goſpel, which he had both preached and publiſhed to the world.

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[e] Comm. in c. 6. Eſai. p. 30. T. 5. Ibid. in c. 28. p. 118. Epiſt. ad Damaſ. p. 124. T. 3.

The End of St. Luke's *Life.*

DIPTYCHA APOSTOLICA:

OR,

A Brief Enumeration and Account of the

APOSTLES and their SUCCESSORS,

FOR THE

First three hundred Years in the five great Churches,

Said to have been Founded by them; thence called by the Antients,

APOSTOLICAL CHURCHES:

VIZ.

Antioch, Rome, Jeruſalem, Byzantium or Conſtantinople, and Alexandria.

ANTIOCH.

THIS I place firſt, partly becauſe it is generally acknowledged, even by the Romiſh writers, that a church was founded here by St. Peter ſome conſiderable time before that at Rome; partly becauſe here it was that the venerable name of Chriſtians did firſt commence. In which reſpect the [a] fathers in the council at Conſtantinople under Nectarius, in their Synodicon to them at Rome, ſtile the church of Antioch, τὴν πρεσβυτάτην καὶ ὄντως ἀποστολικὴν, *The moſt antient, and truly apoſtolical*; and [b] *St. Chryſoſtom, the head of the whole world.* The ſucceſſion of its biſhops till the time of Conſtantine (which ſhall be the boundary of this catalogue) was as followeth.

I. St. Peter the apoſtle; who governed this church at leaſt 7 years, Nicephorus of Conſtantinople ſays 11.

II. Evodius, who ſat 23 years. In his time the diſciples were firſt called Chriſtians at Antioch.

III. Ignatius. After near 40 years preſidency over this church he was carried out of Syria to Rome, and there thrown to wild beaſts in the theatre, Ann. Chr. 110. Trajan. 11.

IV. Heron, he was biſhop 20 years: To him ſucceeded

V. Cornelius, who kept the place 13 years, dying Ann. Chr. 142.

VI. Eros, 26, or as Euſebius, 24 years.

VII. Theophilus, 13, a man of great parts and learning; many of his works were extant in Euſebius's time, and ſome of them we ſtill have at this day.

VIII. Maximinus, 13, he dying, the next that was choſen, was

IX. Serapio, 25, many of his works are mentioned by Euſebius and St. Hierom. To him ſucceeded

X. Aſclepiades, a man of great worth and eminency, and invincible conſtancy in the time of perſecution; he continued in this See 9 years.

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[a] Ap. Theod. H. Eccleſ. lib. 5. c. 9. p. 151.

[b] Homil. 3. ad Pop. Ant. Tom. 1. p. 40.

XI. Philetus, 8.

XII. Zebinus, or Zebennus, he ſat 6 years.

XIII. Babylas, 13, after many conflicts and ſufferings for the faith, he received the crown of martyrdom under Decius, and commanded his chains to be buried with him.

XIV. Fabius, or as the patriarch Nicephorus calls him, Flavius, poſſeſſed the chair 9 years. He was a little inclining towards Novatianiſm.

XV. Demetrianus, he ſate biſhop, ſays Nicephorus, 4, ſays Euſebius, 8 years.

XVI. Paulus Samoſatenus ſate in the chair 8 years, when for his unepiſcopal manners and practices, his unſound Dogmata and principles, and eſpecially his mean and unworthy opinions concerning our Saviour, he was condemned and depoſed by a Synod at Antioch, whoſe Synodical determination is at large extant in Euſebius.

XVII. Domnus ſucceeded in the place of the depoſed. He was ſon to Demetrian, Paulus's predeceſſor in that See; conſtituted and ordained to the place by the fathers of that Synod, who farther give him this honourable character, that he was a man indued with all epiſcopal virtues and ornaments. Euſebius makes him to have ſitten 6, Nicephorus but 2 years.

XVIII. Timæus, he ſate in the chair 10 years.

XIX. Cyrillus, who preſided over that Church in the account of Nicephorus 15, of Euſebius 24 years.

XX. Tyrannus, he ſate 13 years; in his time began the tenth perſecution under Diocletian, which raged with great ſeverity.

XXI. Vitalis, 6.

XXII. Philogonius, 5, ſucceeded by

XXIII. Paulinus, or as Nicephorus calls him, Paulus, who after five years was depoſed and driven out by the prevalency of the Arian faction.

XXIV. Euſtathius, formerly biſhop of Berœa, a learned man, and of great note and eminency in the council of Nice, the firſt general council, ſummoned by the great Conſtantine, after he had reſtored peace and proſperity to the church.

ROME.

THE foundation of this church is with juſt probabilities of reaſon by many of the fathers equally attributed to Peter and Paul, the one as apoſtle of the circumciſion preaching to the Jews, while the other probably as the apoſtle of the uncircumciſion preached to the Gentiles. Its biſhops ſucceeded in this order.

I. St. Peter and St. Paul, who both ſuffered martyrdom under Nero.

II. Linus, the ſon of Herculanus, a Tuſcan; he is mentioned by St. Paul, he ſate between 11 and 12 years.

III. Cletus, or Anacletus, or Anencletus, ſuppoſed by many to be the ſame perſon; (though others who reckon Anacletus a Greek, born at Athens, make them diſtinct, whom yet we have left out, not being mentioned by Euſebius) a Roman, the ſon of Æmilianus, ſate 9, though others ſay but 2 years.

IV. Clemens, a Roman, born in mount Cælius, the ſon of Fauſtinus, near akin, ſay ſome, to the emperor: he was condemned to dig in the marble-quarries near the Euxine ſea, and by the command of Trajan with an anchor about his neck thrown into the ſea. He was biſhop of Rome 9 years and 4 months.

V. Euariſtus, by birth a Greek, but his father a Jew of Bethlehem. He is ſaid to have been crowned with martyrdom the laſt year of Trajan, in the ninth of his biſhoprick, or as others, the thirteenth.

VI. Alexander, a Roman, though young in years, was grave in his manners and converſation. He ſate 10 years and 7 months, and died a martyr.

VII. Xyſtus, or Sixtus, a Roman, he was martyred in the tenth year of his biſhoprick, and buried in the Vatican.

VIII. Teleſphorus, a Greek, ſucceeded; Juſtin the martyr flouriſhed in his time. He died a martyr, having ſate 11 years, and 3 months; 10 years 8 months ſay others; and lies buried near St. Peter in the Vatican.

IX. Hyginus, the ſon of an Athenian philoſopher, was advanced to the chair under Antoninus Pius: He ſate 4 years; Euſebius ſays 8.

X. Pius, an Italian, born at Aquileia, he died having been biſhop 12 years, and 4 months; according to Euſebius, 15 years.

XI. Anicetus, born in Syria: He is ſaid after 9, or as others, 11 years to have ſuffered martyrdom, and was buried in the Via Appia in the Cemetery of Calliſtus. In his time Polycarp came to Rome.

XII. Soter, or as Nicephorus calls him, Soterichus, was a Campanian, the ſon of Concordius. There was an intercourſe of letters between him and Dionyſius biſhop of Corinth. He died after he had ſate 9 years, or as Euſebius reckons, 7.

XIII. Eleutherius, born at Nicopolis in Greece. To him Lucius king of Britain ſent a letter and an embaſſy. He ſate 15 years, died Ann. Chr. 186. and lies buried in the Vatican.

XIV. Victor, an African, the ſon of Felix, a man of a furious and intemperate ſpirit, as appeared in his paſſionate proceedings in the controverſy about the obſervation of Eaſter. He was biſhop 10 years. Onuphrius aſſigns him 12 years and one month.

XV. Zephyrinus, a Roman, ſucceeded, and poſſeſſed the chair 8, but as others, 18 years; 20 ſays Onuphrius. A pious and learned man, but a little warping towards the errors of Montanus.

XVI. Calliſtus, or Calixtus, the ſon of Domitius, a Roman; a prudent and modeſt man. He ſuffered much in the perſecution under Alexander Severus, under whom he became a martyr, being thrown into a well by the procurement of Ulpian the great lawyer, but ſevere enemy of Chriſtians. He ſate 6 years, or five [illegible]thers, and one month; and though h[illegible] made a Cemetery, called after his own name, yet was he buried in that of Calepodius in the Appian way.

XVII. Urbanus, the ſon of Pontianus, a Roman, after 4, or as ſome, 6 years, he ſuffered martyrdom for the faith: Euſebius has 5, St. Hierome in his tranſlation 9. He was buried in Prætextatus's Cemetery in the Appian way.

XVIII. Pontianus, the ſon of Calphurnius, a Roman; for his bold reproving the Roman idolatry he was baniſhed into the iſland Sardinia, where he died; he was biſhop about 3 or 4, or as Euſebius, 5 years.

XIX. Anteros, a Greek, the ſon of Romulus. He died by that he had kept his place one month, though others without reaſon make him to have lived in it many years, and was buried in the Cemetery of Calliſtus.

XX. Fabianus, a Roman, he was unexpectedly choſen biſhop, while ſeveral others being in competition, a pigeon ſuddenly deſcended, and ſate upon his head, the great emblem of the holy ſpirit. He died a martyr after 14 years; buried in the ſame place with his predeceſſor.

XXI. Cornelius, a Roman, he oppoſed and condemned Novatian: frequent letters paſſed between him and Cyprian. After ſomewhat more than 2 years he was firſt cruelly whipped, and then beheaded: buried in a vault within the grange of Lucina, near the Appian way.

XXII. Lucius, a Roman, ſate 2, or as others, 3 years. He ſuffered martyrdom by the command of Valerian, and was buried in Calliſtus's cemetery.

XXIII. Stephanus, a Roman, the ſon of Julius: great conteſts were between him and Cyprian, about rebaptizing thoſe who had been baptized by Hereticks. He was beheaded after he had ſate about 2 or 3 years, though others ſay 7; and buried with his predeceſſor.

XXIV. Xyſtus, a Greek, formerly a philoſopher of Athens. After 1, or as others compute, 2 years, and 10 months, he ſuffered martyrdom, Euſebius reckons it 8 years.

XXV. Dionyſius, of a monk made biſhop, λόγιός τε καὶ θαυμάσιος, in the judgment of Dionyſius biſhop of Alexandria, a truly learned and admirable perſon. The time of his preſidency is uncertainly aſſigned, 6, 9, 10, 11. Euſebius extends it to 12 years.

XXVI. Felix, a Roman: in his time aroſe the Manichæan hereſy. He ſuffered about the fourth or fifth year of his epiſcopacy, and lies buried in the Aurelian way, in a cemetery of his own two miles from Rome.

XXVII. Eutychianus, a Tuſcan, a man exceedingly careful of the burial of martyrs, after one years ſpace was himſelf crowned with martyrdom: Euſebius allows him but 8 months; Onuphrius 8 years and 6 months.

XXVIII. Caius, or as Euſebius calls him, Gaianus, a Dalmatian, kinſman to the Emperor Diocletian, and in the perſecution under him became a martyr. He ſate 11 years, ſome ſay longer. Euſebius, 15

15 years. He was beheaded, and buried in Calliſtus's cemetery.

XXIX. Marcellinus, a Roman: through fear of torment he did ſacrifice to the Gods, but recovering himſelf, died a martyr, after he had ſate 8 or 9 years. He was beheaded, and buried in the cemetery of Priſcilla in the Salarian way. To him ſucceeded

XXX. Marcellus, a Roman; he was condemned by Maxentius the Tyrant to keep beaſts in a ſtable, which yet he performed with his prayers and exerciſes of devotion. He died after 5 years, and 6 months, and was buried in the cemetery of Priſcilla.

XXXI. Euſebius, a Greek, the ſon of a phyſician. He ſuffered much under the tyranny of Maxentius. He ſate 6 years ſay ſome, 4 ſay others, though Euſebius allows him but 7 months, Onuphrius 1 year and 7 months; he was buried in the Appian way near Calliſtus's cemetery.

XXXII. Miltiades, an African. He might be a confeſſor under Maxentius, but could not be a martyr under Maximinus, as ſome report him. He ſate 3 or 4, though others aſſign him but 2 years: and was buried in the cemetery of Calliſtus.

XXXIII. Silveſter, a Roman. He was elected into the place, Anno Chr. CCCXIV. fetched from the mountain Soracte, whither he had fled for fear of perſecution. He was highly in favour with Conſtantine the Great. He ſate 23, Nicephorus ſays 28 years.

JERUSALEM.

THE church of Jeruſalem may in ſome ſenſe be ſaid to have been founded by our Lord himſelf, as it was for ſome time cultivated and improved by the miniſtry of the whole college of apoſtles. The biſhops of it were as followeth.

I. St. James the Leſs, the brother of our Lord, by him, ſay ſome, immediately conſtituted biſhop, but as others more probably, by the apoſtles: he was thrown off the temple, and knocked on the head with a Fuller's club.

II. Symeon, the ſon of Cleopas, brother to Joſeph, our Lord's reputed father. He ſate in this chair 23 years, and ſuffered martyrdom in the reign of Trajan, in the one hundred and twentieth year of his age.

III. Juſtus ſucceeded in his room, and ſate 6 years.

IV. Zacheus, or as Nicephorus the patriarch calls him, Zacharias, 4.

V. Tobias; to him, after 4 years, ſucceeded

VI. Benjamin, who ſate 2 years.

VII. John, who continued the ſame ſpace.

VIII. Matthias, or Matthæus, 2 years.

IX. Philippus, 1 year: next came

X. Seneca, who ſate 4 years.

XI. Juſtus 4.

XII. Levi, or Lebes, 2.

XIII. Ephrem, or Ephres, or as Epiphanius ſtiles him, Vaphres, 2.

XIV. Joſeph, 2.

XV. Judas, 2. Moſt of theſe biſhops we may obſerve to have but a ſhort time, following one another with a very quick ſucceſſion. Which doubtleſs was in a great meaſure owing to the turbulent and unquiet humour of the Jewiſh nation, frequently rebelling againſt the Roman powers, whereby they provoked them to fall heavy upon them, and cut off all that came in their way, making no diſtinction between Jews and Chriſtians; as indeed they were all Jews, though differing in the rites of their religion. For hitherto the biſhops of Jeruſalem had ſucceſſively been of the circumciſion, the church there having been intirely made up of Jewiſh converts. But Jeruſalem being now utterly laid waſte, and the Jews diſperſed into all other countries, the Gentiles were admitted not only into the body of that church, but even into the epiſcopal chair. The firſt whereof was

XVI. Marcus, who ſate 8 years.

XVII. Caſſianus, 8.

XVIII. Publius, 5.

XIX. Maximus, 4.

XX. Julianus, 2.

XXI. Caianus, 3.

XXII. Symmachus, 2.

XXIII. Caius, 3.

XXIV. Julianus, 4.

XXV. Elias, 2. I find not this biſhop mentioned by Euſebius; but he is recorded by Nicephorus of Conſtantinople.
XXVI. Capito, 4.
XXVII. Maximus, 4.
XXVIII. Antoninus, 5.
XXIX. Valens, 3.
XXX. Dulichianus, 2.
XXXI. Narciſſus, 4. He was a man of eminent piety, famous for the great miracles which he wrought; but not being able to bear the aſperſions which ſome unjuſtly caſt upon him (though God ſignally and miraculouſly vindicated his innocency) he left his church, and retired into deſarts and ſolitudes. In his abſence was choſen
XXXII. Dius, who ſate 8 years. After him
XXXIII. Germanio, 4.
XXXIV. Gordius, 5. In his time Narciſſus, as one from the dead, returned from his ſolitudes, and was importuned by the people again to take the government of the church upon him; being highly reverenced by them, both for his ſtrict and philoſophical courſe of life, and the ſignal vengeance which God took of his accuſers: And in this ſecond adminiſtration he continued ten years, ſuffering martyrdom when he was near 120 years old. To relieve the infirmities of his great age, they took in to be his collegue
XXXV. Alexander, formerly biſhop in Cappadocia, who at that time had out of devotion taken a pilgrimage to Jeruſalem; the choice being extraordinarily deſigned by a particular revelation from heaven. He was an eminent confeſſor, and after having ſate 15 years, died in priſon under the Decian perſecution: by him Origen was ordained preſbyter: he was a great patron of learning as well as religion, a ſtudious preſerver of the records of the church: he erected a library at Jeruſalem, which he eſpecially furniſhed with the writings and epiſtles of eccleſiaſtical perſons: and out of this treaſury it was that Euſebius borrowed a great part of his materials for the compoſing of his hiſtory.
XXXVI. Mazabanes, 9 years.
XXXVII. Hymenæus, 23.
XXXVIII. Zabdas, 10.
XXXIX. Hermon, 9. He was, as Euſebius tells us, the laſt biſhop of this See before that fatal perſecution that raged even in his time.
XL. Macarius, ordained Ann. Chr. CCCXV. He was preſent in the great Nicene council. He ſate, ſays Nicephorus of Conſtantinople, 20 years, but St. Hierom allows him a much longer time.

BYZANTIUM, afterwards called CONSTANTINOPLE.

THAT this church was firſt founded by St. Andrew, we have ſhewed in his life. The ſucceſſion of its biſhops, was as followeth.

I. St. Andrew the apoſtle. He was crucified at Patræ in Achaia.
II. Stachys, whom St. Paul calls, his beloved Stachys, ordained biſhop by St. Andrew; he ſate 16 years.
III. Oneſimus, 14.
IV. Polycarpus, 17.
V. Plutarchus, 16.
VI. Sedecio, 9.
VII. Diogenes, 15. Of the laſt three no mention is made in Nicephorus of Conſtantinople, but they are delivered by Nicephorus Calliſtus, lib. 8. c. 6. p. 540.
VIII. Eleutherius, 7.
IX. Felix, 5.
X. Polycarpus, 17.
XI. Athenodorus, 4. He erected a church called Elea, afterwards much beautified and enlarged by Conſtantine the Great.
XII. Euzoius, 16. Though Nicephorus Calliſtus allow but 6.
XIII. Laurentius, 11 years and 6 months.
XIV. Alypius, 13.
XV. Pertinax, a man of Conſular dignity, he built another church near the ſea-ſide, which he called, Peace. He ſate 19 years, which Nicephorus Calliſtus reduces to 9.
XVI. Olympianus, 11.
XVII. Marcus, 13.
XVIII. Cyriacus, or Cyrillianus, 16.
XIX. Conſtantinus, 7. In the firſt year of his biſhoprick he built a church in the north

north part of the city, which he dedicated to the honour of Euphemia the martyr, who had ſuffered in that place. In this oratory he ſpent the remainder of his life, quitting his epiſcopal chair to

XX. Titus, who ſat 35 years and 6 months; though Nicephorus Calliſtus makes it 37 years. After him came

XXI. Dometius, brother (as they tell us) to the emperor Probus; he was biſhop 21 years, 6 months.

XXII. Probus ſucceeded his father Dometius, and ſate 12 years; as after him

XXIII. Metrophanes his brother, who governed that church 10 years. And in his time it was that Conſtantine tranſlated the imperial court hither, enlarged and adorned it, called it after his own name, and made it the ſeat of the empire.

XXIV. Alexander ſucceeded, a man of great piety and integrity, zealous and conſtant in maintaining the truth againſt the blaſphemies of Arius. He ſate 23 years.

ALEXANDRIA.

THE foundations of this church were laid, and a great part of its ſuperſtructure raiſed by St. Mark; who though not ſtrictly and properly an apoſtle, yet being an apoſtle at large, and immediately commiſſionated by St. Peter, it juſtly obtained the honour of an apoſtolical church. Its biſhops and governors are thus recorded:

I. St. Mark the evangeliſt, of whoſe travels and martyrdom we have ſpoken in his life. Nicephorus of Conſtantinople makes him ſit two years.

II. Anianus, charactered by Euſebius, ἀνὴρ θεοφιλὴς ϗ τὰ πάντα θαυμάσιος, "A man "beloved of God, and admirable in all "things." He ruled in that throne 22 years.

III. Avilius, 12, or as Euſebius, 13.

IV. Cerdo, who ſucceeded about the firſt year of Trajan: He ſate 10 years; according to Euſebius, 11.

V. Primus, 12.

VI. Juſtus, or Juſtinus, 10.

VII. Eumenes, 10; or as Euſebius, 13: St. Jerom in his tranſlation calls him Hymenæus.

VIII. Marcus or Marcianus, 13; or as Euſebius, 10.

IX. Celadion, 10; but in Euſebius his computation, 14.

X. Agrippinus, 14; according to Euſebius, 12.

XI. Julianus, 15; though Euſebius allows but 10.

XII. Demetrius, 21; but Euſebius more truly makes him to have governed that church no leſs than 43 years. He was a man of great zeal and piety, and underwent many troubles in the perſecution at Alexandria. He was at firſt a great friend to Origen, but afterwards became his enemy, laying ſome irregularities to his charge; partly out of emulation at the great reputation which Origen had gained in the world; partly in that Origen had ſuffered himſelf to be ordained preſbyter by two other biſhops, Alexander biſhop of Jeruſalem, and Theoctiſtus of Cæſarea.

XIII. Heraclas, a man of a philoſophical genius and way of life. He was educated under the inſtitution of Origen, and by him taken to be his aſſiſtant in the ſchools of the catechumens, the whole government whereof he afterwards reſigned to him; and upon the death of Demetrius he was advanced to the government of that church, the care whereof he took for 16 years; though Nicephorus of Conſtantinople, by a miſtake, I ſuppoſe, for his predeceſſor, makes it 43.

XIV. Dionyſius, 17. He was one of the moſt eminent biſhops of his time: He was one of Origen's ſcholars, then preferred firſt maſter of the catechetical ſchool at Alexandria, and afterwards biſhop of that ſee. In the perſecution under Decius he was baniſhed firſt to Taposiris, a little town between Alexandria and Canopus; then to Cephro, and other places in the deſarts of Libya. But a large account of his own and others ſufferings, with many other tranſactions of thoſe times, we have out of his own Letters, yet extant in Euſebius.

He died in the twelfth year of the emperor Gallienus.

XV. Maximus. Of a preſbyter he was made biſhop of Alexandria. He ſate in that chair 18 years according to Euſebius's computation, though Nicephorus of Conſtantinople aſſigns but 8.

XVI. Theonas, 17; or according to St. Jerom's verſion of Euſebius, 19. To him ſucceeded

XVII. Petrus, 12. He began his office three years before the laſt perſecution. A man of infinite ſtrictneſs and accuracy, and of indefatigable induſtry for the good of the church. He ſuffered in the ninth year of the perſecution, with the loſs of his head gaining the crown of martyrdom: After whoſe death came in the proſperous and happy days of the church, Conſtantine the great turning the black and diſmal ſcene of things into a ſtate of calmneſs and ſerenity.

XVIII. Achillas, 9; though Nicephorus of Conſtantinople allows him but one year. By him Arius upon his ſubmiſſion was ordained preſbyter.

XIX. Alexander, 23. Under him Arius began more openly to broach his hereſy at Alexandria, who was thereupon excommunicated and thruſt out by Alexander, and ſhortly after condemned by the Fathers of the council of Nice.

THE

THE CONTENTS.

I. Of the LIFE OF CHRIST.

DR. Cave's *Dedication to* Nathanael *Lord Biſhop of* Durham.
— *To the Reader.*
— *His Apparatus, or Introductory Diſcourſe,* Page i *to* l
Dr. Taylor's *Dedication to* Christopher *Lord* Hatton.
The Preface, p. (i) *to* (xxviii)
An Exhortation to the Imitation of the Life of Christ, [i] *to* [vij]

SECT. I.

The Hiſtory of the Conception of Jesus, p. 1
Conſiderations upon the Annunciation of the bleſſed Mary, and the Conception of the holy Jesus, 2

SECT. II.

The bearing of Jesus *in the womb of the bleſſed Virgin,* 6
Conſiderations concerning the circumſtances of the Interval between the Conception and Nativity, 7

SECT. III.

The Nativity of our bleſſed Saviour Jesus, 11
Conſiderations upon the Birth of our bleſſed Saviour Jesus, 12
Discourse I. *Of Nurſing Children, in imitation of the bleſſed Virgin Mother,* 16

SECT. IV.

Of the great and glorious Accidents happening about the Birth of Jesus, 22
Conſiderations upon the Apparition of the Angels to the Shepherds, 25
Conſiderations upon the Epiphany of the bleſſed Jesus *by a ſtar, and the Adoration of* Jesus *by the Eaſtern Magi,* 28

SECT. V.

Of the Circumciſion of Jesus, *and his Preſentation in the Temple,* 32
Conſiderations upon the Circumciſion of the holy child Jesus, 33
Discourse II. *Of the Virtue of Obedience,* 37
Conſiderations upon the Preſentation of Jesus *in the Temple,* 48
Discourse III. *Of Meditation,* 50

SECT. VI.

Of the Death of the holy Innocents, or the Babes of Bethlebem, and the flight of Jesus *into Egypt,* 60
Conſiderations upon the Death of the Innocents, and the flight of the holy Jesus *into Egypt,* 62

SECT. VII.

Of the younger years of Jesus, *and his Diſputation with the Doctors in the Temple,* 68
Conſiderations upon the Diſputation of Jesus *with the Doctors in the Temple,* 69

SECT. VIII.

Of the Preaching of John the Baptiſt, preparative to the Manifeſtation of Jesus, 72
Conſiderations upon the Preaching of John the Baptiſt, 73
Discourse IV. *Of Mortification and corporal Auſterities,* 77

SECT. IX.

Of Jesus *being Baptized, and going into the Wilderneſs to be tempted,* 87
Conſiderations upon the Baptizing, Faſting, and Temptations of the holy Jesus *by the Devil,* 89
Discourse V. *Of Temptation,* 96
Discourse VI. *Of Baptiſm,* 110
Of baptizing Infants, 121
Appendix *to* Sect. IX. N° 3. Christ's *Prayer at his Baptiſm,* 137

SECT. X.

Of the firſt Manifeſtation of Jesus, *by the Teſtimony of John, and a Miracle,* 145
Conſiderations touching the Vocation of five Diſciples, and of the firſt Miracle of Jesus, *done at Cana in Galilee,* 147
Discourse VII. *Of Faith,* 151

SECT. XI.

Of Christ's *going to Jeruſalem to the Paſſover the firſt time after his Manifeſtation, and what followed till the expiration of the office of John the Baptiſt,* 159
Conſiderations upon the firſt Journey of the holy Jesus *to Jeruſalem, when he whipt the Merchants out of the Temple,* 161
Discourse VIII. *Of the Religion of Holy Places,* 163

SECT. XII.

Of Jesus's *Departure into Galilee; his manner of Life, Miracles and Preaching; his calling of Diſciples; and what happened until the ſecond Paſſover,* 171
Conſiderations upon the Intercourſe happening between the holy Jesus *and the Woman of Samaria,* 177
Conſiderations upon Christ's *firſt Preaching, and the Accidents happening about that time,* 181
Discourse IX. *Of Repentance,* 185
Upon Christ's *Sermon on the Mount, and on the eight Beatitudes,* 208
Discourse X. *Upon that part of the Decalogue which the holy* Jesus *adopted into the inſtitution and obligation of Chriſtianity,* 219
Of the three additional Precepts which Christ *ſuperinduced, and made parts of the Chriſtian law,* 240
Discourse XI. *Of Charity, with its parts, Forgiving, Giving, not Judging,* 240
Of Forgiveneſs, 240

Of Alms, 247
Of not Judging, 249
DISCOURSE XII. *Of the ſecond additional Precept of* CHRIST, viz. *Of Prayer,* 250
DISCOURSE XIII. *Of the third additional Precept of* CHRIST, viz. *Of the manner of Faſting,* 262
DISCOURSE XIV. *Of the Miracles which* JESUS *wrought for confirmation of his Doctrine, during the whole time of his Preaching,* 266

SECT. XIII.

Of the ſecond Year of the Preaching of JESUS, 275
DISCOURSE XV. *Of the excellency, eaſe, reaſonableneſs and advantages of bearing* CHRIST's *Yoke, and living according to his Inſtitution,* 280
DISCOURSE XVI. *Of certainty of Salvation,* 298

SECT. XIV.

Of the third Year of the Preaching of JESUS, 304
DISCOURSE XVII. *Of Scandal, or giving and taking Offence,* 313
DISCOURSE XVIII. *Of the cauſes and manner of the divine Judgments,* 320

SECT. XV.

Of the Accidents happening from the Death of Lazarus, until the Death and Burial of JESUS, 329
Conſiderations of ſome preparatory Accidents before the entrance of JESUS *into his Paſſion,* 341
Conſiderations upon the Waſhing the Diſciples Feet by JESUS, *and his Sermon of Humility,* 346
DISCOURSE XIX. *Of the Inſtitution and Reception of the holy Sacrament of the Lord's Supper,* 352
Conſiderations upon the Accidents happening on the Veſpers of the Paſſion, 365
Conſiderations upon the Scourging, and other Accidents happening from the Apprehenſion till the Crucifixion of JESUS, 371
DISCOURSE XX. *Of Death and the due manner of Preparation to it,* 377
Conſiderations upon the Crucifixion of the holy JESUS, 390

SECT. XVI.

Of the Reſurrection and Aſcenſion of JESUS, 396
Conſiderations upon the Accidents happening in the Interval after the Death of the holy JESUS, *until his Reſurrection,* 398

II. Of the LIVES of the APOSTLES.

PREFACE *to the Lives of the Apoſtles,* 411
The Introduction, 414

The LIFE of St. PETER.

SECT. I.

Of St. Peter, from his Birth till his firſt coming to CHRIST, 429

SECT. II.

Of St. Peter, from his firſt coming to CHRIST, *till his being called to be a Diſciple,* 434

SECT. III.

Of St. Peter, from his election to the Apoſtolate, till the Confeſſion which he made of CHRIST, 436

SECT. IV.

Of St. Peter, from the time of his Confeſſion, till our Lord's laſt Paſſover, 439

SECT. V.

Of St. Peter, from the laſt Paſſover, till the Death of CHRIST, 444

SECT. VI.

Of St. Peter, from CHRIST's *Reſurrection till his Aſcenſion,* 448

SECT. VII.

Of St. Peter's Acts, from our Lord's Aſcenſion, till the Diſperſion of the Church, 451

SECT. VIII.

Of St. Peter's Acts, from the Diſperſion of the church at Jeruſalem, till his Conteſt with St. Paul at Antioch, 458

SECT. IX.

Of St. Peter's Acts, from the end of the ſacred ſtory till his Martyrdom, 463

SECT. X.

The Character of his Perſon and Temper, and an Account of his Writings, 467

SECT. XI.

An enquiry into St. Peter's going to Rome, 472
An Appendix *to the foregoing Section, containing a vindication of St. Peter's being at Rome,* 476

The LIFE of St. PAUL.

SECT. I.

Of St. Paul, from his Birth till his Converſion, 481

SECT. II.

Of St. Paul, from his Converſion till the council at Jeruſalem, 486

SECT. III.

Of St. Paul, from the time of the Synod at Jeruſalem till his departure from Athens, 491

SECT. IV.

Of St. Paul's Acts at Corinth and Epheſus, 497

SECT. V.

Of St. Paul's Acts, from his departure from Epheſus, till his arraignment before Felix, 503

SECT. VI.

Of St. Paul, from his firſt trial before Felix, till his coming to Rome, 508

SECT. VII.

St. Paul's Acts, from his coming to Rome till his Martyrdom, 512

SECT. VIII.

The deſcription of his Perſon and Temper, together with an account of his Writings, 518

SECT. IX.

The principal Controverſies that exerciſed the church in his time, 524

The Life of St. ANDREW, 535
The Life of St. JAMES the Great, 540
The Life of St. JOHN, 546
The Life of St. PHILIP, 556
The Life of St. BARTHOLOMEW, 560
The Life of St. MATTHEW, 563
The Life of St. THOMAS, 568
The Life of St. JAMES the Leſs, 572
The Life of St. SIMON the Zealot, 578
The Life of St. JUDE, 581
The Life of St. MATTHIAS, 585
The Life of St. MARK the Evangeliſt, 589
The Life of St. LUKE the Evangeliſt, 594
Diptycha Apoſtolica; *or, an enumeration of the Apoſtles and their Succeſſors in the five great Apoſtolical Churches,* 598

AN
INDEX
OF
The PRINCIPAL MATTERS contained in the History of the *Lives* of CHRIST and his *Apoſtles*.

Note, *Where the Numbers are double, the firſt ſtands for the Page, the ſecond for the Section of it.*

A.

ABEL's ſacrifice accepted, by what ſign, vj. 7.
ABEN-EZRA, his doctrine concerning health, 291. 21.
ABRAHAM, the friend of God, xv. 17. Was originally an idolator, xiv. 17. The character given of Abraham by God himſelf, v. 7. Tales of Jewiſh writers concerning him, xiv. 17. His devotion and faith, xiv. 17. The covenant between God and Abraham, xv. 17. & v. 5. He was juſtified by faith, without circumciſion, 531. 11. His ready and hearty compliance with what God pleaſed to lay on him, v. 5. xiv. 17. His ſincere piety, vj. 8. His eminency for religion noted in ſeveral inſtances, xiv. 17. His great hoſpitality and bounty, xv. 17. The religious order of his family, xv. 17. The promiſed Meſſiah to deſcend from him, xv. 17. A grove planted by Abraham, vij. 8.
Abſolution to dying ſinners, how far efficacious, 383. 13. That it is better omitted than granted to evil livers, 383. 13. The advantage of Abſolution to good men, 388. 23. Whether to be given to all who deſire it, 388. 24.
Acceptable year of the Lord, what it means, 176. 22.
Accuſation of criminals not to be aggravated odiouſly, 374. 8. Ought to be only for purpoſes of charity, 374. 8. The Accuſation of Jeſus, 336. 24.
Actions. The Actions of Jeſus confuted his accuſers, 372. 2. Religious Actions ſhould be ſtated and regular, vij. 9. viij. 10.
Acts of virtue to be performed by ſick and dying perſons, 385. 19. & 386. 30.
ADAM buried in Golgotha, 338. 3. The precepts given to Adam and his children, iij. 3.
Adoption of ſons, 302. 7.
ADRIAN the emperor, built a temple to Venus and Adonis in the place of Chriſt's birth, 12. 6.
Advent. The Advent of our Lord muſt be entertained with joy, 147. 3.
Adulterer, the many inquietudes he is ſubject to, 283. 5.
Adultery made more criminal under the goſpel than under the law, 237. 37, 38. Law of the Locrians againſt Adultery, 393. 8. Fornication included in it under the law of Moſes, 237. 37. Adultery of the eyes, 237. 38.
ÆGIDIUS, a ſaying of his, 53. 10.
Affections and deſires, the way of ſerving God by them, 39. 8, 9. If holy, are guided by God, 145. 3.
Affirmations and negations, ſolemn atteſtations that come not under the reſtraint of an oath, 230. 23.
Afflictions, the excellency of enduring them patiently, 385. 17. — exemplified in St. Paul and Epaphroditus, 385. 17.
Age. See *Life*.
AGESILAUS was more commended for his modeſty and obedience, than for his proſperous good conduct, 46. 25.
AGNES, her miraculous veil, 375. 10.
Agony. Chriſt's Agony in the garden, 334. 20. The opinions of Euthymius, Theophylact and others, concerning the expreſſion of *tears of blood* ſhed by Chriſt in his Agony, 367. 6.
Albs, or white garments worn by prieſts, what they are ſymbols of, 375. 9.
Alms intended as a defenſative againſt covetouſneſs, 247. 1. Ordinarily to be according to our ability, 247. 1.—ſometimes beyond, in what caſes, 247. 1. The neceſſities of all indigent people the object of our Alms, 248. 3. The manner of giving them a part of chriſtian prudence, 248. 3.
Altars in uſe very early, though we have no account of them till after the flood, vj. 8. What repreſented by the two Altars in Solomon's temple, 78. 4.
Ambition, is an affliction to him that has it, 64. 6.
AMBROSE, St. his excuſe for St. Peter, 447. 7. Was ſuppoſed author of the account of St. Peter's reſtoring a dead man to life, 465. 4. His argument for baptizing infants, 136. 33.
Amorous young man cured by a ſtratagem, 263. 2.
ANANIAS of Damaſcus, his errand to St. Paul, 485. 9.
ANANIAS and Sapphira, 210. 4. & 222. 12. Their ſtory, and ſudden deaths, 456 8.
ANDREW, St. born at Bethſaida, and brother to Simon Peter, 535. 1. Was one of the ſelect diſciples of St. John Baptiſt, 536. 2. Allotted to preach the goſpel in and about Scythia, 536. 3. His travels through barbarous countries, 536. 3. & 537. 4. Cruelty of the Jews at Sinope, 537. 3. Ordains Philologus biſhop of that city, 537. 3. Goes to Conſtantinople, and ordains Stachys biſhop of that church, 537. 4. Is baniſhed thence, and goes to Patræ a city of Achaia, 537. 4. His diſcourſe with the proconſul, 537. 5. & 538. 6. — who commits him to priſon, 537. 5. — and condemns him to death, 538. 6. Is moſt cruelly ſcourged, and then faſtned to the croſs with cords, 538. 7. Was alive two whole days on the croſs, 391. 4. & 538. 7. His death and burial, 538. 8. The miracle wrought at his tomb, 538. 8. St. Andrew, with another diſciple, the firſt who followed after Chriſt, 145. 2. 147. 2. 173. 8. & 536. 2. He brought Peter to Chriſt, 147. 3. 148. 5. & 536. 2. St. Andrew's body removed to Conſtantinople, 539. 8. His character and encomium, 539. 9.

Angels created free agents, *Pref.* (xj) 19. They that fell, ſhut out from repentance, why, 186. 2. Miniſtred at the birth of Chriſt, 12. 4. Bring tidings to the ſhepherds of the ſame, 22. 4. Were multiplied into a choir to ſing Gloria Patri at Chriſt's birth, 23. 5. — and taught the church the chriſtian hymn, 23. 5. The Angels rejoiced greatly at the redemption of mankind, 25. 1. In what manner an Angel comforted our Lord, 367. 5. Were guardians of Chriſt's ſepulchre, 402. 10. One of them rolled the ſtone from the mouth of it, 396. 1. The Greeks were of opinion, that the ſtar which appeared to the wiſe men was an Angel, 24. 8. A guardian Angel imagined to be appointed over every Chriſtian at his baptiſm, 119. 26. Are preſent in right of God at places of worſhip, 167. 9,10. & 170. 15. Angels appointed to preſerve them who faſt piouſly, 263. 3.

Anger, the ill effects of it, 284. 7. Anger without a cauſe, forbidden by Chriſt, 232. 27,28. In what caſes allowable, 233. 29. & 234. 32. Muſt not be of long continuance, 233. 30. Anger of the heart forbidden, 232. 27. Is ſinful according to the degree of it, 233. 31. Remedies againſt Anger, 235. 35,36.

ANNA the propheteſs, received Chriſt as the reward of her long faſting and prayer, 33. 5. & 49. 6.

ANNAS, chief of the Sanhedrim, 335. 23. — ſends Jeſus to Caiaphas, 335. 23.

Anniverſaries of Chriſt's nativity and reſurrection to be religiouſly obſerved, 230. 24. & 231. 26.

—— of ſaints, 231. 26.

Anointing the feet, an unuſual prodigality which Otho firſt taught Nero, 277. 9.

ANTHONY, MARK, how he ſtirr'd up the Roman people to revenge the death of Cæſar, 52. 9.

ANTHONY, St. the ſtories of him falſe and ridiculous, 105. 25. How tempted to vainglory, 348. 6.

Antichriſt. Chriſt's prophecy concerning him, 269. 11. His pretence not furthered but hindered by his falſe miracles, 269. 11.

ANTIOCHUS EPIPHANES, his profanation of the temple of the Jews, xxxiv.

Antiquity, the neglect of it unjuſtly charged on the Proteſtants, 480. 14.

APOLLONIUS, his report of a tradition concerning the apoſtles, 474. 5.

APOLLONIUS *of Tyana*, miracles ſaid to be done by him at Epheſus, *&c.* 268. 7,8.

Apoſtaſy from the Chriſtian faith judged unpardonable, in what ſenſe, 189. 10, 11. Is the ſame as atheiſm in the firſt period of the world, and idolatry in the 2d, 192. 18.

Apoſtates loſe the benefits of their former redemption and expiation, 192. 18.

Apoſtles choſen by Chriſt, 276. 5. The firſt and prime claſs of officers in his church, 414. 1. Are ſet apart for it by prayer, 276. 5. & 436. 1,2. The duration and continuance of their office, 427. 14. The buſineſs and employment of the Apoſtles, 417. 5. Their fitneſs for it, 421. 8. Were a kind of ſpiritual conſuls, according to St. Chryſoſtom, 415. 1. Sent out by two and two, 276. 5. The inſtructions given them at firſt ſetting out, 276. 6. The title of Apoſtle, whence derived, 415. 2. Often given to others beſide the twelve, 582. 3. The nature of their office, 415. 3. Their number fixed to twelve, 416. & 436. 2. Different conjectures of the fathers on that number, 416. 4. When and by whom the Apoſtles were baptized, not mentioned in ſcripture, 437. 3. They travel over the whole world in a ſhort time, 418. 6. Were infallible in their doctrine, though not free from miſcarriages in their lives, 421. 8. The Apoſtles eye-witneſſes of what they aſſerted, 421. 8. Were endued with power to work miracles, 422. 9. — all wrought by them were beneficial to the world, 457. 9. Their various ſupernatural gifts, 423. 10. Had power to inflict corporal puniſhments, 426. 13. Rejoiced in their exterior privileges, 298. 1. The Apoſtles encounter'd with the moſt diſcerning, and overcame the moſt wiſe and learned, 433. 6. Why very little account left of the actions of many of them, 535. 1. The Apoſtles boldneſs before the Jewiſh Sanhedrim admired, 455. 6. Are forbidden by the council to preach in the name of Chriſt, but refuſe to comply, 455. 7. They rejoice in being accounted worthy to ſuffer for the name of Chriſt, 457. 9. Three of them honoured with a new name, 542. 4. Why theſe three admitted to a more peculiar intimacy with their Maſter, 541. 3,4. As they beheld Chriſt's transfiguration, ſo they ſaw alſo his agony, 365. 2.

Appeals to Rome, frequently demanded by ſuch as had the privilege of Roman citizens, 509. 4.

Appetites natural to man, which the firſt, *Pref.* (ij) 4. — the next, (iv) 8. —— regular, whereby ſerved, (viij) 13. —— irregular, (viij) 15. When inordinate not to be called natural inclination, being not made for themſelves, but for their deſigned end, (xx) 34.

ARIUS, the manner of his death, 293. 24. & 324. 6.

Ark. That of Noah a long time building, but might have been finiſhed in much leſs, xiii. 15.

Ark of God, what prefigured by it, xxvj. 6.

Arms not to be taken up againſt our prince, 241. 4.

ARNOBIUS, his apology for Chriſtianity, 433. 6.

ARSENIUS, St. ſad and troubled upon his death-bed, 382. 11.

Aſcenſion of Jeſus into heaven, 398. 5.

A chapel dedicated to the Aſcenſion by Helena, 451.

Atheiſm the ſource of ſin, *Pref.* (xij) 20.

Athenians, their ſuperſtition, and veneration for the gods, 495. & 496. 7.

AUGUSTUS, his refuſal of the title of *Lord* about the time of Chriſt's birth, 22. 2. — the declaration of the oracle about it, 22. 2. He ſhuts the gates of the temple of Janus for the third time, 22. 3.

Auſterities of the body uſeful chiefly in carnal temptations, 82. 17. Of good uſe in ſubduing all paſſions of the ſenſitive appetite, 83. 18. Auſterities too heavy and numerous make religion a burden, 103. 20.

AUSTIN, St. his ſtory of an impatient perſon, 84. 21.

His deſcription of the corps of Cæſar, 108. 36.

His prayer for death, 386. 19.

Authority muſt not be contemned in ſmaller impoſitions, 43. 20,21.

B.

B*Abel*, tower of, xiv. 16.

BALAAM, his prophecy of the Meſſiah famous throughout the eaſt, 23. 8. His prayer explicated, 288. 14.

Baptiſm, its origin, 111. 4. Inſtituted by Chriſt, for what end, 406. 17. 112. 11. & 120. It conſiſts of two parts, body and ſpirit, 120. In Baptiſm all our ſins are forgiven, 188. 7. It not only pardons ſin for the preſent, but is efficacious to the pardon of future ſins, 115. 98. & 191. 17. Faith and repentance neceſſary preparatives to it, 188. 7. — not neceſſary to the ſacrament of itſelf, but to ſome perſons who receive it, 122. 3. Baptiſm the only ſtate in this life wherein our ſins are declared to be fully and abſolutely pardoned, 299. 3. This ſacrament and its effects go not always in conjunction, 121. 2. Procures grace and pardon of ſin to ſuch as are rightly diſpoſed to receive it, 119. 27. The pardon of ſins committed after Baptiſm difficult, imperfect and revokable, 190. 14,15, *&c.* 116. 19. Originally a Jewiſh ceremony, by which proſelytes were initiated, xliv. & 112. 9. Was practiſed by John the Baptiſt and the diſciples of Chriſt, at the ſame time, 160. 4. & 112. 9. — why left to them to adminiſter, 181. 1. Chriſt, though no ſinner, yet being made ſin for us, received this ſacrament of ſinners, 88. 1. By his Baptiſm he ſanctified the water to the remiſſion of ſins, 88. 2. & 110. 1, 2. — ſaid to have been miraculouſly endued with a healing quality, 88. 4. — other miraculous events by Baptiſm, 119. 26. An early Baptiſm moſt ſecure, 117. 19. Not to be repeated, why, 115. 18. St. Baſil and venerable Bede, their accounts of Baptiſm, 118. 23. & 114. 17. Neceſſary before the reception of the euchariſt, 333. 16. & 357. 12. The power of the church as to the outward act, 136. 34.

Baptiſt. See JOHN the Baptiſt.

BARBARA, ſtory of her ſuffering death, 375. 10.

BARNABAS, St. introduces Paul to the other apoſtles, 487. 2. Accompanies him at Antioch, and thence to Jeruſalem, 487. 2,3. Their extraordinary reception at Lyſtra, 489. 5. Barnabas and Paul diſagree and ſeparate, 491. 1. The former takes his nephew for a companion, and goes to Cyprus, his native country, 491. 1. See PAUL.

BARONIUS, the miſtakes he and other popiſh writers have been guilty of, as to the time of St. Peter's abode at Rome, 474. 4, 5.

BARTHOLOMEW, St. his ſaying on charity, 154. 9. This apoſtle ſuppoſed by many to be the ſame with Nathanael, 560. 1. The arguments for this opinion, 561. 2. Was a native of Galilee, 561. 3. His coming to Chriſt, 561. 3. He preached the Goſpel in India, 562. 4. — where he left St. Matthew's goſpel, afterwards found there by Pantænus, 562. 4. Accompanies St. Philip at Hierapolis, 562. 5. Is condemned and faſtened to the croſs, but afterwards releaſed, 562. 5. Was at laſt crucified at Urbanople, a city of Cilicia, 562. 5. The ſeveral removes of his body afterwards, 562. 5. A fabulous goſpel aſcribed to him, 562. 5.

BASIL, St. prayed God to remove the head-ach, 80. 9. Was recalled from exile for his reverend behaviour in the duties of his function, 169. 13.
Beatifick Viſion. Whether it be enjoyed by ſaints before the day of judgment, 398. 1. & 404. 15.
Beatitudes, (the eight) contain the duty of a Chriſtian, 209. 2, 3, &c. — by contradictions to nature, and improbable cauſes, bring the wiſeſt ends to paſs, 296. 31.
Beginners in religion to be ruled by an experienced guide, 103. 22. Have a conditional certainty of ſalvation, 302. 7.
Beginnings of evil to be reſiſted, 105. 26.
Belief, the power it has in worldly concerns, 156. 14. — comes far ſhort in heavenly ones, 156. 15. & 157. 16.
BELLARMINE, his ſhifts to prove St. Peter's ſupremacy, 419. 7. & 472. 1.
BERNARD, St. his moderate deſire, 58. 25. His counſel to avoid ſin, 109. 36. A devout conſideration of his, 347. 3.
Bethlehem, the birth-place of Jeſus, 11. 2. The babes of Bethlehem had the reward of martyrs, 66. 11.
Bethſaida, in Galilee, called Julias in honour of Julia the daughter of Auguſtus, 429. 1. — the birth-place of St. Peter and other apoſtles, 430. 1. Condemned, together with Chorazin and Capernaum, for infidelity, 277. 8.
Birth of Chriſt illuſtrated with miracles, 22. 1. The place of it converted to a church, 12. 6. Univerſal peace at Chriſt's Birth, 22. 3. The wiſe men and ſhepherds the meſſengers of it to both Jews and Gentiles, 28. 1. & 31. 12.
Biſhops ſucceed to, and were anciently ſtiled, apoſtles, 427. 14. In the primitive times, Biſhops were in a manner conſtrained to undertake the prelacy, 90. 2. How ſworn, 230. 23. That it is lawful to deſire the office of a Biſhop on juſt motives, 90. 2.
Blaſphemy falſly charged on Jeſus, 310. 23.
Bleſſings of the goſpel, 405. 16. Bleſſing aſſured to them who perform all God's commands, 63. 3.
Blood, why forbid to be eaten, 527. & iv. 4.
Bloody Sweat. What that of Chriſt did effect, and prefigure, 367. 6.
Bowing the head, and proſtration, geſtures of reverence, vj. 7. & 260. 22. That bowing the knee, proſtration, &c. may without ſin be uſed to great perſonages, 221. 8.
Bramble of Judea, an emblem of anger, 233. 30.
Breaking of bread, Chriſt made known by it, 396. 2.
Breaſts. Thoſe that are dry a curſe, 20. 12.
Britiſh Iſlands converted early to the Chriſtian faith, 418. 6.

C.

CAIAPHAS propheſied, and determined the death of Chriſt, 329. 2. & 372. 3. He rent his clothes, contrary to the law, 336. 25. & 372. 3. By his ſentence he prejudged all the Sanhedrim, 373. 5.
CAIN, his conſciouſneſs of having done evil, ij. 2. Brought his oblation *in proceſs of time*, what meant by it, vij. 9. The quarrel between Cain and Abel ſaid to have been about a wiſe, ix. 11.
CALCEDON, PIERRE, condemned the *pucelle* of France, 322. 4. His death accounted a judgment, 322. 4.
Calling. Diligence in our Calling accepted, though it be a mean one, 28. 3. 29. 4, &c.
Calves ſet up at Dan and Bethel, why, xxxiij. 16.
CAMBYSES, his preſent to an Ethiopian king, 277. 9.
Canon. That of the Old Teſtament compleated by Ezra with the aſſiſtance of Malachi, xxxij. 15.
CANTIPRATANUS, THO. his relation of a young gentleman condemned to death, 206. 49. — and of two religious perſons who tempted each other, 292. 22.
Caſual and contingent cauſes cut off the life of a ſinner, 292. 24.
CEADWALLA's vow, 259. 20.
Cenſure. That we muſt not be guilty of uncharitable cenſures, 324. 6.
Centurion of the iron legion converted, 276. 7.
Ceremonial Laws, the end of their inſtitution, xxiv. 5. — were ſhadows of good things to come, xxiv. 5. — deſigned to point out the evangelical ſtate, xxviij. 10.
CERINTHUS, the heretick, a man of looſe principles, 552. 12. His death, 177. 2.
Certainty of ſalvation, 298. 1, 2, &c.
CHAD, St. his practice to avert God's judgments, 325. 7.
Chance, or contingency, what meant by it, 292. 24.
Charity, being exerciſed towards Chriſt's ſervants, is accepted as done to Chriſt, 178. 4. It muſt increaſe with our wealth, 247. 2. That we ought to be charitable to one another, 374. 8. Charity makes us partakers of the joys and ſufferings of all Chriſtians, 25. 2. It is the meaſure of our own peace, 26. 5. Pachomius converted by Charity, 73. 2. Is conſiſtent with looking after our own right, 245. 9. The Charity of Chriſtians of more effect than civil relation, 149. 8. Is the laſt of graces, 162. 5. How abuſed by many Chriſtians, 155. 12. Charity abſolutely neceſſary to a right faith, 154. 9. Hath its effects in benefits, or alms — the right manner of beſtowing them, 247. 1, 2, &c. The law of Charity a law of nature, *Pref.* (xxij) 38.
Chaſtity, how repreſented by a painter, 105. 27. Eaſier to die for it than to live with it, 217. 18. Chaſtity of the mind, the eyes and all the members, enjoined, 237. 38. Abſtains from all indecencies, 237. 38.
Children, the duty of nurſing them inſiſted on, 16. 1, 2. Children of God expoſed to temptations, 92. 7, 8.
CHRIST, the Saviour of the world, and God eternal, 13. 5. Is born of a virgin, 3. 5. & 11. 2. — the poverty and humility of his birth, 12. 5. & 13. 4. He was firſt revealed to poor men, 26. 6. Is honoured by the wiſe men, 28. 1, 2, &c. His circumciſion, 32. 1, 2. Is baptized by John, 87. 1, 2, &c. His prayer at his baptiſm (from a very ancient copy) 137. His faſting and temptation in the wilderneſs, 88. 5, 6. Chriſt choſe to do all the miniſteries of religion, 89. 1. He is God and man, 13. 6. His manifeſtation, 145. 1, 2. The firſt thing he did, was to reſtore the law to its original purity, xxxvj. 19. His preeminence to Moſes as a lawgiver, xlv. 6. — is a phyſician alſo, 236. 36. His ſermon on the mount, 173. 11. & 208. 1, &c. His diſcourſe with the woman of Samaria, 171. 1, 2, &c. — and with Nicodemus, 159. 2, 3. He drives the buyers and ſellers out of the temple, 159. 1. 161. 2, &c. Different opinions of the people concerning him, 439. 1. His diſciples fall away from him, 438. 6. His candour and ſweetneſs towards them, 446. 4. His diſcourſe to them concerning who ſhould be the greateſt, 543. 6. His transfiguration on the mount, 306. 11. & 441. 5. He enters Jeruſalem in triumph, 342. 4. & 443. 8. He made a covenant of faith and repentance, which is conſigned in baptiſm, 188. 9. Chriſt inſtitutes the ſacrament of his body and blood, 333. 17. Foretels who ſhould betray him, 334. 18. His laſt ſermon, 334. 19. Waſhes his diſciples feet, 333. 16. 346. 2. & 444. 1. His agony, 334. 20. & 446. 4. Is apprehended, 335. 21. — and deſerted by his diſciples, 335. 22. & 446. 5. Chriſt brought before Annas, who ſends him bound to Caiaphas, 335. 23. Is condemned by the highprieſt, 336. 25. He is carried to Pilate, who ſends him to Herod, 336. 26. Pilate, to pleaſe the Jews, condemns Jeſus, 337. 28. Why he was ſtripped naked, 375. 10. His internal comforts at his death, 394. 9. Chriſt's reſurrection, and firſt aſcenſion into heaven, 396. 2. As God, not ſubject to ſufferings, but as man, 391. 4. He appears to Mary, and the two diſciples going to Emmaus, 396. 2. & 448. 2. — to Peter and others by the ſea ſide, 449. 3. — appears, and ſtands in the midſt of the diſciples, the doors being ſhut, 397. 2, 3. — and afterwards was ſeen of five hundred at at once, 397. 5. He commiſſions the apoſtles to preach the goſpel, 398. 5. His laſt appearance, and aſcenſion into heaven, 398. 5, 6. & 451. He triumphed over death and hell, 402. 7. Chriſt reſigned his life voluntarily, 37. 2. 391. 4. & 393. 8. It was impoſſible he ſhould deſpair, 392. 5. He was more ready to pay our ranſom than we to ask it, 393. 8. His paſſion cured our miſeries, 390. 2. — every minute of it was ſufficient for the reconciliation of all the world, *Exhort.* [i] 3. Chriſt paid more for our obedience than for our pardon [i] 3. He for himſelf merited the exaltation of his humanity, his name, his kingdom, &c. 391. 5. By his humility, poverty and uneaſineſs, he ſought againſt the luſt of the fleſh, of the eyes, and the pride of life, 26. 8. Chriſt was ſubject to human paſſions, but thoſe perfect and regular, 394. 11. He is our pattern, *Exh.* [ii] 7. How far imitable by us, [iv] 11. How and to what purpoſes Chriſt overcame death, 402. 7. The infinite value of his ſufferings, [j] 3. Was *viator* and *comprehenſor* in his paſſion, 391. 5. — he began and ended it in a garden, 401. 5. & 445. 3. He underwent ſo many degrees of paſſion and ſo many kinds of virtues for our example, *Exh.* [j] 2. He was redeemed at firſt and ſold at laſt for an ignoble price, 48. 3. Chriſt is our advocate for actions relative to him, 343. 8, 9. His prayer was effectual for his enemies, 394. 10. Chriſt muſt be ſought for in his ordinances, 148. 4. His ſervants are moſt honourable, 242. 5. Is beſt reliſhed by them who leaſt reliſh worldly things, 49. 5. His ſufferings abundantly recompenſed, 401. 6.

Chriſtian prudence and ſimplicity, 149. 6, 7.

Chriſtian liberty not to be betrayed, 316. 8.

Chriſtianity. This diſpenſation more excellent and holy than the Moſaical ſanctions, xlv. 6, *&c.* 219. 2. Is more univerſal and extenſive than the Jewiſh diſpenſation, xlviij. 11. The yoke of Chriſtianity far eaſier than that of Moſes's law, 296. 33. & 280. 1. Its ſuperior excellency to all other religions, *Pref.* (xxvj) 43. Is more pleaſant than ſin — more natural, 280. 1. — and leſs troubleſome, 281. (Vid. *Preface.*) Chriſtianity is the way of peace, 284. 7. — and of content, 285. 9. — of riches, long life, and health, 287. 13, 14, *&c.* — of wiſdom, 294. 27. Its ſudden and wonderful progreſs in the world, 418. 6. — all nations flocked to it, as was before prophesied, xvj. 18. Was planted by mean and unlikely inſtruments, 432. 5. — and ſpread abroad through the cruelty of its perſecutors, 458. 1. The gifts of the holy Ghoſt arguments for the truth of Chriſtianity, 302. 7. The obſervance of its laws ſufficient to make all ſocieties of men happy, *Pref.* (xxv) — as the tranſgreſſion of them makes men unhappy, (xxvj) 42. Why charged with only two poſitive inſtitutions, Baptiſm and the Lord's ſupper, xx. 22. The excellency, eaſe and reaſonableneſs of its inſtitutions, 280. 1, 2, *&c.* Chriſtianity eſteemed a religion contrary to the wiſdom of the world, *Pref.* (j). This miſtake a reaſon why ſome men become unchriſtian, (j). Chriſtianity is a reſtitution and perfection of the law of nature, (ij) 1. & (xv) 26. The moſt perfect deſign that ever was for man's happineſs, (xiv) 24. Thoſe who profeſs to believe Chriſtianity, and do not practiſe it, have all the ſigns and characters of fools, 294. 27, 28, *&c.* The Chriſtian religion hath excellent ends, and uſes proportionate means, 296. 31.

Chriſtians, the diſciples of Chriſt firſt ſo called at Antioch, 487. 2. Their righteouſneſs muſt exceed the righteouſneſs of the ſcribes and phariſees, 220. 3, 4, *&c.* The hopes of Chriſtians built on the reſurrection, 404. 14. & 405. 15. Ought to be exemplary in their lives, 219. 1. The firſt Gentile converts obſerved part of the Moſaick law, iv. 3. The faith of Chriſtians the ſame with that of the patriarchs, according to Euſebius, xx. 22. They are to be like children, 308. 15. Had one common treaſury, 456. 8. Their loyalty to civil powers, but muſt obey God rather than men, 456. 7. Oaths, wherein forbidden and allowed to Chriſtians, 227. 19, 20. Refuſed to ſwear by the genius of their prince, becauſe it was a dæmon, 227. 19. That Chriſtians, for the moſt part, take their religion on truſt, 151. 1.

CHRYSOSTOM, his argument for the divinity of the Chriſtian religion, 418. 6. — and for reverence to holy places, 167. 8.

Church. The ſtate of the church under the Moſaical diſpenſation, xxi. 1. — of the Jewiſh, at the time of our Saviour's coming, xxxv. 18. The church built upon the confeſſion of Peter, and impregnable againſt hell-gates, 306. 9. Temporal poſſeſſions dangerous to the Church, 65. 8, 9. — deſerves, but does not need great riches, 65. 8. The Church's endowments of advantage to the poor, 65. 8, 9. That the Church ſhould imitate Chriſt in his poverty, and be ready to remit of temporal rights, 65. 8. The authority of the Church in relation to ſacraments, 136. 34. The houſe of John Mark conſecrated into a Church, 165. 5. Church in paradiſe called the preſence of God, 167. 7. The reſidence of angels, 167. 8.

Churches, the manner of firſt introducing images into them, 226. 17. The Churches demoliſhed by heathen perſecutions, afterwards rebuilt with incomparable beauty, 166. 7. — the ancient Chriſtians thought they honoured God by this, 168. 12. — it adds honour to us, and efficacy to our devotion, 169. 13. That Churches are holy places, in what ſenſe, and to what purpoſes, 163. 2, 3. — how to be uſed, 168. 11. Their beſt ornament the holineſs of worſhippers, 170. 14. They are deſecrated by vice, 170. 14. Churches built on mount Tabor, 307. 11.

Circumcellians, their faith, 156. 15.

Circumciſion, the ſign of God's covenant with Abraham, v. 5. xv. 17. xxv. 5. & 111. 7. The high opinion the Jews had of this rite, 530. 9. & v. 5. Not practiſed in the wilderneſs, the reaſon of it, v. 5. Why adminiſter'd on the eighth day, v. 5. Circumciſion the forerunner of baptiſm, but not a type of it, 111. 5. The argument drawn from it in defence of infant-baptiſm, 127. 14. Was an earneſt of the paſſion, 33. 1. Not declared to be remiſſive of original ſin, 33. 1. The Circumciſion of Chriſt ſerved many purpoſes, 33. 2. It was an act of obedience, 33. 2.

CLEMENS ALEXAND. A ſpeech of our Saviour to his apoſtles recorded by him, 474. 5.

Clergy. Duty of the Clergy ſet forth under the parable of a ſteward, 311. 26. The ambitious ſeeking of dignities the peſt of the church, 90. 2. Whether there be not more care taken to ſecure the revenues of the Clergy, than publick charity, and the honour of religion, 65. 9. Thoſe who were exemplary in their lives, honoured and aſſiſted by the people, 286. 12. That the wickedneſs of a miniſter does not vacate his commiſſion, 585. 1.

Coats of Skins, thought to be the ſkins of beaſts offered in ſacrifice, ix. 11. This covering choſen by God to put our firſt parents in mind, how deep they were ſunk into the animal life by their fall, ix. 11.

Commandments. See *Decalogue.* The firſt Commandment often repeated, and enforced by Chriſt, 221. 7. The ſecond omitted in the catechiſms of ſome churches, why, 224. 16. The third, wherein explained and enforced by Chriſt, 226. 18, *&c.*

COMMODUS, his triumphant entry into Rome, 443. 8.

Communion of Saints, profitable and pleaſant, 68. 1, 2, *&c.* See *Lord's Supper.*

Company-keeping to be avoided, 102. 16.

Compliance with cuſtoms of civility, ſometimes proves a temptation, 102. 16.

Conception. That of the bleſſed virgin no ways impure, 48. 1.

Confeſſion to a miniſter of religion, 207. 51. & 387. 23. Its uſefulneſs to ſpiritual perſons, 207.

Confirmation, a corroborative of baptiſmal grace, 193. 20. & 289. 16.

Conſcience, the horrors of it in guilty perſons, 586. 2. — inſtanced in Cain, ij. 2. — and Adam, ix. 11.

Conſecration of the euchariſt myſterious, 352. 2.

Contemplation, an exalted degree of meditation, 56. 20. & 58. 27.

Continence, more difficult to preſerve it in widowhood than in virginity, 81. 12.

Contrition, 200. 36. — alone not ſufficient for pardon of ſin, 206. 51.

Converts. The too great zeal of ſome new Converts, hurries them into many miſtakes, 103. 20. The duty of ſpiritual guides in regard to them, 103. 21. They are often indulged with exterior comforts, 30. 9.

Corban, what, xxxviij. 21. & 69. 1.

CORNELIUS, his viſion, and meſſage to St. Peter, 459. 3. — falls down at his feet, 459. 3. Is baptized, with his family, 460. 4. Was the firſt-fruits of the converſion of the Gentiles, 463. 1.

Covetouſneſs a leſs dangerous vice than luſt, 239. 41. The fruits of it, 344. 10.

Court of the Gentiles, why added by Solomon, xxvj. 6.

Criers, 236. 35.

Croſs. That we ought to bear our own croſs by Chriſt's example, 390. 2.

Crucifixion, not a preſent death, but lingring torture, 391. 4.

Cruelties. The inhuman Cruelties of Herod, Q. Flaminius and Marius, 160. 5.

Cure of Souls, a dangerous and grave employment, 87. 1.

CYPRIAN, St. his obſervation on the death of the infants at Bethlehem, 217. 18.

D.

D*Æmons*, xiv. 16. & xxxij. 16.

DAVID, his ſaying concerning Saul, 290. 20. He and Joſiah eminent for their love of God, 224. 14.

Death, how brought into the world, *Pref.* (x) 18. A holy life the beſt preparation for it, 377. 1. & 380. 6. — this ſhewn by the parable of the ten virgins, 377. 1. Why the time of our Death concealed from us, 205. 47. Untimely death not always a mark of damnation, 321. 1. Since all our life we are dying, we ſhould be always doing the offices of preparation, 378. 2. The meditation on Death of great uſe againſt temptation, 107. 34, *&c.* The conſideration of it farther enforced, 378. 3, 4, 5. How much deſired by many good men, 386. 19. The ſudden Deaths of divers eminent perſons, 378. 3, 4. The Death of man ſanctified and conquered by that of Chriſt, 386. 19. The method taken by ſome curates to prepare a vicious perſon for Death, 380. 6, 7. St. Bernard's advice concerning Death, 109. 36.

Death-bed Repentance, the hazard and danger of it, 200. 36, 37, *&c.* 379. 5. 380. 6. 206. 48, 49. & 383. 12. See *Repentance.*

Decalogue. The Decalogue expounded, 219. 1, 2, *&c.* Conſiſts of prohibitions rather than precepts — the moral precepts greatly enforced by the law of Chriſt, 221. 5. Is ſo far from being a complete ſyſtem of natural laws, that it is deficient in many inſtances, xxiij. 4.

Defence of ourſelves and our innocence in judgment, permitted,

mitted, 241. 2. — not againſt our prince, 241. 2.
Deluge, xij. 15. See NOAH.
Demoniacks cured, 499. 5.
Deſcription of Jeſus by way of meditation, *&c.* 14. 5, 6.
Deſpair, the dreadful effects of it, 373. 6. & 379. 5. How to be cured, 382. 10.
DEUCALION, the account of his deluge conſonant to that of Noah, xij. 15.
Devil, 170. 15. — tempts Chriſt in the wilderneſs, 90. 1, *&c.* The Devil furniſhes evil perſons with apt inſtruments, 344. 10. His malice impotent, and can hurt none without their conſent, 94. 12, 13. When the Devil has brought men to deſpair, he ſuffers the hardened conſcience to grow more tender, 373. 6. Thought to have a delegated power in great mutations of ſtates, 94. 14. His various methods of tempting mankind, 96. 4, 5, *&c.* Caſting out Devils a proof of divinity, 269. 10. & 305. 7. How they appeared to Jeſus in the deſart, 89. 7. — they confeſſed him to be the Chriſt, 276. 4.
Devotion, why many books on that ſubject meet with a bad reception, *Pref.* (xxvj) 43. Publick and private Devotion compared, 69. 2.
DIONYSIUS, the Areopagite, made the firſt biſhop of Athens, 497. His travels, and the fabulous miracles aſcribed to him, 497. Suidas's hyperbolical praiſe of his works, 497.
DIONYSIUS, biſhop of Alexandria, his account of St. John's Apocalypſe, 553. 14. — of his other writings, *&c.* 555.
Diſciple, the ſame as one of the faithful, 152. 4.
Diſciples firſt called, 173. 8. The twelve diſpute who ſhall be the greateſt, 307. 14. The ſeventy Diſciples ſent out, 310. 24. Chriſt's ſermon to his Diſciples before his ſuffering, 450. 5. — his bleſſing them, 450. 5. Why Chriſt appeared not ſooner to his Diſciples after his reſurrection, 449. 3.
Diſobedience, in ſmaller things, a temptation of the devil, 40. 10, 11, *&c.* Diſobedience to God and man compared, 40. 10, 11, *&c.*
Diſpenſations not to be too freely accepted, 32. 1, 2, *&c.* The three great Diſpenſations of the church; the patriarchal, the Moſaical, and the evangelical, conſidered, ij. 1, 2, *&c.* The great defect of the Jewiſh Diſpenſation, and the advantages of the Chriſtian oeconomy, xlvij. 8. — the univerſal extent of it, xlviij. 11.
Doubting the iſſue of our prayers, in what ſenſe lawful, 256. 15. Doubting in an article, how cured, 380. 8.
Dove. The Dove deſcending on Chriſt was myſterious, 91. 5. The Samaritans worſhiped God under the repreſentation of a Dove, l. 12.
Dreams and Viſions, xxx. 13. Dreams, viſions, and other ways of revelation, uſed to communicate the mind of God to his church, iv. 4.
Druids, their manner of worſhip, whence derived, vij. 8.
Drunkards, think themſelves engaged to ſuch as invite them to a fever, 282. 5.
Duelling, a ſinful and pernicious practice, to be reſtrained by the higheſt ſeverity, 243. 6, 7.

E.

E*Arneſt* of the Spirit, what meant by it, 302. 7.
Eating ſhould be for neceſſity, not delight, 82. 15.
EBION, his hereſy, what, 552. 12.
Eccleſiaſtical Dignities, the ambitious ſeeking them a crime, 90. 2. The authority of Eccleſiaſtical cenſures, 406. 16. Eccleſiaſtical regiment, how differing from ſecular, 307. 14. Eccleſiaſtical power verified in heaven, 308. 16.
Eccleſiaſticks, bound to communicate often, 362. 18. Ought not to ſeek after worldly pomp and riches, 97. 6.
Eclipſe of the Sun. That at the time of Chriſt's paſſion miraculous, 339. 34.
Education, its influence on all people, 134. 28.
Egyptians, worſhiped an infant in a cradle and a virgin in a bed, 62. 9. The Egyptian idols fall to the ground at Chriſt's appearance, 62. 9. — he dwelt in Egypt in a garden of balſam, 62. 9.
Election of holy perſons, infallible in the general, but fallible in the particular — as in the caſe of Judas, 298. 1. & 301. 6. — inſtances of the Election and rejecting of whole nations, 299. 2. The manner of it paſt finding out, 299. 2. That we ſhould neither be confident on the one hand, nor yet deſpair on the other, 300. 4, 5, *&c.*
ELI. God's judgments on him and his family, 293. 25. — averted by repentance, 293. 25.
ELIAS. John the Baptiſt the Elias which was to come, 276. 8. He came in the ſpirit and power of Elias, xliij. 2, 3. & xlv. 5.
ELIZABETH, mother of John Baptiſt, her joyful meeting with the bleſſed virgin, 6. 3, 4. She carried her ſon into the wilderneſs, and died forty days after, 72. 1.
ELYMAS, the ſorcerer, ſtruck blind, 488. 3.
Emmaus, Chriſt appears to two diſciples going thither, 396. 2. & 403. 13.
Enemies, the occaſion of much good to us, 368. 8.
ENOCH, his tranſlation, divers opinions about it, xij. 14. — a type of a future reſurrection, xij. 14. What meant by his *walking with God*, xj. 14.
ENOSH, thought to be the inventer of images, x. 13.
Envy, a great curſe, 296. 31. Reproved by the example of angels, 26. 2. Spiritual Envy, 344. 9.
ERASMUS, his reflection on the honour due to St. Peter, 457. 9.
Erring Perſons, how to be treated, 177. 2. & 9. 7.
ESAU, a profane perſon, becauſe he made light of the honour of the prieſthood, ix. 10.
Eſſenes, an account of that ſect among the Jews, xl. 24. Euſebius calls thoſe who lived in Egypt, Chriſtians, xl. 24. See *Therapeutæ*.
Eucharist, given to infants in the primitive times, 361. 15. Not ſo freely allowed to dying perſons in the purer and earlier ages, as afterwards, 388. 24. Great charity to deny it thoſe who have lived viciouſly, 388. 24.
Euchariſtical Sacrifices and Oblations, preſented to God in paradiſe, vj. 7.
Example ought to accompany the precepts of miniſters, 73. 2. Every man ſhould propound to himſelf ſome great Example, *Exhort.* [vj] 16. The beſt among the ancient ſages faulty, [vj] 16. The excellency of the Example of Chriſt, [i, ii] *&c.*
Examples of divine judgments, 324. 5.
Excommunication, a matter of diſcipline, arbitrary, and in the power of the church, 358. 13, *&c.* Variety of examples from the primitive times, 360. 13.
Excuſes from frequent communion, not valid, 363. 20.
Expences. Unneceſſary ones to be ſaved, and beſtowed in alms, 247. 2.
Extreme Unction, contrary to apoſtolical practice, 426. 12.

F.

F*Aith*, what meant by it in St. Paul's Epiſtles, 529. 8. The penitent thief an example of a ſtrong Faith, 394. 11. However it is produced, it does the work of God, 149. 7. The Faith of ignorant and knowing perſons compared, 151. 1, 2, *&c.* The marks of a truly chriſtian Faith, 153. 9. Many Chriſtians have very little, or are miſtaken in defining it, 151. 1, 2, *&c.* Two diſtinct ſpecies of Faith, 152. 4. Not thinking well only, but acting well, is the proper work of it, 153. 5. It includes Hope and Charity, taken in a larger ſenſe, 153. 6. How defined by St. Paul, 153. 7, 8. Faith muſt be juſtified by works, 154. 8. & 157. 17. Eminent examples of Faith, 155. 11. Suppoſed to be a grace above the greateſt ſtrength of reaſon, *Pref.* (xvij). Faith not neceſſary in all inſtances to the ſacrament of baptiſm, 122. 3, 4, *&c.* Some cured for the Faith of others, 123. 5. Good men in all ages juſtified by Faith, 531. 11. Some tempted perſons can ſcarce rely on their Faith when they are nigh death, 381. 8. A general remedy againſt wavering, 381. 8. Proper arguments to confirm ſuch as are doubtful, 381. 9. Thoſe who fall from the Faith not to be upbraided, but pitied, 372. 4.
Falſe-witneſs forbidden, 238. 40.
Families. How far care for our Families may extend to the future, 247. 2.
Farewel Sermon made by Jeſus, 334. 19. & 365. 1.
Faſting. That of our Saviour in the wilderneſs not for mortification, 93. 9. The doctrine and diſcipline of Faſting conſigned to the church by Chriſt's example, 89. 8. & 93. 9. The manner and uſe of it, 262. 1, 2, *&c.* neceſſary in order to chaſtity, 263. 2. & 83. 17. Is of but little effect in ſpiritual temptations, as pride, envy, malice, *&c.* 83. 17. Faſting a convenient diſpoſition to intenſe prayer, 93. 9. The time of it in all ages limited to an artificial day, *Exhort.* [iv] 11. By Faſting and prayer Moſes converſed with heaven, xxiij. 3.
Fear. The paſſion of Fear ſanctified by Chriſt, 366. 3. It is the firſt of graces, 162. 5. Very good men often ſubject to this paſſion, 382. 11. & 386. 19. We ſhould be careful that our Fears are not criminal, 386. 19.
FELIX, governor of Judæa, his character by Tacitus, 509. 3.
Feſtival Days, how to be obſerved among Chriſtians, 231. 25. Our Saviour's example herein, *Exhort.* [v] 12.
Fiſhers of men, 173. 9. & 183. 4.
Fiſhing, a mean and laborious employment, 431. 4. Oppian's fine verſes on it, 432.
Flagellantes, their mortification, 84. 18.

FLAMINIUS, QUINTUS, condemned to death for wanton cruelty, 160. 5.
Foretellers of events, unneceſſary, 299. 2.
For ever, the different meanings of thoſe words, l. 13.
Fornication, the extraordinary puniſhment of the Iſraelites for it, agreeable to the divine juſtice, *Pref.* (xij) 21. & 325. 7. Fornication and adultery, both forbidden the Jews, but permitted to ſtrangers among them, 237. 37. Forbidden alſo by the Chriſtian law, though freely practiſed among Heathens, 527.
Foſter-Children many times dearer to the nurſe than to the mother, 19. 10.
Foundations, an epithet beſtowed on all the apoſtles, 440. 3.

G.

GABRIEL, the angel, miniſters to the exaltation of his inferiors, 3. 4.
Gadara, built by Pompey, and full of ſepulchres and witches, 174. 15.
Galilean, a term of reproach amongſt the Jews, 556. 1.
Galilæans, many of them put to death by Pilate, 311. 27. Their dialect, what, 447. 7. Were noted for ferocity and rudeneſs, 468. 2. & 453. 2. Wonderfully endued with the gift of tongues, 452. 2. The Chriſtians in ſcorn called Galilæans, 487. 2.
Galilee, the moſt diſhonourable part of Paleſtine; but honoured by Chriſt's reſidence, and chooſing ſeveral of his apoſtles thence, 556. 1.
GAMALIEL, his advice to the Sanhedrim in relation to the apoſtles, 457. 9. Suppoſed the ſame whoſe tuition St. Paul was under, 483. 5. Said to become a Chriſtian, 483. 5.
Gardens, 445. 3. Why a Garden choſen for the place of Chriſt's agony, 365. 1, 2.
Gentiles, called of God equally with the Jews, 460. 4. & 491. 8. They had a law written in their hearts, ij. 2. Were invited to Chriſtianity by its adopting their innocent rites, 319. 12. The diſpute between the Jewiſh and Gentile converts concerning circumciſion, 525. 4, 5. Thoſe Gentiles who obſerved the ſeven precepts of the ſons of Noah, admitted proſelytes by the Jews, without circumciſion, iv. 3.
Gentleneſs, a duty of Chriſtians, 308. 16.
Geſtures of the greateſt reverence to be uſed in the worſhip of God, vj. 7.
Ghoſt. See HOLY GHOST, and *Spirit*.
GIACCHETUS of Geneva, his death in the midſt of his luſt, 324. 5.
Giants, whence deſcended, xj. 14. An inſolent and ungovernable race, xij. 15.
Gifts and powers of the holy Ghoſt, conferred on the firſt preachers of the goſpel, 423. 10, &c.
Gnoſticks, derived their hereſies from Simon Magus, 524. 1.
GOD, his end and deſign in creating man, *Pref.* (ij) 2. Whether man naturally knows there is a God, iij. 6. Sufficient to all purpoſes that this propoſition was actually believed, (xvj) 28. The errors men fall into concerning God, (xij) 20. God's method of bringing us to him, and treating us after, 28. 4. He gives his ſervants more than they look for, 147. 2. — giving more grace to ſuch as uſe the firſt well, 147. 2. & 29. 6. His gifts effects of predeſtination, 148. 5. — how to be prayed for, 250. 1, 2. & 253. 7, 8, &c. God rejoices in his own works of mercy, 177. 1. — and in ours, 214. 13. The worſhip of one God a natural duty, iij. 3. Conſideration of God's preſence a good remedy againſt temptations, 105. 29. That the viſion of God preſerves the bleſſed ſouls from ſin, 106. 30. His counſels not to be eſtimated by thoſe of man, 403. 13. No merit in obeying God in things we ſhould do for our own pleaſure, 34. 5. God made all things for his own honour, and ought to be honoured in them, 170. 14. His name put into holy places, in what ſenſe, 163. 1. — held in great ſecrecy and veneration by the Jews, 495. He is not only to be honoured by us, but alſo in the way himſelf has appointed, 101. 13, 14. The love of God manifeſted in the incarnation of his ſon, 3. 1. God was pleaſed to chuſe this remedy, as bearing proportion to the cauſe of our ruin, 3. 2. He requires not always the greateſt degree of virtue, 222. 11. Is never wanting in neceſſaries to us, 28. 3, 4. Changes his purpoſe of man's death for ſeveral reaſons, 292. 24. God works his will by unlikely means, 402. 7. — and certainly ſupports thoſe who are doing his work, 63. 3. The ſucceſs of all our endeavours depends upon God, 183. 5.
— *To the Unknown God*, an altar erected at Athens with that inſcription, 495.
Godfathers uſed of old time at baptiſm of infants, 134. 28. May ſafely undertake to be ſureties, 135. 28.
Gods, amongſt the Gentiles, their name and ſex kept ſecret, 495.
Gold, Frankincenſe and Myrrh, of what ſignification in the gift of the wiſe men, 30. 11. & 24. 12.
Goſpel. Wherein the Goſpel and law differ, 182. 3. 281. 3. & 219. 3. — are conſtantly oppoſed to each other by St. Paul, 529. 7. The Goſpel ſuperior to the law, xlvj. 6, 7, 8. Is adapted to the reaſon of mankind, xlvij. 9. The bare belief of the Goſpel inſufficient to juſtify us, if we do not obey and practiſe it, 534. 16.
Government ſupported by Chriſtianity, 64. 7, 8.
Governors and Parents, not to be obey'd if their commands contradict thoſe of God, 455. 7. & 457. 9. Socrates's anſwer to his judges on ſuch an occaſion, 455. 7. & 457. 9.
Grace helps our faculties, but creates no new ones, 28. 2. It is the free gift of God, 148. 5. Works differently at different times, 28. 4. One degree of Grace in holy perſons often bleſſed by another, 302. 8. The man who is confirmed in Grace not always ſenſible of it, 302. 8. Infirmities conſiſtent with a ſtate of Grace, 100. 11. It either cures ſin or accidentally increaſes it, 370. 11.
Groves, Woods and Mountains, why the ancient devotioniſts delighted therein, vij. 8.

H.

Harlots, among the Jews, allowed the privileges of their nation, 277. 10. — were denoted by the word *ſtrangers*, 237. 37. Marked as infamous among the nations, 237. 37. An argument by which two Harlots were converted, 107. 32.
Haſty perſons and actions always unreaſonable, ſometimes criminal, 13. 1.
Healing. The gift of Healing ſometimes beſtowed on Chriſtian princes, 289. 16.
Health promiſed and conſigned in the goſpel by miracles, and by an ordinary miniſtry, 288. 15, 16.
Heaven is made perſpicuous to us by the goſpel, xlvij. 8. The leaſt ray of its glory outweighs the greateſt earthly calamities, 392. 5. Women, and tender diſpoſitions and pliant natures, will make up a greater number in Heaven than the ſevere, wary, and enquiring people, 403.
HEBER, father of the Jews, from him named Hebrews, xiv. 16.
Hell. That there is no Hell without deſpair, 392. 5.
Hell, a word of a large ſignification, 400. 1. A ſtate of ſeparation into which our Lord deſcended, 398. 1.
HERCULES, a cuſtom obſerved of thoſe who ſwore by him, 227. 19. — ſwore but once in his life, 227. 19.
Hereſy, a ſpiritual wickedneſs — thoſe ſuſpected of it to be wrought on by civility, 177. 2. & 178. 3. Difficult to judge it without the gift of diſcerning ſpirits, 177. 2. The Hereſies that firſt infected the church, 524. 2.
Hereticks ſerved their heretical ends (and their luſt at the ſame time) upon women, 179. 5.
HERMINIGILDA, her zeal againſt hereticks, 178. 2.
HEROD, ſirnam'd the Great, mocked by the Magi, 60. 1. His fear of the child Jeſus proceeded from miſtake, 64. 7. His murdering fourteen thouſand innocents at Bethlehem, 60. 1, 2, &c. — put his own child to death among them, 60. 3. Why he ſlew Zachary, 61. 5. Herod viſited with grievous judgments, 61. 6. His other acts of cruelty and tyranny, 61. 7, 8. Pretended religion to cloke his deſign, 62. 1. Cæſar's ſaying of him, 60. 3.
HEROD AGRIPPA, grandchild of the former, his popularity, and zeal for the Jewiſh worſhip, 544. 8. His death, with the prelude to it, 545. 9.
HEROD the Tetrarch, an auditor of John the Baptiſt, xlv. 5. Puts him in priſon, and afterwards to death, to gratify Herodias, xlv. 5. Herod pleaſed that Chriſt was ſent to him, hoping to ſee a miracle, 375. 9. His reception of Chriſt, 336. 26. Was careleſs of inquiring after him, 375. 9. Herodias's daughter beheaded with ice, 160. 6. Their baniſhment, 160. 6.
Herodians, a ſect who took Herod for the Meſſias, 275. 3. 305. 8. & xlj.
Heroical Actions of repentance on our death-bed, more prevalent than any other hope then left, 206. 49.
HERON the monk, abuſed by an illuſion, 57. 23. His death, 94. 12.
High Prieſt, wherein a type of Chriſt, xxvij. 8. There were two High Prieſts, the one preſident of the rites of the temple, the other of the great council, 335. 23. The Jews ſay there were three hundred High Prieſts during the 420 years of the ſecond temple, and but eighteen all the time of the firſt temple, which continued almoſt as long, 287. 14.

Hilarion, St. his great abſtinence, 263. 2.

Hiſtory, the truth of it not to be ſet aſide by trifling exceptions, 480. 15.

Holineſs of religious places, 163. 2. Holineſs a great preſervative of life, 287. 13.

HOLY GHOST, why promiſed to Chriſtians, *Pref.* (xxiv) 41. Was given by Chriſt as he had promiſed, 397. 3. & 452. 2. Sin againſt the Holy Ghoſt, what, 278. 14. Its deſcent upon Jeſus at his baptiſm, 88. 3. & 143. 2. The gifts of the Holy Ghoſt more diffuſive under Chriſt than under Moſes, xlviij. 9. Of greater ſignification in the firſt ages of the chriſtian church than ſince, 302. 7.

Honour, the notion of it — whether it may be defended by the ſword, 242. 4. God and the king the fountains of Honour, 242. 4. The Honour done to us muſt be returned to God, 8. 6. Honour is due to what the ſupreme power ſeparates from common uſages, 164. 3.

Honourable and *ſacred*, alike, 165. 3.

Hope of ſalvation, increaſes according to degrees of holy walking, 300. 5.
Hope neceſſary in our prayers, 256. 15, 16.

Hoſanna, ſung to God only — its ſignification, 330. 6.

Hoſtages, put to death by divers nations for their principals, 393. 8.

Hours of Prayer, amongſt the Jews, what, 454. 5.

Humility, what. 351. 10. The reaſonableneſs of it, 348. 5. A certain means to purchaſe honour, 287. 12. Humility conſiſts in a true underſtanding our condition, and giving all the glory to God, 348. 6. Duke of Candia an example of Humility, 349. 6. — alſo St. Jerom, St. Arſenius, and the young Marquiſs of Caſtilion, 350. 9. The whole doctrine of Humility ſuperadded to the law by Chriſt, *Pref.* (xix) 34.

Husbands converted by their wives, 178. 3.

I.

JACOB, why called Iſrael, — his family and fortunes, xvj. 18. The covenant made with Abraham ratified with him, xvj. 18. He bleſſes the twelve tribes, and propheſies of the Meſſias, xvj. 18.

Jairus the ruler, entreats Jeſus to heal his daughter, 175. 20. & 437. 4. She is reſtored to life, 175. 21.

James, St. ſirnamed the Great, why, 540. 1. Was ſon of Zebedee and partner with Peter, 540. 1. Nearly related to our Lord, 540. 1. His call to the apoſtleſhip, 541. 2, 3. Was one of the three who were moſt intimate with their Maſter, 541. 3. No certain account of this apoſtle after our Saviour's aſcenſion, 543. 7. Is ſuppoſed by ſome to have preached the goſpel in Spain and other weſtern parts, 544. 7. Is caſt into priſon, and afterwards beheaded, by Herod Agrippa, 544. 8. His accuſer becomes a martyr at the ſame time, 544. 8. St. James the firſt apoſtle that was martyred, 544. 8. Joſephus's account of God's judgment on Herod, 545. 9. His pretended miraculous voyage into Spain, and the miracles done there, 545. 10.

James, St. the Leſs, ſirnamed alſo the Juſt, 576. 7. The ſame who was biſhop of Jeruſalem, 572. 1. & 574. 3. Preſident of the ſynod at Jeruſalem, 572. 1. & 574. 4. Was the ſon of Joſeph or Alpheus, 573. 1, 2. Chriſt ſaid to have appeared to him after his reſurrection, 397. 5. & 574. 3. The Scribes and Phariſees attempt to enſnare him, 575. 5. Is caſt down from the temple, ſtoned, and murder'd with a fuller's club, 575. 5. His extraordinary piety and devotion, 575. 6. His auſterity, according to the Nazarite order, 576. 7. He wrote only one epiſtle, directed to the Jewiſh converts, 576. 8. A pretended goſpel aſcribed to him, 577. His admonition to ſick perſons, how underſtood, 377. 1.

Jannæus, Alexander, his advice to his queen, 483. 6.

Jared, the declenſion of piety in his days, xj. 14.

Idolatry, xiv. 16. None before the flood, x. 13. A Jew condemned of Idolatry for throwing ſtones (though in deteſtation) at the idol Mercury, 339. 32. In the days of Enoſh, men idolized the ſtars and the hoſt of heaven, x. 13.

Jerom, St. his report of Hilarion's agony and ſucceeding comfort on his death-bed, 383. 14. His rule to avoid ſcandal, 323. Saying of St. Jerom on the death of Chriſtians, 378. 4. His advice about faſting, 263. 2.

JESUS, the Saviour of the world, 32. 2. A name full of ſweetneſs and mercy, 35. 8, &c. Sent by his Father when the fulneſs of time was come, 1. 1. Was born at Bethlehem in Judah, 11. 1, 2. His birth foretold by an angel, 2. 4. Jeſus a pattern of obedience, 38. 6. — and an example of humility, 52. 6. 375. 9. 12. 2, 3. & 33. 3. How we ought to imitate the life of Jeſus, *Exhort.* [i, ij, iij] &c. His preſentation in the temple the higheſt act of adoration that ever was or could be, 48. 2. Is carried into Egypt to avoid the fury of Herod, where the ſtatues of the idol gods fall down at his preſence, 62. 9. Brought back to Nazareth, a city of Galilee, 62. 10. & 66. 12. Diſputes with the doctors in the temple, 68. 1, 2, &c. Wrote at the carpenter's trade before and after Joſeph's death, 69. 6. Jeſus baptized by John in Jordan, 87. 1. Moſes and Joſhua types of him, xlvj. 6. Why not honoured by his countrymen of Nazareth, 279. 16. He baffles the Phariſees and Sadduces, 331. 10, &c. The Phariſees report him mad, 276. 8. Jeſus invites all to him, 276. 8. Deſcription of Jeſus by way of meditation and myſtery, 13. 5, 6. Is ſuppoſed by Herod to be John the Baptiſt riſen from the dead, 279. 18. He preached the firſt year in peace, 176. 22. Came eating and drinking, 276 8. Jeſus was civil to his enemies and beneficial to his friends, 386. 8. Received all his diſciples with a kiſs, 368. 8. Was infinitely loving, 344. 8. Diſmiſſes the woman taken in adultery, and ſhames her accuſers, 309. 20. He teaches his diſciples to pray, 311. 26. All the great actions of his life had a mixture of divinity and humanity, 369. 9. He wept for Lazarus, 329. 1. — and over Jeruſalem, 331. 7. Jeſus's anſwer to the Phariſees about paying tribute to Cæſar, 332. 10. He enters Jeruſalem in triumph, 330. 6. Refuſes to be made a King, 304. 1. — or to be a judge in worldly matters, 311. 26. Jeſus had but two days of triumph in all his life, 342. 5. and they both allayed with ſorrow, 343. 6, 7. That there are ſome things in the life of Jeſus we are not to imitate, and others we muſt do which cannot be learnt from his example, *Exhort.* [v] 13. His laſt journey to Jeruſalem, 329. 3. His inhoſpitable uſage, 343. 7. Is ſold for a mean price, 333. 14. Jeſus led to the houſe of Annas — ſmitten on the face and accuſed of blaſphemy before the high prieſt, 336. 23. & 371. 1. Annas ſends him away to Caiaphas, 371. 2. — who adjures Jeſus to tell him if he were the Chriſt, 372. 3. Is accuſed of treaſon before Pilate, 336. 26. & 374. 7. Pilate's examination of Jeſus, 374. 7, 8. He ſends him to Herod, 375. 9. — who deſpiſes, diſmiſſes, and ſends him back to Pilate, 375. 9, 10. Pilate would releaſe him, but the Jews inſiſt on his death, and to releaſe a murderer, 375. 10. Is condemned by Pilate, 376. 10. Not compelled to bear the tranſverſe beam of the croſs, 338. 30. Jeſus provided for his mother after his death, 339. 33. Was nailed with four nails, 338. 31. Recited a pſalm on the croſs, 339. 35. Jeſus felt the firſt recompenſe of his ſorrows in the ſtate of ſeparation, 401. 6. At the reſurrection he did redintegrate all his body but the five wounds, 401. 6. He aroſe with a glorified body, 401. 7. — but veiled with a cloud of common appearance, 402. 7. See CHRIST, MESSIAH, &c.

Jews, their antipathy to all other nations, 460. 4. The occaſion of their quarrel with the Samaritans, 171. 3. How puffed up with their external privileges, 460. 4. They made more conſcience of their cuſtoms than of the guilt of murder, 374. 7. Their ſuperſtitious concealing the name of God, 495. The Jewiſh women in general hoped to be mother of the Meſſias, 2. 5. The Jews thought to be juſtified by external innocence, 232. 27. Could not put any man to death at Eaſter, 336. 26. Faſted till the ſolemnity of their feſtivals was over, 262. 1. Their diviſion of the precepts of their law into houſes, &c. xxix. 10. Their propenſity to lyes and fabulous reports, xxx. 12. The ſtate of the Jewiſh church at our Saviour's coming, xxxv. 18. Their blaſphemous neglect of God's word, and fondneſs for idle traditions, xxxvij. 20, 21. The many ſects and diviſions amongſt them, xxxviij. 22.

Jezabel, pretended religion to carry on her deſign of murder and theft, 62. 1.

Ignorant Perſons, their faith as ſtrong as that of the greateſt ſcholars, 152. 2.

Illuſions come often in likeneſs of viſions, 57. 23.

Images, ſaid to have been invented by Enoſh, x. 13. Terah a maker of Images, xiv. 13. Not only Images of the true God, but thoſe of falſe gods and viſible creatures forbidden the Jews, 224. 16. Were admitted into the church by degrees, and with difficulty, 225. 16. The making them not againſt a natural reaſon, but only the ſuperſtitious abuſe, 225. 16. Reaſon and ſenſe ſufficient to deter men from idolatry under the goſpel, 225. 16. The Images of Chriſt and his ſaints permitted, 225. 17. Ridiculous miracles of the Images of Jupiter and Diana Cyndias, 268. 7.

Impatience, the ill effects of it, 84. 21.

Impriſonment ſanctified by the binding of Jeſus, 369. 10.

Incarnation of Jeſus neceſſary to God's glory and our peace, 125. 9. By the Incarnation of the Word, human nature exalted above the cherubims, 3. 4. The love of God manifeſted in it, 3. 1. Why choſen for our redemption, 3. 2. The reaſonableneſs of it, 3. 3.

Incontinence, the ſpirit of government deſtroyed by it, 179. 5.

Infallibility of the ſee of Rome, without reaſon, 440. 3.

Infants, the reaſonableneſs of baptiſing them, 121. 1, *&c.* 125. 10, 11. The tradition of Infant-baptiſm from Iræneus, and St. Cyprian, 135. 29. Arguments in defence of it, 135. 31, *&c.* That they may be admitted to it on the faith of their parents, 123. 5. The church's opinion of Infants baptized and dying before the uſe of reaſon, 291. 22. Negative arguments againſt baptiſing Infants, not concluſive, 125. 10. Benefits received by Infants in baptiſm, 126. 12. Infants are capable of the new birth, 128. 16. — being under the guilt of original ſin, 128. 17. Tertullian and Greg. Nazianzen adviſed to baptize children at three or four years old, 130. 18. If it be certain, or probable, or poſſible that Infants may receive the benefits of baptiſm, they ought not to be neglected, 133. 25. The murder of the Infants at Bethlehem, 61. 1, 2, *&c.* — dying martyrs, their happineſs more ſecure than that of other Infants, 66. 11.

Infirmities. Human Infirmities to be pitied, not upbraided, 366. 3, 4, 5. Unavoidable Infirmities conſiſtent with a ſtate of grace, 195. 26, 27. See *Sins.*

Injuries. Forgiveneſs of Injuries enjoined by no lawgiver but Chriſt, 240. 1. — is a part of chriſtian charity, *Pref.* (xxiij) 40. & 246. 10.

Innocence, in regard to ſalvation, admits of no degrees, 300. 4. Is ſecurity againſt evil actions, 10. 7, 8.

Innocent Perſons, accuſed, to bear it patiently, 375. 9.

Inſpiration, the moſt pacate and ſerene way of prophecy, xxxj. 14. The ſame in which the holy writings were dictated and conveyed to mankind, xxxj. 14.

Inſtinct in beaſts, analogous to reaſon in man, 16. 3, 4. Inſtinct in ſome ſenſe a law, 17. 6. Inſtinct leads mothers to nurſe their children, 18. 8.

Inſtruments weak and unlikely uſed by God to great purpoſes, 185. 9.

Intention and fervency of ſpirit neceſſary in prayer, 257. 17.

Intentions, though good, excuſe not evil actions, 101. 13.

JOB, his righteouſneſs, iij. 3. The hiſtory of Job and his friends, xviij. 20. & xix. 21. Thought by ſome to have been king of Idumæa, xix. 20. His patience and fortitude, xix. 21. Made major-domo to Solomon, by the Turkiſh writers, xix. 21. Is ſuppoſed to have lived before Moſes's time, xx. 21.

JOHN the Baptiſt, his birth foretold, 6. 1, 2, *&c.* His education, manner of living and doctrine, xliij. 2, 3, 4. & 72. 1, *&c.* His teſtimony of Chriſt, 160. 4. Was remarkable on ſeveral accounts, according to Cyril, xliij. 2. Whether the form of his baptiſm was in the name of Chriſt to come, 87. 1. He points out and bears witneſs to Chriſt, 87. 1, 2. Reproves Herod, and is put to death by him, 160. 5, 6. The character Chriſt gave of John the Baptiſt, 276. 8. — as alſo Joſephus, xlv. 5. His death, xlv. 5. and burial, 279. 18. Stiled Rabbi Johanan the high prieſt, by Jewiſh writers, why, xlv. 5.

JOHN, St. the beloved diſciple, 547. 2. The firſt Chriſtians miſtaken in fanſying he ſhould not die, 549. 8. — the ſaying of Chriſt being fulfilled by his ſurviving the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, 397. 4. Seems to have been a diſciple of John the Baptiſt, 547. 1. Was the youngeſt of all the apoſtles, 547. 1. His conſtant attendance on our Lord, 547. 2. Was ſon of Zebedee and Salome, and younger brother of James, 546. 1. Is honoured with the care of our Lord's mother, 547. 2. He and Peter the firſt who viſit the ſepulchre of Chriſt, 547. 3. — are thrown into priſon together, 548. 3. It was St. John's lot to preach the goſpel in Aſia, 548. 4. Sent bound to Rome by the proconſul, and caſt into a caldron of boiling oil by Domitian, 548. 5. His miraculous preſervation, and baniſhment to the iſle of Patmos, 548. 5. — where he writes his Apocalypſe, 549. 5. & 553. 14. He goes to Epheſus and takes the care of that church, 549. 5. His Goſpel written there, 549. 6. & 553. 15. The method he uſed in compiling, and the main ſcope and deſign of it, 554. 15, 16. His three Epiſtles, 554. 16. Remarks on his writings in general, 555. St. John died in a good old age, 397. 4. & 549. 7. May be juſtly eſteemed a martyr, 549. 7. Reported to lie ſleeping in his grave, with other ſuch ſtories, 550. 9. Whether St. John was married, diſputable, 551. 10. His humility, love, charity, and unwearied diligence in preaching the goſpel, 551. 10, 11. Story of a young man his pupil, 551. 11. His vigilance againſt hereticks and ſeducers, 552. 12. Doubted by ſome whether he wrote the Apocalypſe, 553. 14. Was a prophet as well as an apoſtle and evangeliſt, 553. 14.

JOSEPH, huſband to the bleſſed Virgin, the angel's appearance to him, 7. 5. His juſtneſs and moderation, 9. 9.

JOSEPH of Arimathea, begged from Pilate the body of Jeſus, which he embalmed, and buried honourably, 340. 38.

JOSEPHUS, his account of certain Jewiſh exorciſts, 499. 5.

Joys. Spiritual Joys increaſe by communication, 147. 3. The Joys of eternity recompenſe all our ſorrows in every inſtant of fruition, 401. 6. Sudden and violent Joys to be allay'd by reflection on our worſt ſins, 184. 7.

IRÆNEUS, his argument for infant-baptiſm, 135. 31.

ISAAC, the patriarch, ſaid to have frequented the ſchool of Sem, xv. 18. The promiſes made to Abraham renewed to Iſaac, xv. 18.

ISAAC, St. the advice he followed in his anger, 236. 35.

Iſraelites, their deliverance out of Egypt, xxiij. 3.

JUDAS ISCARIOT, whence ſo called, 585. 1. His covetouſneſs and apoſtaſy, 586. 1, 2. Had the promiſe of one of the twelve thrones with the other apoſtles, 298. 1. His name written in heaven, but blotted out again, 298. 1. No man ſo clearly declared miſerable as Judas, 298. 1. Thought to have been partaker of the holy ſacrament with the reſt, 358. 13. He bargains with the Scribes and Phariſees to betray his Maſter, 333. 14. & 344. 10. His ingratitude, 343. 8. Judas repents the bargain, throws back the money, and hangs himſelf, 336. 25. 586. 2. & 373. 6. He valued the ointment at the ſame rate he ſold his Lord, 345. 11. His name diſtaſtful to the apoſtles, 581. 1.

JUDE, St. ſeveral names attributed to him in the goſpel, 581. 1. His name of Lebbæus, whence derived, 582. 1. Related to our Lord, 582. 2. His queſtion to our Lord, and the anſwer he received, 582. 2. Is ſent to Abgarus governor of Edeſſa, where he wrote many miracles, 582. 3. His travels, 582. 3. Said to have been put to death in Perſia, 583. 3. Was one of the married apoſtles, 583. 4. Story of his grandchildren, 583. 4. His Epiſtle not always allowed canonical, why, 583. 5. Grotius's conjecture about it, 584. 6. St. Jude's Epiſtle thought by ſome to be twenty ſeven years older than St. Peter's, 584. 6. The deſign of it, 584. 6.

Judgment of life and death to be only by the ſupreme power or his deputy, 241.

Judgments of God on notorious ſinners, 292. 22, 23. 322. 4. & 323. 5. Particular conſiderations on national Judgments, 323. 8, *&c.* The different courſe of God's Judgments, 321. 2. & 323. 4.

Judicial, or political laws — thoſe among the Jews not a fit pattern for other nations, xxviij. 10.

JULIAN the apoſtate, his exception againſt the Jewiſh prophets, 432. 5. He deſired to be a magician, but could not, 344. 10.

IVO, biſhop of Chartres, a ſtory of his, 297.

Juſtice. God's Juſtice in puniſhing Jeſus cleared, 393. 7, 8.

Juſtification, by faith, and by works, 153. 6, 7, *&c.* Juſtification and ſalvation not expected by the Jews from the moral law only, 529. 7. All men juſtified through Chriſt, 531. 10. An hearty belief of, and a ſincere obedience to the goſpel, the terms of Juſtification, 533. 15. The doctrine of St. Paul and St. James on this point conſiſtent, 534. 16.

K.

K*arræans*, or Textualiſts, a Jewiſh ſect, xlj.

Keys. The power of the Keys, or of binding and looſing, 308. 16. 397. 3. & 440. 2.

Killing in ones own defence lawful, 241. 3.

King. That the King and church have the ſame friends and enemies, 321. 1.

Kingdom of God, what, 251. 5. Kingdom of grace and glory, 252. 5. Chriſt's Kingdom not of this world, 337. 26. — what it is, 374. 8.

Kiſs, after abſence, an expreſſion of the oriental civility, 368. 8.

L.

LACTANTIUS, his account of things related of Peter and Paul, 471. 6.

Languages, the confounding them a curſe to the old world, turned to a bleſſing by the gift of the holy Ghoſt, 452. 2.

Law, (Ceremonial) the deſign of it was to point out the evangelical ſtate, xxviij. 9. Was clogged with many ſevere and burdenſome impoſitions, xlvj. 7. The promulgation of the Law, xxiij 3. *Laws, ſtatutes* and *judgments*, what meant by them, xxiij. 4. The Law ſaid to conſiſt of ſix hundred and thirteen precepts, xxviij. 10.

xxviij. 10. — but more particularly of three ſorts, moral, eccleſiaſtical, and political, xxiij. 4. The Law of Moſes but an imperfect explication of the Law of nature, *Pref.* (xiij) 23. — a ſummary of it, xxiij. 4. — miſerably corrupted and depraved, how, xxxvj. 19. Being in many degrees carnal and material, did not ſeverely exact the ſpiritual intent, 219. 3, 4. Is a Law of works, how, 219. 3. A grievous and ſervile diſpenſation, inſtances wherein, xlvj. 7. A covenant by which our nature was reſtrained, but not helped, 98. 8. Its ordinances only types and ſhadows of Chriſt, xlvj. 6, 7.

Laws, Poſitive. The two firſt given to the Jews, that of circumciſion and againſt eating blood, iv. 4. & v. 5.

Law of Retaliation commanded by God himſelf, iv. 4.

Law of Jeſus, a Law of the Spirit, not of works, 219. 3, 4.

Law and *Faith*, what meant by thoſe words in St. Paul's Epiſtles, 528. 7.

Law of Nature, what, ij. 2. — explained by right reaſon, *Pref.* vj. 11. — more fully explained by the goſpel, xxiv. 4. & *Pref.* (xxiij) 39. Sufficient to make men happy, (xj) 19. Is eternal and unalterable, (xiv) 25. The precepts given to the ſons of Noah a conſiderable part of the Law of nature, iij. 3.

Laws, (Human) obedience to them may for good reaſons be ſometimes omitted, 43. 21, &c. Not to be obeyed as divine laws, by a particular act of the underſtanding, 45. 23. Laws neceſſary to man's happineſs, *Pref.* (viij) 15. The breaking of them lead into many ſins, (xj) 20. Subjects muſt not too freely diſpute the Laws of ſuperiors, 45. 23. Evil Laws make a national ſin, 326. 10. A rigorous execution of Laws in ſome caſes dangerous, 319. 14.

Lawful. What is Lawful is not always expedient, 41. 15, 16.

LAWRENCE, St. his gridiron leſs hot than his love, 341. 1.

Law-ſuits, on ſmall occaſions, not to be enter'd into by Chriſtians, 244. 8. In what caſes allowable, 245. 9.

LAZARUS reſtored to life, 329. 2.

Learning, not neceſſary to the love of God, 53. 10. The effects of a ſtrong deſire of Learning, what, 156. 14. Human Learning to be applied to divine purpoſes, 519. 2.

Leaven. What meant by the Leaven of the Phariſees and the Sadduces, and of Herod, 305. 8. & xlj. The paſſover eat with unleavened bread, why, xxv. 5.

LEONIGILDUS killed his daughter for being orthodox, 178. 2.

Levantine churches, the opinions concerning God's judgments on them uncertain, 323. 4.

Levites, their office, and the qualifications neceſſary to their election, xxvij. 8.

LIBANIUS, tells how chaſtity was repreſented, 105. 27.

Liberty to be uſed with reſerve, 41. 16, 17.

Life of CHRIST, the deſign of that work, xlv. 6. — how managed by the author, *Pref.* (xxvj) 43. & (xxviij). The imitation of the Life of Jeſus a duty excellent and eaſy, and not ſo auſtere or forbidding as the lives of certain beatified perſons, *Exhort.* [iij] 8.

Life of man ſacred and dear to God, iv. 4. Made long and healthful by holineſs and obedience, 287. 13. Life ſhortned by reaſon of ſin, firſt from 1000 years to 500, then to 250, to 120, and at laſt to threeſcore and ten, 290. 19. A good Life neceſſary to make our prayers acceptable, 255. 13. Compariſon between a ſocial and ſolitary Life, 78. 5.

Likeneſs to God, deſired at firſt it ruined us, and now reſtores us, 347. 3.

Lord's Day and the Jewiſh ſabbath, both obſerved till about three hundred years after Chriſt, 231. 24. The Lord's Day inſtituted in honour of Chriſt's reſurrection, 231. 25. How it ought to be obſerved, 231. 25.

Lord's Prayer explicated, 250, &c. See *Prayer*.

Lord's Supper, the inſtitution of it, 333. 17. The neceſſity of our worthy receiving this ſacrament, 388. 24. The good effects of it, 357. 10. Is the moſt conſummate of all inſtances of religion, 352. 1. Is a ſacrament of union, 375. 5, 6. — and a commemorative ſacrifice, in what ſenſe, 355. 7. Of the preſence of Chriſt's body in the Lord's ſupper, 353. 3. An inquiry into the myſtery of it not neceſſary to a holy life, 352. 2. The preparation neceſſary in order to it, 357. 11, 12. The ſtrictneſs of the primitive diſcipline in this ſacrament, 358. 12. Was anciently adminiſter'd to infants, 361. 15. Rules for devout behaviour after communicating, 361. 17. The duty of frequent receiving, 362. 18, 19. The neglect of it the cauſe of many calamities, 363. 20. Excuſes for not communicating conſidered, 363. 21. To be received by dying perſons, the benefit of it, 387. 23.

Love of God, what it conſiſts in, 221. 9, 10, &c. 224. 14. Is in ſome meaſure natural to us, 281. Muſt be excluſive of any affection to ſin, 223. 14. Is the ſame as the ſtate of grace, 224. 14. The Love of God natural to Adam, *Pref.* (iij) 4, 5. Love of God and love of money compared, 345. 11. Love and obedience duties of the firſt commandment, 221. 8. — reconciled, 402. 9.

Love of our Neighbour, and Self-love, what, *Pref.* (vij) 11, 12.

LUCIAN's cynick an hypocrite, 349. 7.

LUKE, St. born at Antioch, 594. 1. His liberal education, and skill in painting and phyſick, 594. 1. Was a Jewiſh proſelyte, and an inſeparable companion of St. Paul, to whom he was very dear, 595. 2. & 596. 5. His travels and martyrdom, 595. 3. St. Luke's body removed to Conſtantinople, and buried in the great church there, 596. 4. His Goſpel dedicated to Theophilus, St. Paul aſſiſting in writing it, 596. 4. His hiſtory of the apoſtolical Acts, 596. 5. Was maſter of a polite and elegant ſtile, 597. His character, 597.

Luſts unnatural, 281.

LYCURGUS, his law concerning nurſing of children, 21. 15.

Lying, the ſinfulneſs of it, 238. 40. Is criminal in the degree it is injurious, 238. 40.

M.

MAGI, or wiſe men, directed to Jeſus by a ſtar, 23. 8. & 28. 1, 2, &c. At the ſight of Chriſt's poverty they renounce the world, 25. 13.

Magick, the people of Epheſus noted for the ſtudy of it, 499. 5. Books of Magick burnt, 500. 5.

MAGUS, SIMON, the ſorcerer, ſeverely reprimanded by St. Peter, 459. 1. He flies to Rome, and is highly honoured, 464. 3. Pretends to bring a dead man to life, but is baffled by Peter, 465. 4. He attempts to fly, falls down, is miſerably bruiſed, and dies, 466. 4. Was the father of hereticks, 524. 1.

MALCHUS, an Idumæan ſlave, ſmote Jeſus on the face, 371. 1.

Man reſtored by God to his ſovereignty over the creatures, xiij. To obey Man for God's ſake, a greater inſtance of humility than to obey God himſelf, 46. 26. Man's firſt appetite was, to be as perfect as he could, *Pref.* (ij) 4. Man placed under a neceſſity of being ſociable, (v) 10. Was created a free agent, (viij) 13.

Manichees. The ſubtil argument of one of them, 84. 21.

MARK, St. his name of Roman extraction, 589. 1. His tribe and family, 589. 1. He forſook Jeſus on a miſunderſtanding, but was reduced by St. Peter, 304. 3. — whoſe companion and amanuenſis he was, 589. 1. His Goſpel written at Rome, 590. 2. & 592. 5. Is ſent by St. Peter to preach the goſpel in Egypt, 590. 2. His extraordinary ſucceſs, 590. 2. & 591. 3. His travels to other parts, 591. 4. Is ſeized by the people, dragged about, and impriſoned, 592. 4. His death, with the great veneration paid to his relicks at Venice, 592. 4. Different conjectures about the time of his martyrdom, 592. 4. His perſon deſcribed, 592. 4. Why his Goſ is frequently called by St. Peter's name, 592. 5. His impartiality, 593. Whether he wrote in Greek or Latin, conteſted, 593.

Marriage. Reſtraints of modeſty and prudence to be obſerved in the married ſtate, 49. 4. The Marriage at Cana in Galilee honoured by Chriſt's preſence and the firſt miracle, 145. 5. Marriage a myſtical repreſentation of the union between Chriſt and his church, 149. 8. Chriſt reduced it to its primitive inſtitution, *Pref.* (xix) 33. The reaſon given by Ignatius and ſome old doctors why Chriſt was born in Marriage, 4. 6. Marriage made ſacred by natural reaſon, 17. 3. Second Marriages of clergymen againſt an apoſtolical canon, 319. 13.

MARTHA, her requeſt to Jeſus, 310. 26.

Martyrs, their courage and conſtancy, 37. 3. The opinion of the primitive churches concerning them, 217. 18.

MARY, the mother of Chriſt, a ſpotleſs virgin, 12. 6. & 2. Her annunciation, or the appearance of the angel Gabriel to her, 1. 2, &c. She conceived without ſin and had no pain in the production of Jeſus, 11. 3. Joſeph and Mary take Jeſus and flee into Egypt, 61. 9. & 63. 3. Their obedience, 63. 4. The bleſſed Virgin's patience, reſignation, poverty and contentment, 394. 12. & 286. 10. Her extraordinary piety, 107. 32. & 340. 38. — whereby ſhe arrived at perfection, 4. 9. Her prompt and ready faith, 6. 1. Her joy at the prophecies concerning her ſon, attempered by the predictions of his paſſion, 26. 4, 5. Being full of fears when ſhe loſt Jeſus, ſhe went to the temple to pray, and there found him, 68. 1, 2. Her countenance and pious deportment converted many people, 107. 32. The virgin Mary encouraged Joſeph of Arimathea to a publick confeſſion of Jeſus, 340. 38. She cauſed miniſters to take her ſon's body from the croſs, 340. 37.

MARY MAGDALENE, anoints Chriſt's feet with precious ointment, and wipes them with her hair, 277.9 & 330.5. She anoints Chriſt's head, 332. 13. Viſits his ſepulchre with Mary the mother of James, in order to embalm the body, 396. 1. & 448. 1. Their early devotion a good example, 402. 9. Chriſt makes himſelf known to Mary, and ſends her to notify his aſcenſion, 396. 2. & 402. 9.

MARY's choice preferred, 310. 26.

Maſter of the feaſt, among the Jews, his office, 145. 5.

MATTHEW, St. his call to be a diſciple, 175. 18. & 564. 3. Said to be born at Nazareth — his relations, 563. 1. Was a publican, or toll-gatherer to the Romans, 563. 1. After he became an apoſtle he preached through Judæa, and wrote his Goſpel at the requeſt of the Jewiſh converts, 565. 4. Ethiopia aſſigned as his province to preach the goſpel in, 565. 4. Fabulous reports in Nicephorus concerning this apoſtle, 565. 4. Is ſaid to have ſuffered martyrdom at Naddaber, a city in Ethiopia, 565. 4. Was a great inſtance of the power religion has to reclaim bad men, 566. 5. St. Matthew maliciouſly charged with falſhood or folly by Porphyry and Julian, 566. 5. His abſtemiouſneſs and humility, 566. 5. His Goſpel written before the diſperſion of the apoſtles, 566. 7. The tranſlation of it out of Hebrew into Greek attributed to St. James the leſs, 567. 7. Scruples raiſed about it, why, 567. 7. The various copies of St. Matthew's Goſpel in Hebrew, 567. 8.

MATTHIAS, St. propoſed, and admitted to be one of the twelve apoſtles, 452. 1. & 585. 1. Why the choice decided by lot between him and Barſabas, 586. 3. The firſt fruits of his miniſtry were in Judæa, after which he betakes himſelf to other provinces, 587. 4. The fabulous ſtories related of him, 587. 4. Was uſed with great rudeneſs and inhumanity, 587. 4. His martyrdom, and the different claims to his relicks, 587. 4. A ſpurious Goſpel under his name, 588.

Meditation, the definition and degrees of it, 50. 1, 2, &c. The neglect of it cauſes a want of devotion, 50. 1, 2. Is an act of the underſtanding put to a right uſe, 51. 4. Meditation the duty of all, and matter for it ſuited to every capacity, 53. 10. Proper ſubjects for it, 55. 15, &c.

Meekneſs, in what ſenſe rewarded with the inheritance of the earth, 211. 9. The parts, actions, &c. of it, 212.

MELCHISEDECK, king of Salem, a type of Chriſt, his hiſtory, xvj. & xvij.

MELETUS, his ſaying to Simeon Stylites, 103. 20.

Mercy, a mark of predeſtination, and to be expreſſed in affections and actions, 214. 13.

MEROPE, her anſwer to Polyphontes, 242. 6.

MESSIAH, the gradual revelations concerning him in all ages, xlij. 1. Lively and particular accounts of him by the prophet Daniel, xxxiv. Was the prophet ſpoken of by Moſes, to whom all men ſhould hearken, xlij. 1. Was foretold alſo by David, Iſaiah, Micah and Daniel, xlij. 1. — and preached by John the Baptiſt, xliv. Meſſiah to ariſe out of the tribe of Judah, xvj. 18. Was prefigured by Melchiſedeck, xviij. 19. Two diſciples ſent by John the Baptiſt to inquire if Jeſus was the Meſſias, 276. 7. See CHRIST, &c.

—— *Falſe Meſſiahs*, 310. 22.

Metaphyſical ſpeculations concerning God, dangerous, 56. 18.

Metempſychoſis, the doctrine thereof current amongſt the Jews, xxxix. 22. & 440. 1.

Miniſters appointed by Chriſt, 406. 16. & 414. 1. That men ſhould not undertake the Miniſtry till they are called, 91. 3. Their vocation, 147. 1. Muſt be conſecrated by prayer, 436. 1, 2. Chriſtian Miniſters called prieſts, why, 138. Muſt be content though their labours are not ſucceſsful, 183. 4, 5. How they ought to comfort ſick perſons, 382. 10, 11, &c.

Miracles wrought by the Name of JESUS, 36. 9. The deſign of Miracles, 266. 3. Were foretold of the Meſſias, 267. 5. Primarily intended to convince the Jews, 267. 6. Miracles a great confirmation of the truth of any doctrine, 422. 9. — the holineſs of the chriſtian doctrine a greater proof, 73. 2. The Miracles of Chriſt acknowledged by his enemies, 268. 7. — thoſe reported of his infancy and younger years, ſpurious, 146. 8. A Miracle not granted to Herod's deſire, 403. 13. The goſpel introduced by more and greater Miracles than had ever been done before, xlviij. 10. & 266. 4. The Miracle of water turned into wine, 146. 6, 7. 150. 9, 10. & 266. 2. The ſurpriſing draught of fiſhes, 173. 9. 435. 4. & 449. 3. Peter's mother-in-law cured of a fever, 174. 12. & 436. 6. Jairus's daughter raiſed, 175. 20, 21. & 437. 4. Five thouſand fed with five loaves and two fiſhes, 304. 1. & 437. 5. Chriſt walks on the waves, 304. 2. & 438. 5. — ſtills the raging ſea, 174. 14. The ruler's ſon cured, 172. 6. The ſick recovered, devils caſt out, &c. 173. 10. & 174. 15. Seven thouſand fed with ſeven loaves and a few ſmall fiſhes, 305. 7. Ten lepers cured, 308. 18. A leper and a demoniack cured, 173. 12. The paralytick cured, 174. 17. The iſſue of blood ſtopped, 175. 20. A man born blind cured, 309. 21. Two blind men cured, and a devil caſt out, 176. 22. A ſick man cured at the pool of Betheſda, 275. 1. The man who had a withered hand (ſaid to be a maſon) reſtored, 275. 2. The centurion's ſervant cured, and a widow's ſon raiſed from the dead, 276. 7. A blind and dumb devil caſt out, 277. 11. — one deaf and dumb caſt out, 305. 7. The lunatick and poſſeſſed cured, 307. 12. The tribute-money taken in a fiſh's mouth, 212. 13. & 442. 6. Lazarus raiſed from the dead, 329. 2. Blind and lame cured, 330. 4. & 331. 7. The barren fig-tree curſed, 331. 9. Malchus's ear healed, 335. 21.

—— *Falſe Miracles*, looked on by Polybius as impoſtures, 268. 7. Foretold by our Saviour, 269. 11. The Miracles ſaid to have been wrought by Æſculapius, Veſpaſian, Adrian, Apollonius Tyanæus, &c. 268. 8.

Moderation and evenneſs, in a religious ſtate, moſt neceſſary for beginners, and ſafeſt for all, 388. 24, 25.

Money-changers driven out of the temple, 159. 1. & 161. 2.

Moral Law, eternal and immutable as the nature of God, xxiv. 4.

Morality, the duties of it varied according to the different circumſtances of men, 223. 13.

Mortification, the doctrine of a death-bed repentance inconſiſtent with it, 2[illegible]. 47. Is a neceſſary Chriſtian duty, 77. 2, 3, &c. Three degrees of interior Mortification, duty, counſel and perfection, 80. 10. Uſeful in order to keep the body under, 80. 11. Perſons eminent for mortifying themſelves, 82. 16. Is of greater uſe againſt carnal than ſpiritual temptations, 82. 17. Mortification of the ſpirit to be effected by ſpiritual means, 83. 17. The external action of no uſe but as it cooperates to the end, 84. 18, 19. Prudential reaſons relating to Mortification, 84. 18, 19, &c. The true end of it, 85. 23. The more difficult the labour, the greater will be the reward, 86. 24. This duty concerns all ſorts of perſons, 86. 24, 25, &c. The deſign of Mortification is not to take away, but overcome temptations, 86. 26.

MOSES, his birth, and miraculous preſervation, xxi. 2. Inferior to Chriſt as a lawgiver, xlvj. 6. His wiſdom and learning celebrated by Pagan writers as well as by Jewiſh, xxij. 2. Was endued with a power of working miracles, xxij. 3.

Mother, an affectionate and endearing name, not to be divided with a ſtranger, 18. 8. The duty of Mothers to nurſe their children, 18. 8.

Mother-Churches, 418. 5.

Mourning, a duty; its acts and reward, 211. 7.

MUHAMMED, his doctrine ſuited to mens luſts, 418. 6.

Murder, and all revengeful anger, forbidden by Chriſt, 232. 27. 234. 32. & 235. 3.

Myſteries not to be judged of by the teſtimonies of ſenſe, 353. That of the corporal preſence of Chriſt in the Lord's ſupper the object of wonder and adoration, 354. 4. Myſterious places of ſcripture ſeem intricate, by reaſon no words are proportionate to their ſignification, 357. 9.

N.

N*akedneſs* of two virgin martyrs covered with a veil of light, 375. 10. The ſhame of Nakedneſs and all other ſhames born by Chriſt, 376. 10.

NATHANAEL, his call and character, 148. 6.

National ſins and judgments — their cure, 325. 8.

Nature. Actions againſt Nature the greateſt diſhonour and impiety in the world, 17. 4. Good-nature an inſtrument of virtue, 86. 24.

Nazaræi, a ſect holding both Jewiſh and Chriſtian tenets, 567. 8.

Nazarenes, the ancient name of Chriſtians, what meant by it afterwards, 487. 2.

Neceſſities ought not to make us give way to temptations, 93. 10, 11. Both thoſe of ourſelves and others to be prayed for, 254. 12. Neceſſity muſt be obeyed before poſitive conſtitutions, 275. 2, 3.

NERO would have been a magician, but could not, 344. 10. Was the firſt among the Romans anointed with nard, 277. 9.

New Moons, a monthly feſtival among the Jews, how obſerved, xxvj. 7.

NICODEMUS, his conference with Chriſt, 159. 2, 3.

Nicolaitans, their hereſy, 552. 13.

NOAH, a preacher and practiſer of righteouſneſs in the worſt of times, xij. 15. His ark an hundred years in building,

building, xiij. 15. He builds an altar, xiij. 15. The precepts given to him and his family, iij. 3. His three ſons, xiij. 15. Whether Sem or Japhet the eldeſt, xiij. 16.

Nurſes, as much mothers to the infants they ſuckle as thoſe who brought them into the world, 18. 9.

O.

O*AKS* and groves frequented in religious worſhip, vij. 8. Abraham's Oak ſtanding till Conſtantine's time, was deſtroyed by his order, vij. 8.

Oaths. See *Swearing*. The regard Pythagoras's followers had to Oaths, 227. 19. Aſſertory Oaths on great and neceſſary occaſions, as to the government, &c. not forbidden Chriſtians, 227. 19. & 228. 21. That contradictory Oaths ſhould not be permitted in judgments, 229. 22. That the faith of a Chriſtian and word of a juſt perſon may ſuffice inſtead of an Oath, 228. 21. Princes and thoſe in power ſhould take care what Oaths they enjoin, 229. 22. — not to exact them in matters of commerce, 229. 22.

Obedience, the excellency of that virtue, 37. 1. Is a ſacrifice of our will to God, 37. 2. That of the underſtanding, 39. 8, 9. Obedience ſhould be univerſal, 40. 10. — to all ſuperiors, whether civil or eccleſiaſtical, 42. 18. — and in all things lawful, 42. 19. — even to the ſmalleſt injunctions, 43. 20, 21. Obedience to the higher powers made a duty both of juſtice and religion, *Pref.* (xviij) 31. Obedience to God our only ſecurity for defence and proviſions, 63. 3. Obedience and love ſtrove in the holy women, how reconciled, 402. 9.

Offerings, the ſeveral kinds of them under the Jewiſh law, xxiv. 5. A cheap Offering not acceptable when a better might be had, 169. 12.

OGYGES, Abraham ſo called by heathen writers, vij. 8.

Omnipreſence of God, the conſideration thereof a good means to deter us from ſin, 106. 30, 31, &c.

Opinion of ourſelves to be ſmall and true, 348. 5. In what mean Opinion of ourſelves conſiſts, 348. 6. It was the Duke of Candia's harbinger, 349. 6.

Oral Traditions, whence derived, xxxvj. 20. By whom committed to writing, xxxvij. 20. Blaſphemouſly preferred to the Bible itſelf by the Jews, xxxvij. 20, 21, 22.

Oratories, among the Jews, what, 492. 3.

Orders. Lapſed perſons not permitted to take holy Orders in the primitive church, 189. 10.

ORIGEN, his anſwer to the objections of Celſus againſt the divine miſſion of the apoſtles, 432. 5.

Original Sin, 34. 3, 4. Falſly charged on Adam, whenas every one of us is the Adam, the man of ſin, 35. 7. That Chriſtians do ill to pretend the ſin of Adam in countenance of their actual ſins, 280. 3. Infants liable to the curſe of Original ſin, being ſubject to death, 128. 17.

OSWY, King, his vow, 259. 20.

P.

PACHOMIUS, how converted to Chriſtianity, 73. 2.

Palms cut down for the reception of Jeſus, 330. 6.

PAPHNUTIUS, converted an harlot by the argument of the divine preſence, 107. 32.

Parables, the myſterious ſenſes couched under them, 278. 15, 16. Parable of the merchantman and jewel, 156. 14. & 279. 16. — of the widow and unjuſt judge, 258. 18. & 311. 26. — of the two debtors, 277. 10. — of the ſower, &c. 278. 15. — of the hidden treaſure, 279. 16. — the good ſhepherd, 310. 22 — of the good Samaritan, 310. 25. — of borrowing loaves at midnight, and of the rich man who enlarged his barns, 311. 26. — of the prodigal ſon, the loſt ſheep and groat, 312. 29. — of the rich man and Lazarus, 312. 29. — of the labourers in the vineyard, 313. 31. — of the talents, 330. 4. — of the vineyard let out to huſbandmen, 331. 10. — of the ten virgins, 377. 1.

Paradiſe a ſtate of bleſſedneſs, being a promiſe of Chriſt, 398. 1. A place for God's ſpecial appearance in Paradiſe, 167. 7. Opinions of ſeveral authors about it, 398. 1. Suppoſed the receptacle of the holy men of old who waited the coming of the Meſſias, 399. Chriſt returned from thence on the third day, 401. 7.

Pardon of ſins by Chriſt, properly meant of thoſe committed before baptiſm, 182. 3, 4. Pardon of ſin after falling away, uncertain and difficult, and not conſummate till the laſt day, 194. 23, 24. Poſſibility of Pardon hath a period in this life, 200.

Parents, their duty to take care of the nurſing and education of their children, 18. 9, 10, &c. The example of the bleſſed virgin, 21. 16. Duty of children to Parents the next to their duty to God — wherein it conſiſts, 232. 26. Their mutual obligations to each other, *Pref.* (v) 9. Duty to Parents the band of republicks, 232. 26.

Paſchal Rites repreſentative of moral duties, 347. 2.

Paſſion of Jeſus, 339. 35. & 390.

Paſſions ſanctified by Jeſus, 366. 3. The ill effects of tumultuous Paſſions, 79. 8.

Paſſover, its inſtitution, xxv. 5. A type of our ſpiritual redemption by Chriſt, xxv. 5. The time of its annual celebration, xxvj. 7.

Paſtors, the duty of them, 450. 4.

Patience, whether to be obtained by mortifying the body, 83. 17. Story of a lady who ſought out a perſon to try her patience, 104. 25. Perſons unjuſtly accuſed muſt be patient, 374. 8. — and ſick people, 384. 17.

Patriarchs, an account of them, x.—xvij. They inſtructed their families in the duties of religion, v. 7. The prieſthood derived from them, viij. 10. The religion of their times plain and ſimple, xx. 22. Hours of prayer ſaid to be inſtituted by the Patriarchs, 454. 5. Why they were deſirous to be buried in the land of promiſe, 399. That the faith and manners of the Patriarchs and the belief and practiſe of Chriſtians, were the ſame, xx. 21.

PATRICIUS, LEONTIUS, the meſſage ſent him by John patriarch of Alexandria, 233. 30.

Patrons to be careful whom they preſent for the miniſtry, 182. 2. How far lawful to prefer their kindred, 182. 2.

PAUL, St. his birth — why placed next St. Peter, 481. 1. Not one of the twelve, but a ſupernumerary apoſtle — called of Chriſt when in his glory, 416. 4. & 481. 1. He and St. Peter equally founded the church at Rome, 475. 6. Jacob's prophecy of Benjamin applied to St. Paul, 482. 2. Why called Saul alſo, 482. 3. Learnt the art of tentmaking, 483. 4. His education at Tarſus, and under Gamaliel at Jeruſalem, 482. 4, 5, 6. Was bred a Phariſee, — the character of that ſect, 483. 6. Paul aſſiſts at the death of Stephen, and perſecutes the church, 484. 7. His converſion, 485. 8, 9. He preaches the goſpel in the regions of Arabia and Damaſcus, 486. 1. His eſcape from Damaſcus, 487. 1. Barnabas introduces him to Peter and James, 487. 2. His voyage to Tarſus, and thence to Antioch, 487. 2. Is ſet apart with Barnabas to preach to the Gentiles, 488. 3. He converts Sergius Paulus, 488. 3. His ſermon at Antioch of Piſidia, and departure thence, 488. 4. Goes to Iconium, and from thence to Lyſtra, where he cures an impotent cripple, 489. 5. The people offering to ſacrifice to Paul and Barnabas, are reſtrained, 489. 5. — St. Paul's fine diſcourſe on that occaſion, 489. 6, 7. They ſtone St. Paul and drag him out of the city, 490. 6. Paul and Barnabas having confirmed the churches, return to Antioch in Syria, 490. 7. The controverſy there about the Moſaick rites — Paul and Barnabas ſent to Jeruſalem, 490. 8. — the deciſions of the council there, 461. 6. St. Paul and his company return to Antioch — reproves St. Peter, 491. 1. He takes Sylas for a companion, and paſſes into Syria and Cilicia, 491. 1, 2. Sailing to Crete, he conſtitutes Titus biſhop of that iſland, 492. 2. Returns to Cilicia, where he finds Timothy, 492. 2. Paſſing through ſeveral places, he arrives at Philippi, where he converts Lydia, 492. 3. Diſpoſſeſſes the Pythoneſs, 493. 4. Paul and Silas being caſt into priſon, convert the jaylor and his family, 493. 4. Paul preaches at Theſſalonica — then withdraws to Berœa, 494. 5. The generoſity of the Berœans, 494. 5. He goes to the renowned city of Athens, and preaches to the philoſophers there, 494. 6. & 496. 7. The ſuperſtition of the Athenians, 494. 7. An altar to the Unknown God, 495. 7. St. Paul's ſermon to them, 496. 7. Dionyſius the Areopagite and Damaris converted, 496. 7, 8. St. Paul goes to Corinth, where he meets with Aquila and Priſcilla, 497. 1. Criſpus, Gaius and Stephanus, are converted, 498. 1. The difficulties St. Paul encounter'd, 4. 9. Is indicted before Gallio, and acquitted, 498. 2. Writes his two Epiſtles to the Theſſalonians, 498. 2. From Corinth he goes to Epheſus, 498. 3. — ſails to Cæſarea, and goes thence to Jeruſalem; after that to Antioch, Galatia and Phrygia, 498. 3. He returns to Epheſus and baptizes certain believers, 499. 3. St. Paul preaches in the ſchool of Tyrannus, confirming his doctrine by miracles, 499. 4. Writes his Epiſtle to the Galatians, 500. 6. He is kept from oppoſing the popular fury in the uproar made by Demetrius the ſilverſmith, 501. 7. St. Paul ſends his firſt Epiſtle to the Corinthians — as alſo to Titus, 502. 9. He appoints Timothy biſhop of Epheſus, and departs for Macedonia, 503. 1. His ſecond Epiſtle to the Corinthians, 503. 1. His Epiſtle to Titus, and to the Romans, 503. 1. He preaches at Troas, and reſtores Eutychus, 503. 2. St. Paul arrives at Miletus — his farewel ſermon to the brethren there, 504. 3. Leaving that place he comes to Tyre, and is adviſed not to go up to Jeruſalem, 504. 4. St. Paul arrives at Cæſarea, where Agabus foretels his being bound by the Jews, 505. 4. Is joyfully received by the Chriſtians at Jeruſalem, 505. 4. He gives the church an account of the converſion of the Gentiles, 505. 5. Goes into the temple with four men who had a vow — a tumult is raiſed, 505. 6. He is dragged out of the temple — Claudius Lyſias takes him into cuſtody, 505. 6. and permits him to ſpeak to the people, 506. 7. His defence before the council, 506. 8. They are divided concerning him, 507. 8. St. Paul ſees a viſion in priſon — is ſent to Felix the Roman governor, 507. 9. Is accuſed by Tertullus, 508. 1. His defence, 508. 2. Paul diſcourſes before the governor and his wife Druſilla, 509. 3. His charge renewed before Feſtus — his appeal to Cæſar, 509. 4. St. Paul's ſpeech before King Agrippa, 510. 6. His voyage to Rome — is ſhipwreck'd, 511. 7. He and all the company get ſafely to the iſland of Melita, 511. 8. A viper faſtens on St. Paul's hand, which he ſhakes off into the fire, 512. 8. He cures Publius's father, and many others, 512. 8. They proceed on their voyage to Rome — St. Paul's kind reception by the Chriſtians there, 512. 9. His diſcourſe to the Jewiſh conſiſtory at Rome, 513. 1. His firſt hearing before the emperor, 513. 12. The converts he makes there, 513. 2, 3. The Philippians contribute to his ſupport — his Epiſtle to them, 514. 4. as alſo to the Epheſians and Coloſſians, 514. 4. Wrote his ſecond Epiſtle to Timothy about the ſame time, 514. 5. Several opinions concerning the Epiſtle to the Hebrews, 515. 6. St. Paul, after two years cuſtody, is ſet at liberty, 516. 7. Said to have preached the goſpel in the weſt, 516. 7. He returns to Rome, and is put into priſon together with Peter, 516. 8. Said to have been beheaded in the 68th year of his age, 517. 9. His burial — a ſtately church built over his grave by Conſtantine the Great, 517. 10. St. Paul's perſon deſcribed, 518. 1. His natural and acquired endowments, 518. 2. His great humility, temperance and ſobriety, 519. 3, 4. His kindneſs, charity, and zeal for religion, 520. 5, 6 His patience, 505. 6, 7. Some general remarks on the fourteen Epiſtles written by St. Paul, 522. 8. Suppoſititious writings fathered upon him, 523. 11. What meant by *Law* and *Faith* in his Epiſtles, 528. 7. His argument concerning juſtification, 531. 10, &c. In what ſenſe to be underſtood, when he calls himſelf the greateſt of ſinners, 253. 8. St. Paul had moſt confidence of his ſalvation towards his end, 303. 9.

Peace throughout the world at our Saviour's birth, 22. 3. Peace derived from God through Chriſt, 26. 5.

Peacefulneſs, its reward, 216. 17.

PELAGIUS, his error concerning baptiſm, 129. 18.

Penalty, in law, how far binding, 44.

Penitent Thief, 339. 32. His caſe different from common perſons, 188. 7. & 398. 1. Great Penitents indulged in ſome inſtances, even more than the juſt and innocent, 403. 12. — their lives oft-times more active and zealous, 403. 12. Examples of great Penitents, 382. 10.

Pentecoſt, or the feaſt of weeks, xxvi. 7. The time of the holy Ghoſt's deſcent, 452. 2.

Perſecution, a time to fly it, and a time to ſuffer, 222. 12. & 63. 4. Falſe pretences made uſe of to ſtir up Perſecutions, 65. 8. The duty of ſuffering explained — an earneſt of future bliſs, 217. 18. Not to fight againſt Perſecution, 65. 8.

Perſon of a man firſt accepted and then his gift, in what ſenſe true, 33. 10.

PETER, St. his birthplace, 430. 1. His perſonage and temper, 468. 1. His courage, and behaviour at different times, 468. 2. Was a moſt exemplary Chriſtian, 468. 3. Peter reckoned ten years older than Chriſt, 430. 2. Was brother to St. Andrew — which the elder, doubtful, 431. 4. His firſt acquaintance with Chriſt, 434. 2. — leaves all to follow him, 435. 5. Suppoſed to be the only apoſtle baptiſed by Chriſt, 171. 1. Peter's profeſſion of conſtancy to his Maſter, 438. 6. Is honoured for his eminent confeſſion of Chriſt, 440. 2. — reproved by him, 441. 4. His readineſs to fight for his Maſter, 335. 21. His denial of Chriſt, 335. 23. 372. 4. & 447. 6, 7. His repentance, 447. 7. Peter and John run to the Lord's ſepulchre, 448. 1. Peter's defence of the brethren from the ſcandalous aſperſions of their enemies, 453. 3. Chriſt's firſt appearance to him, 448. 2. Is three times commanded to feed his lambs, 397. 4. & 450. 4. Checked for buſying himſelf with temporal concerns, 397. 4. Peter propoſes chooſing another apoſtle in the room of Judas, 452. 1. His ſuffering foretold, 450. 5. Great numbers converted by his preaching, 454. 4, 5. Peter cures a poor cripple at the beautiful gate of the temple — his diſcourſe to the people on it, 454. 5. His reſolute teſtimony of Chriſt before the Sanhedrim, 455. 6. & 457. 9. He condemns Ananias and Sapphira, 456. 8. That Peter received the power of the keys both for himſelf and his ſucceſſors in the apoſtolate, 308. 10. The miracles wrought by Peter, 457. 9. He rebukes Simon Magus, 459. 1. Viſits the churches about Judæa, 459. 2. Cures Æneas, and reſtores Tabitha to life, 459. 2. His viſion of things clean and unclean, 459. 3. He preaches to, and converts Cornelius and his houſhold, 460. 4. Is caſt into priſon by Herod, and delivered by an angel, 461. 5. Peter aſſiſts at the council held at Jeruſalem, 461. 6. His conteſt with St. Paul at Antioch, 462. 7. — is ſaid to have founded that church, 463. 1. His firſt journey to Rome, 463. 2. and the effects aſcribed to it, 464. 2. His two Epiſtles, when written, 469. 5, 6. — the ſecond not taken into the canon for ſome ages, 470. 6. His acquaintance with Philo the Jew, 469. 5, 6. Returns to Jeruſalem, 464. 3. St. Peter reported to have been in Britain, 464. 3. His ſecond journey to Rome, and encounter with Simon Magus, 464. 3. Peter reſtores a dead man to life, to the confuſion of that impoſtor, 465. 4. — who attempting to fly, falls down at the prayer of Peter, and dies miſerably, 466. 4. Was ſoon after impriſoned by the emperor's order, 466. 6. Is ſolicited to eſcape, he complies, but is reprehended by our Lord, and returns to priſon again, 466. 6. Peter condemned, and at his own deſire crucified with his head downward, 466. 6. The original of the magnificent church at Rome, dedicated to our apoſtle, 467. His eulogy, 468. 2, 3, 4. Suppoſititious writings aſcribed to St. Peter, 469. 5. & 471. 7. His wife and family, 471. 8. The diſpute concerning Peter's having been at Rome diſcuſſed, 472. 1, 2, &c. Teſtimonies of divers authors to prove the truth of his abode at Rome, 476. 2, 3, &c. None but negative arguments brought againſt it, 478. 6.

PHANNIAS, an illiterate fellow, choſen high prieſt, xxxv. 18.

Phariſees, the character and opinions of that ſect, xxxix. 22. & 483. 6. The majeſty and purity of the law miſerably depraved by them, xxxvj. 19.

PHAVORINUS, his opinion of fortune-tellers, 299. 2. — and of mothers who neglect their children, 18. 8.

PHILIP the deacon preaches the goſpel at Samaria, 458. 1.

PHILIP, St. born at Bethſaida, and probably a fiſherman, 556. 2. Had the honour of being the firſt diſciple called by Chriſt, 556. 2. Metaphraſtes's account of St. Philip, 557. 2. He finds Nathanael — Chriſt's diſcourſe with him, 557. 3. Philip preaches the goſpel in the upper Aſia, 557. 4. — afterwards at Hierapolis, and converts the people from idolatry, 558. 5. He is caſt into priſon, ſcourged, and at laſt put to death, 558. 5. Was buried by St. Bartholomew, and Mariamne ſiſter to St. Philip, 558. 5. Was one of the married apoſtles, and a diſtinct perſon from Philip the deacon, 558. 6. He left no writings behind him, 559.

Philoſophy (Chriſtian) what, 51. 3.

PHLEGON, and other writers, took notice of the eclipſe at the time of our Saviour's ſuffering, 339. 34.

Phyſicians to be obeyed and ſubmitted to in ſickneſs, how far, 385. 18.

Pictures, why permitted under the goſpel, 225. 16.

Piety, an excellent diſpoſition to juſtifying faith, 178. 3.

Places (Holy) their appointment and uſe, 163. 1, 2, &c.

Planets, their bad influences overruled by God, 293. 24.

PLATO, his reproof of Diogenes, 106. 30.

PLUTARCH, his ſaying, That kings ought to be governed by laws, *Pref.* (xiv) 26. His ſentiments of education, 453. 2.

PODAVIVUS, his imitation of Wenceſlaus, *Exh.* [iv] 10.

Polygamy, the uſe of it in the firſt ages — the practice of it contrary to the deſign of God, *Pref.* (iv) 8.

PONTIUS PILATE, governor of Judæa, the puniſhment of his injuſtice in condemning our Saviour, 376. 12. See CHRIST and JESUS.

PORPHYRY, the ill uſe he made of the conteſt between St. Peter and Paul, 462. 7.

Popes, the firſt occaſion of changing their name when they came to that dignity, 431. 3.

Poverty a circumſtance of pride, inſtanced in Crates and Diogenes, 210. 4. When it dwells with diſcontent often occaſions family quarrels, 286. 10. No man need be aſhamed of an innocent Poverty, 13. 4. Chriſt choſe his portion among the poor of this world, 48. 3. Poverty better than riches, 49. 4. Poverty of ſpirit deſcribed,

ſcribed — its parts, acts and offices, 209. 3.

Prayer, of all duties the ſweeteſt, eaſieſt, and moſt natural, 77. 4. & v. 7. The definition, conditions, matter, manner, efficacy and rules of Prayer, with directions for its performance, 250. 1, 2, &c. An expoſition of the Lord's Prayer, 251. 3, 4, &c. — farther diſcourſed on, 311. 26. Chriſt's Prayer at his baptiſm, 137. Mental and vocal Prayers compared, 260. 23. The excellency of the Prayer made by Jeſus in the garden, 366. 4.

Prayers adapted to the ſeveral Sections in *The Life of* CHRIST, ſee pag. [vij]. 5. 10. 15. 21. 27. 31. 36. 47. 50. 59. 67. 71. 76. 87. 95. 110. 137. 151. 158. 163. 171. 181. 185. 208. 218. 240. 249. 261. 265. 270. 297. 303. 320. 328. 345. 351. 365. 370. 377. 389. 395. 407.

Preachers ſhould ſet a good example, 73. 2.

Precepts of the ſons of Noah, iij. 3. xlix. 11. *Pref.* (xiij) 22. The firſt ſix of them part of the law of nature, iij. 3. Abſtaining from fornication, one of them, 237. 37. The obſervation of theſe Precepts, to end diſputes, enjoined the Gentile converts, iv. 3.

Precepts of the Jewiſh law, xxviij. 10. & xxiij. 4.

Predeſtination, our believing well an effect of it, 152. 2. Is made an ill uſe of by ſome perſons, 383. 15. Predeſtination compared to a high mountain, 298. 2.

Prelacy, the ambitious ſeeking it the peſt of the church, 90. 2. Prelates carefully to avoid all occaſions of ſchiſm, 181. 1. They are ſhepherds, 310. 22. and fiſhers, 184. 6.

Prejudice, an enemy to religion, and brings a curſe, 178. 4, 5.

Presbyters (ſingle) not to be allowed the power of excommunication, 360. 13.

Preſence of God, an antidote againſt temptations, 105. 29.

Preſentation of Jeſus in the temple, the only preſent that was commenſurate to God's excellency, 48. 2.

Preſumption upon falſe opinions in religion, how cured, 382. In dying perſons, to be carefully diſtinguiſhed from confidence, 383. 15. The means of curing it, 383. 15.

Pride incident to ſpiritual perſons, 94. 12. That extraordinary gifts ſhould not cauſe Pride, 147. 3.

Prieſthood, whence derived — that of the firſt-born, viij. 10. In what caſes exerciſed by the younger ſons, viij. 10. Ceremonies uſed at ordination to the Prieſthood, xxvij. 8.

Prieſts of the Jewiſh law, not admitted to the full diſcharge of their function till their thirtieth year, xxvij. 8. & 69. 6. — nor kept at it after their fiftieth year, xxvij. 8.

Princes not to be reſiſted, 241. 4. & 66. 10. Their perſonal infirmities no excuſe for our diſobedience, 42. 18, &c.

Principles of Chriſtianity, miſapplied by ſome perſons, *Pref.* (xxviij).

Privileges (Perſonal) not to be ſo much inſiſted on as ſtrict duty, 33. 2.

PROCULUS, his curing the emperor Severus by unction, 426. 12.

Promiſes. The excellency of the goſpel Promiſes, xlvij. 8. Thoſe made to ſingle graces not effectual but in conjunction with all parts of our duty, 207. That temporal Promiſes belong alſo to the goſpel, 287. 13.

Prophecies, when they ceaſed — one of the prime ends of Prophecy ceaſed, which was to be a ſeal and aſſurance of the divine inſpiration of the holy ſcriptures, xxxij. 15.

Prophets, the manner in which God ſpake by them, xxxj. 13, 14, 15. Their reaſon not diſcompoſed by the revelation, xxxij. 15. That Prophets muſt avoid even the ſuſpicion of incontinence, 178. 4.

Proſelytes, how initiated into the Jewiſh church, xliv. Proſelytes of the gate, what, xlix. 11.

Proſeucha's, among the Jews and Samaritans, what, 492. 3.

Proſperity dangerous, how to behave in it, 8. 6.

Proteſtants. Their cauſe needs no falſe arguments to ſupport it, 479. 14.

Providence, the variety of its diſpenſations ought to reſtrain us from judging of them, 323. 4. That the Providence of God provides bread for us, 252. 7. It unites cauſes deſperate in one event, 11. — It diſpoſes evil men to evil events, and good men to good, ſecretly, but certainly, 60. 3, 4, &c. Providence is to be wholly relied on, 61. & 62.

Publicans and Sinners, what they were, 175. 18. The office of a Publican odious to the Jews, 175. 18. & 564. 1, 2.

Puniſhment (Relative). That of one ſometimes inflicted on many; as in the poſterities of Cham, Saul, Ahab, and the ſubjects of David, 393. 7.

Purity (Evangelical) deſcribed — its acts and reward, 215. 15.

Pythagoreans, their reverence for oaths, 227. 19. That they always diſcarded their anger at ſunſet, 233. 30.

Q.

Q*Uarrel* between the Jews and Samaritans, the ground of it, 172. 3, 4, &c.

Queſtions. That concerning original ſin ſtated in order to practice, 34. 4. & 280. 3.
Whether we are bound to ſuffer death or impriſonment rather than break a human law, 43. 21.
Whether Chriſt did truly, or in appearance only, increaſe in wiſdom, 68. 5.
Which is more advantage to piety, a retired and contemplative, or a publick and active life, 74. 5, 6.
Whether ſerving God by the way of the affections, or the way of underſtanding, is beſt, 39. 8. & 403. 11.
Whether the faith of ignorant perſons, produced by inſufficient arguments, is acceptable, 149. 7. & 151.
Whether purpoſes of good life upon our death-bed can be effectual, 201. 39.
How long time muſt repentance of an evil life begin before our death, 205. 48.
Whether we be always bound to do abſolutely the beſt thing, 222. 11.
Whether it be lawful for Chriſtians to ſwear, 226. 18.
Whether it be lawful to ſwear by a creature in ſuch caſes wherein it is permitted to ſwear by God, 229. 23.
Whether a virgin may not kill a raviſher, 244. 7.
Whether it be lawful to pray for revenge, 246. 10.
Whether Chriſtians may go to law, and in what caſes, 244. 8, 9.
Whether actual intention in our prayers be ſimply neceſſary, 256. 16.
Whether publick or private prayer be beſt, 260. 22. & 69. 2.
Whether vocal or mental prayer, 260. 23.
Whether a Chriſtian ought to be, or can be in this life, certain of ſalvation, 298. 1.
Whether a thing indifferent in its own nature is to be thrown off, if it have been abuſed to ſuperſtition, 315. 6.
Whether it is lawful to fight a duel, 243. 5, 6, &c.
Whether men may be denied the ſacrament of the Lord's ſupper for private ſins, 360. 13.
Whether it is better to communicate often, or ſeldom, 362. 18.
Whether abſolution may be given at the deſire of a death-bed penitent, after a wicked life, 383. 13. — Whether ſuch a perſon may be admitted to the communion, 387. 23.
Whether Chriſt ſuffered the pains of hell upon the croſs, 391. & 392.
How the divine juſtiee could conſiſt with puniſhing the innocent Jeſus, 393. 7, 8.
Whether ſaints enjoy the beatifick viſion before the day of judgment, 398. & 404. 15.

R.

R*Ainbow*, xiij. 15.

Raptures and Ecſtaſies, of different ſorts, 57. 22, 23.

Raſhneſs, an enemy to good counſels and happy events, 10.

Reaſon, wherein it differs from inſtinct, 17. 4.

Rebellion, more ſeverely puniſhed than murmuring againſt God, 47. 26.

Recidivation, or relapſe into a ſtate of ſin, unpardonable, in what inſtance, 278. 14.

Reformation begins ill, if it begins with ſacrilege, 162. 5.

Regeneration. St. Paul often, by a fiction of perſons, ſpeaks of himſelf not as in a ſtate of Regeneration, 98. 8.

Religion of Nature, what, *Pref.* (iv) 7.

Religion, its ſtate in the earlieſt times, ix. 11. — was plain and ſimple, unforced and natural, xx. 22. The Religion of the Jews ſuited to the temper of the people, xlvj. 7. and incapable of being extended over the whole world, xlix. 11. Religion is as excellent in its ſilent affections as in its exterior actions, 4. & 27. Its comforts and refreſhments — when neceſſary, 54. 13, 14, &c. — not greedily to be ſought after, 93. 11, 12. Religion a publick virtue, 69. 2. It obſerves the ſmalleſt things, 262. 1. The pretence of it does not hallow every action, 161. 3. The Religion of holy places, 162. 1, 2. How parties of different Religions are to demean themſelves, 177. 1, 2, &c. Is made a different thing from what Jeſus Chriſt deſigned it to be, 155. 12. The Religion of a Chriſtian reigns in the ſoul and purifies it, 219. 2, 3. Is for the moſt part begun by education, and maintained by cuſtom, 151. 1. The ſurpriſing progreſs of the Chriſtian Religion, xlix. 11. It beſt ſerves our temporal ends, 288. 15. Is not to be neglected on pretence of charity, 330. 5. Made the ſervant of intereſt by evil men — ſo that weak people ſuſpect all Religion of deſign, 373. 6. That exterior ornaments are an advantage to it, 169. 13.

There is no great deſign but what it is made to uſher or ſupport, 286. 12. Right reaſon the ſafeſt and moſt antient rule for Religion, xx. 22. That wherein the paſſions and affections are predominant, moſt acceptable to God, 403. 11. The ſtate of Religion under the Jewiſh oeconomy, xxxij. 16.

Religious Duties, the temper and diſpoſition of the mind chiefly regarded in them, ix. 11. No thanks to be Religious, when it is to humour the faſhion of the times, xij. 15. Religious actions to be ſubmitted to the conduct of ſpiritual guides, 43. 16. — ſhould be often repeated by ſick and dying perſons, 386. 20.

Repentance and Faith ſummaries of the goſpel, 185. 1, *&c.* Repentance to be renewed in the ſacrament of the Lord's ſupper, 192. 17. What it is according to ſcripture, 198. 32, 33. That it cannot ſafely be deferred, 206. 48, 49. 379. 5. & 380. 6. Is either publick or private — if publick, muſt uſe the inſtruments of the church, 207. The devil brings men to Repentance when it is too late, 373. 6. The great difference betwixt the Repentance of St. Peter and that of Judas, 374. 6. Eſau's Repentance, 373. 6. That it is neceſſary to human nature, 186. 2. The end of its inſtitution, 186. 2, 3. Was revealed by Chriſt as a law — not allowed in the law of Moſes for greater crimes, 187. Repentance and faith the two hands to apprehend Chriſt, 187. Not ſo clearly ſaid to be accepted after baptiſm as before, nor on the ſame terms, 187. 4. & 189. 11. That it is a collection of holy duties — the extirpation of all vicious habits, 198. 32, 33, *&c.* Repentance is not merely a ſorrow, 199. 36. — nor a purpoſe, 200. Is too late upon our death-bed, 202. 41. Repentance muſt begin immediately after ſin, 373. 6. May accidentally have advantages beyond innocence, 374. 6. Repenting often and ſinning often, a ſign of an ill condition, 100. 10, 11.

Repetition of prayers, 260. 23.

Reſignation to the will of God more particularly neceſſary in time of ſickneſs, 384. 16. How to be reſigned, 385. 18, 19. Our Saviour's example to encourage our Reſignation, 390. 2.

Reſiſting evil, in what ſenſe lawful, 212. 9.

Reſtitution, ſhould be in proportion to the crime committed, 198. 31. Is neceſſary to true repentance, 204. 44. & 387. 21. Reſtitution to a ſtate of grace, diviſible and by parts, 290. 3. Zaccheus's Reſtitution, 330. 4.

Reſurrection. That of Chriſt proved by a very great number of witneſſes, 404. 14. The hope of Chriſtians built on it, 404. 14. & 405. 15. The whole man to be raiſed, both ſoul and body, 404. 15. Not perfect till the day of judgment — the contrary opinion the foundation of purgatory, 405. 15. The reaſonableneſs of believing the doctrine of the Reſurrection, *Pref.* (xvij). The Reſurrection proved and deſcribed by Jeſus, 332. 11. All relations of kindred or affinity ceaſe therein, 332. 11.

Revelation, the method of it under the Jewiſh oeconomy, xxix. 11. xxx. 12, 13. & xxxj. 14. Three kinds of it the moſt conſiderable, urim and thummim, the audible voice, and ſpirit of prophecy, xxix. 11. The preeminence of the Revelation to Moſes, xxxj. 14.

Revenge, whether lawful to pray for it, 246. 10. Revenge and anger forbidden by Chriſt, *Pref.* (xxiij) 40. 241. 2, 3. & 235. 33, 34. Was allowed of before Chriſt's coming, 240. 1. The horrible devaſtations it would make, if indulged, *Pref.* (xxiv) 40.

Revenues of the Church, dangerous to ſeek after them, 65. 9.

Reverence of poſture to be uſed in praying, 260. 23.

Riches (Worldly) a ſtrong deſire for them ſurmounts the greateſt difficulties, 156. 14. Riches and temporalities dangerous to the church, 65. 8. — how they might be employed, 65. 9. Riches are ſureſt and to beſt purpoſes obtained by Chriſtianity, 286. 10, 11. Rich men leaſt diſpoſed to receive Chriſtianity, 27. 6.

Righteouſneſs. That of the Phariſees conſiſted in not doing evil — but that of Chriſtians not only in avoiding evil, but alſo in doing good, xxxvj. 19. 219. 2. & 220. 5.

Rites of burial laſted forty days among the Jews, 396. 1.

Romans, their firſt encampment againſt the Jews on mount Olivet, 331. 7. Some perſons of opinion that their empire was under the management of the devil, 94. 14. The Roman ſhews firſt exhibited wild beaſts killing each other, and afterwards men, iv. 4. The Roman arms, a golden eagle, ſet up over the great gate of the temple at Jeruſalem, by Herod, xxxv. 18.

S.

S*Abbath*, or ſeventh day, whether kept from the beginning, viij. 9. & xxiv. 4. To be kept in the ſtricteſt manner, xxvj. 7. The obligation of the ſeventh day cancell'd by the death of Chriſt, 231. 24. He wrought many of his miracles on the Sabbath, in order to its abrogation, 311. 28. The Jews Sabbath and the Lord's day both obſerved by the firſt Chriſtians, 552. 12. Second Sabbath, what it means, 275. 2.

Sabbatick Pool, ſtreamed only on the Sabbath, 311. 28.

Sabbatical Year, xxvij. 7.

Sacrament. See *Baptiſm*, and *Lord's Supper*. Chriſt added a Sacrament to his ſermon to the two diſciples going to Emmaus, 404. 13. The Sacrament the moſt neceſſary proviſion for our laſt journey, 388. 24.

Sacraments, two ſtreamed from Chriſt's ſide, 400. 4. The almighty power, wiſdom and charity of Chriſt, manifeſted in the Sacrament of his laſt ſupper, 354. 4. Bread and wine, why appointed for ſymbols, 354. 5. Diverſity of ceremonies uſed in giving the Sacraments, 136. 34. Sacraments ineffectual without the conjunction of ſomething moral, 91. 3. They operate by way of prayer, 91. 3. Two Sacraments among the Jews, circumciſion and the paſchal ſupper, xxv. 5.

Sacrifice probably offered by Adam, ix. 11. Wherein the difference between that of Cain and Abel, ix. 11. The manner in which God teſtified his acceptance of a Sacrifice, vj. 7. That it is not the value of the offering, ſo much as the heart of the offerer, that makes them acceptable, ix. 11.

Sacrifices were either euchariſtical or expiatory, vj. 7. — wherein they conſiſted, xxiv. 5. Whether firſt taken up by men, or commanded by God, doubtful, xxiv. 5. The right of ſacrificing beaſts determined by Chriſt's ſacrifice of himſelf, *Pref.* (xviij) 30.

Sacrilege, a robbing of God, 49. 3.

Sadducees, their origin, and opinions, xxxix. 23. Denied a future ſtate for rewards and puniſhments, xxxix. 23. & xlvij. 8. Their enmity to Chriſtianity, why, 455. 6.

Saints, their examples propounded for our imitation, *Exh.* [v] 13. & [vj] 16. In what ſenſe they are to inherit the earth, 211. 9.

SALOME, mother of the apoſtles James and John, 540. 1. Her petition to Chriſt in behalf of her two ſons, 543. 6.

SALOME, daughter of Herodias, preſents the head of John the Baptiſt to her mother, 160. 6. Was killed with ice, 160. 6.

Samaritans, a kind of ſectaries, xlj. — were ſchiſmaticks, 172. 3. Their hatred to the Jews, 172. 3. Were caſt when they appealed to Ptolemy, 172. 3. The ground of their quarrel with the Jews, 171. 3. & 542. 5. The Samaritan woman a concubine after the death of her fifth huſband, 177. 1.

Sanctum Sanctorum, or holy of holies, what contained in it, xxvj. 6.

Sanhedrim, or great Jewiſh council, its power, 484. 7.

Sarabitæ, were great mortifiers, but diſobedient, 46. 24.

Satan. What meant by being delivered over to him, 426. 13.

Saviour. The deſign of our Saviour's coming was to reſtore religion to its ancient purity, xx. 22.

Scandal, what, and wherein it conſiſts, 313. 1, 2, *&c.* St. Paul's advice concerning it, 316. 7. — an inſtance of it in the caſe of circumciſion, 318. 11. That Scandal cannot be given by doing what is our duty, 313. 2. & 319. 13. The ſin and indiſcretion of Scandal, 315. 6. Scandalous perſons, who, 313. & 319. 13. No man to ſay that himſelf is ſcandalized, 317. 10. The rules, meaſure and judgment of Scandal, 313. How to act in caſes of Scandal between a friend and an enemy, 318. 12. How Scandal may be avoided in making and executing laws, 319. 14.

Scape-goat, the ceremony of it, xxviij. 9.

Scepticiſm and Infidelity, the danger of it, 480. 15.

Schiſm, how to be avoided, 181. 1.

Schools of the Prophets, inſtituted by Samuel, xxxiij. 16.

SCIPIO ASIATICUS, his love to his foſter-ſiſter, 19. 10.

Scribes and Phariſees, their righteouſneſs, xxxvj. 19. & 219. 2. They corrupt and diſhonour the law, xxxvj. 19.

SCRIBONIANUS, CAMILLUS, ſolicits the Roman army to rebel againſt the emperor, 464. 2.

Scriptures. The keeping them in an unknown tongue confidently defended by the Romiſh church, 425. 12.

Scythians, their inhoſpitality to ſtrangers, 536. 3.

Sects, three moſt conſiderable among the Jews, the Phariſees, Sadducees and Eſſenes, xxxviij. 22.

Self-denial conſonant to nature and the firſt laws of mankind, *Pref.* (xx) 35.

Separation. Chriſt deſcended into the ſtate of Separation, 398. 1. & 404. 15.

SERAPION, his reproof of a young proud monk, 350. 7.

Servants, their duty to their maſters, 513. 3.

SETH, a good man and a great ſcholar, the firſt inventer of letters and writing, x. 12. — his two pillars, x. 12. A law that none of Seth's poſterity ſhould marry with infidels, v. 6. He and his retinue withdraw from Cain into a very high mountain, on the top of which Adam was buried, x. 12. His religious exit, x. 12.
Severity to ourſelves, and gentleneſs to others, a duty, 308. 17.
Shepherds, Chriſt firſt revealed to them, 27. 6. The good Shepherd, 310. 22. The duty of ſpiritual Shepherds, 26. — they are Shepherds and fiſhers, 183. 6.
Sickneſs and Death, the fear of God the beſt antidote againſt them, 289. 17. The uſe we ought to make of Sickneſs, 384. 16. Rules for the behaviour of ſick perſons, 385. 18, 19, &c.
Silence and retiredneſs, beget a kind of horror in religious worſhip, vij. 8. Silence of great uſe to perſons ſubject to anger, 236. 35.
Siloam, the pool there, 309. 21.
SIMEON, his prophecy concerning Chriſt, 32. 4. & 49. 5.
SIMON, St. ſirnamed the Zealot, from his warm temper, 578. 1. His having been of the ſect of the Zealots no objection to the holineſs of his life, when made an apoſtle, 572. 9. His travels and martyrdom, 579. 3. Was a diſtinct perſon from St. Simon ſon of Cleophas, his ſucceſſor, 580.
SIMON PETER. See PETER.
SIMON MAGUS. See MAGUS.
Simony, firſt introduced by Simon Magus, 97. 6.
Simplicity. The nature of Chriſtian Simplicity, 149. 6. & 182. 2.
Sin, the fruits of it falſe and unſatisfying, 296. 34. It makes men fearful and diſ-ſpirited, 296. 34. No inevitable neceſſity to ſin, 99. 9. It creeps on us imperceptibly, and proceeds from evil cuſtoms and examples, rather than from Adam, 35. 7. That it is the grand cauſe of the ſhortneſs of our lives, ſet forth in ſeveral inſtances, 291. 21, 22, &c. That lawful things become ſinful by the degree, 40. 13. Affection to ſmall Sins deadly and damnable, 41. 14. Is more dangerous after baptiſm than before, 189. 10, 11. and pardoned only in part, or imperfectly, 196. 29. & 197. 31. Sin pleaſant at firſt, but bitter in the end, 150. 10. The prayers of ſinners not heard, in what ſenſe, 255. 13. The ſhamefulneſs of Sin violent to nature, 280. 1. The natural effects of it, horror and fear of puniſhment, ij. 2. The Jewiſh oeconomy deficient in the pardon of Sin, 532. 12. That we ſhould avoid ſuch company as endeavour to ſcorn us into Sin, 372. 4. That the miſeries of this life are not always tokens of precedent Sin, 309. 21, &c. Sins ſmall in themſelves are made great when they come by deſign, and are committed deliberately, 40. 12.
Sin againſt the holy Ghoſt, what, 189. 10.
Sins of Infirmity, falſly ſo called, 98. 8. What they are in reality, 99. 10, 11. & 101. 12.
Skeleton ſerved up at the feaſts of the Egyptians, 108. 35.
Slander and malice a degree of murder, 235. 34.
SOCRATES, his uncertainty about a future ſtate, xlvij. 8.
Soldiers fell to the ground before the glory of Chriſt's perſon, 335. 21. Are ſaid to have plunged Jeſus into the brook Cedron, 370. 11. They mock and abuſe him, 336. 24. & 337. 29. They caſt lots for Chriſt's raiment, 338. 31. and pierced his ſide, 340. 37.
Solitude, a great help to devotion, yet ſubject to many difficulties, 75. 5, 6, 7.
SOLOMON'S Porch, a fragment of the firſt temple, 312. 29.
Son of GOD predeſtinated to be like mankind, that they might be like him, *Exhort.* [ij] 5.
Sons of GOD, who, xj. 13.
Son. No inſtance for above three thouſand years, according to Epiphanius, of a Son dying before his father, 292. 22.
Sons of Thunder, why St. John and St. James were ſo named, 542. 4, 5.
SORANUS, VALERIUS, the cauſe of his untimely end, 495.
Spirit (Holy) See HOLY GHOST. That the prophetick Spirit did not reſide in holy men habitually, but only occaſionally, xxxj. 14. — different effects of it on good and bad men, xxxij. 15. The operations of the Spirit in the Chriſtian life various and imperceptible, 130. 19. Its ſecret workings not to be meaſured by natural effects, 131. The Spirit of adoption, 302. 7. The earneſt of ſalvation — and muſt not be quenched, 302. 7. The Spirit chiefly to be offered unto God, 169. 12. That it is received by all who are rightly baptized and confirmed, 302. 7.
Spirits. That thoſe in the ſeparate ſtate were ſurprized at the appearance of Chriſt, 401. 6.
Spiritual and ſecular objects, their difference, 363. 21. Spiritual good things, how to be prayed for, 255. 13. Spiritual envy, what, 344. 8.
Star, that appeared to the wiſe men, an emblem that ordinary means ſhould be uſed when they can, 29. 6. It moved irregularly, 24. 9. The opinion of the Greeks concerning it, 24. 8. Herod troubled about it, 24. 9, 10.
State. That outward State adds reverence to religion, 168. 12.
Statue of braſs ſaid to be erected by the woman cured of a bloody iſſue, 176. 20.
Stile, in writing, no ſure rule to determine an author's works by, 476. 6.
Stoics, their notion of charity, 214. 13.
Stole, the reaſon why prieſts wore it round their necks, 374. 6.
STYLITES, SIMEON, his auſterity and obedience, 46. 24.
Sun, miraculouſly eclipſed at the paſſion of Chriſt, 339. 34.
Superſtition, good things frequently abuſed to it, 315. 6.
Supremacy pretended to by the church of Rome without foundation, 419. 7. Whereon their pretended Supremacy and infallibility is built, 440. 2, 3. That it is not juſtly inferred from Chriſt's command to Peter, 450. 4.
Swearing, under what reſtrictions forbidden to Chriſtians, 227. 18, 19. In what caſes allowed, 227. 19. Is an effect of diſtruſt or want of honeſty, 227. 19. Swearing, and promiſing to God, in the matter of vows, all one, 259. 20. Cuſtomary Swearing a great ſign of baſeneſs and irreligion, 229. 22. — Is particularly forbidden, and will be ſeverely puniſhed by Chriſt, 230. 23.
Swine allowed to be kept by the Jews, 174. 16.

T.

T*Abernacle*. See *Temple*. The Tabernacle firſt ſet down at Gilgal, then fixed at Shiloh, and afterwards moved to other places, xxxiij. 16.
Tabernacles, the feaſt of, xxvij. 7.
Talmud, the Babyloniſh, when and by whom compiled, — the extravagant opinion the Jews have of it, xxxvij. 20.
Teachers ſhould be exemplary, 30. 8. — and learn firſt of their ſuperiors, 71. 6. Should not undertake that office precipitately, 74. 3, 4, &c.
Temperance, ſobriety and prudence, a great income, 286. 11.
Temptations, in ſome degree natural to eminent virtues and graces, 92. 6. Thoſe to which the laſt ſcene of our lives is moſt incident, 384. 15. A life full of Temptations to be looked on as an order of divine providence, 92. 7. & 96. 2. Our Temptations hallowed by thoſe of Jeſus, 95. 16. Are opportunities of virtue and a crown, 96. 1. Men more guilty of many of their Temptations than the devil, 105. 25. Divers ways of reſiſting Temptations, 105. 27, 28, &c. Prayer a remedy againſt them, 109. 37, &c. We muſt not wonder if it be ſometimes ineffectual, 96. 2.
Temple, the magnificence of that of Solomon, xxxiij. 16. Its ſeveral courts, xxv. 6. The veil of it rent in ſunder at the ſuffering of Chriſt, why, xxviij. 9. The tabernacle an ambulatory Temple, xxv. 6. The ſecond Temple more glorious than the firſt, 402. 8. Five things wanting in it, xxxij. 15. Came infinitely ſhort of that of Solomon — and underwent divers profanations, xxxv. 18. The ſucceſſion of high prieſts in it, 287. 14. Was profaned by Antiochus Epiphanes, xxxiv. and afterwards by Pompey and Craſſus, xxxv. 18. The Temples of the Heathens conſecrated, and uſed by Chriſtians, 315. 6.
Temporal privileges inferior to ſpiritual, 278. 12. How Temporal good things may be prayed for, 250. 1.
TERAH, father of Abraham, his idolatry and repentance, xiv. 16. A maker of ſtatues and images, xiv. 17. Is therefore puniſhed by the death of his ſon Haran, 292. 22.
Teraphim, little images, much uſed in the eaſtern countries, xxx. 11. & xvj. 18.
TERESA à Jeſu, her vow, 223. 12.
THEMISTOCLES appeaſed King Admetus by means of that king's ſon, 355. 7.
Therapeutæ, Philo's account of their religious ſocieties, 590. 2. Their rites and ceremonies, 590. 2. & 591. 3. Their abſtemiouſneſs and devotion, 590. 2. Euſebius affirms they were Chriſtians converted by St. Mark, 590. 3. The origin of monaſteries and religious orders derived from them, 590. 3. That they were not Chriſtians evident from the account itſelf, 591. 3.
THEODORET, his elegant triumph over the heathens, 433. 6.
Thief on the croſs, in what ſenſe pardoned, 188. 8. — an excellent penitent, 339. 32.
THOMAS, St. his obſtinate unbelief, 397. 3. & 569. 2. —
convinced

convinced and reproved by Chriſt, 397.3. 402.8. &569.2. No account in the goſpel of his country or kindred, 568. 1. His call to the apoſtleſhip, and pious affections, 569. 1. Is allotted to preach the goſpel in Parthia — goes to the Medes, Perſians, *&c.* 569. 3. Is ſaid to have met with the Magi, or wiſe men, 570. 3. His manner of converting the Eaſt-Indians, 570. 3. The account given of this apoſtle by the Portugueſe, 570. 4. His martyrdom, *&c.* 570. 4. The St. Thomas Chriſtians, ſo called from our apoſtle, 571. 6.

Tithes, God principally injured in detaining them, 49. 3. Were paid by Abraham to Melchiſedeck, xviij. 19.

TIMOTHEUS, a ſaying of his, 290. 18.

Trades. The Jewiſh rabbins always brought up to ſome manual Trade, 482. 4.

Tradition, the church of Rome very fond of it, xxxvij. 21. The Tradition of the houſe of Elias, ij. 1. That of the Jews concerning Pharaoh's daughter, xxij. 2.

Transfiguration of Chriſt, 306. 11. & 441. 5.

Tranſmigration of ſouls maintained by the Phariſees, 306. 8.

Tranſubſtantiation, many difficulties in that doctrine, 353.

Tribunal, that of the church ſhould be merciful, 405. 16. Compared with God's Tribunal, 405. 16.

Tribute of the didrachm, 307. 13. That we ought to pay Tribute to whom it is due, 332. 10.

Triumph. Jeſus enters Jeruſalem in Triumph, 330. 6. & 349. 4.

V.

V*AIN* repetitions to be avoided in our prayers, 258. 19.

VALENS, the emperor, praiſed St. Baſil's reverence in performing holy offices, 170. 13.

VALERIUS GRATUS, the patron of Caiaphas, 373. 5.

VESPASIAN, how he attained the Roman empire, 22. 2. His father publican of the Aſian provinces, 563. 1.

Veſtals, chaſte unmarried ladies among the Romans, 17. 6.

Vice, the practice of it more painful than that of virtue, 282. 4, 5. Is unwary, prodigal and indiſcreet, 285.9, *&c.*

Vices, various kinds of them, 102. 16. Intellectual Vices not to be mortified by corporal auſterities, 83. 17.

Vinegar and gall offered to Jeſus, 335. 35.

Virga Apoſtolica, 426. 13.

Virgin (Holy) See MARY.

——Whether a Virgin may kill a raviſher who attempts her chaſtity, 244. 7. Of one who ſhut herſelf up in a ſepulchre for twelve years to cure her temptation, 107. 34.

Virginity, preferable to marriage, 312. 29.

Virtue and Vice often differ but one degree, 41. 15. Virtue is honourable, and praiſed, even by thoſe who love it not, 286. 12. Is offered with ſuch advantages as to entertain our firſt deſires, and hath a ſupernatural reward promiſed, 297. It is productive of content, 284. 7. Is more eligible, and has not half ſo much trouble as vice, 64. 6. Is not to be purchaſed by bodily pains, 83. 17. There are many Virtues which cannot be altered without violence to natural diſpoſition, 281. The difficulty of Virtue often proceeds from bad education and evil habits, 281.

Viſions, the manner of God's communicating himſelf by them, xxxj. 13.

Unbelievers convinced by the philoſophy of their ſenſes, by feeling the fleſh and bones of our Saviour, 397. 3.

Unchriſtian perſons infinitely unwiſe, why, 296. 32.

Uncleanneſs, the greateſt ſin of the body, 239. 42. Story of a young man tempted to it, 109. 37.

Underſtanding, is of a ſpiritual nature when meditating on holy things, 51. 3. Our Underſtanding muſt be ſacrificed in obedience to God, 38. 7. — a ſure way of ſerving God, 39. 8. Mankind to be judged according to the Underſtanding, 186. 2.

Unitive. The Unitive way the ſame as familiarity with God, 58. 26, 27. To be practiſed with caution, 56. 20.

Voice. An audible Voice one of the ways of divine revelation, xxx. 12. God bore witneſs to the Saviour of the world by a Voice from heaven, firſt at his baptiſm, ſecondly at his transfiguration, and thirdly, at the time of the paſſover, xxx. 12.

Vow of Interdict, among the Jews, xxxvij. 21.

Vows of perpetuity, to be avoided by new converts, 103. 22. The uſe of religious Vows, 259. 20. Are to be made with much caution and prudence, 259. 20.

Upper-chamber, among the Jews, what, 451. 1.

Urim and Thummim, the ſeveral opinions of learned men about it, xxix. 11. A kind of political oracle, conſulted only for the good of the publick, xxx. 13.

W.

W*Andring* thoughts in prayer, to be prayed againſt, 257. 16.

Want cannot be where God undertakes to provide, 72. 1.

Waſhings, their frequent uſe among the Jews, xxxvij. 21. 76. 8. 305. 5. 333. 16. & 146. 7. What an emblem of, xxiij. 3. Waſhing the feet, a civility uſed to ſtrangers, 333. 16. The Waſhing the diſciples feet, 333. 16.

Watchfulneſs in our duty, denoted in the parable of the ten virgins, 377. 1, *&c.*

Water-pots uſed by the Jews in their feaſts, why, 146. 7.

Way to heaven narrow, in what ſenſe, 282. 4.

WENCESLAUS, king of Bohemia, his extraordinary devotion, *Exhort.* [iv] 10.

Widows, who marry within the year of mourning looked on as ſcandalous, 319. 13. The Widow's two mites accepted, 168. 12.

Wilderneſs. Chriſt choſe to go, but was not involuntarily driven thither by the evil ſpirit, 89. 7.

Will (Laſt-) to be made with conſideration and charity, 389. 25.

Will of man, to be entirely ſubmitted to that of God, 38. 5, 6. Is always ſtrongeſt when his underſtanding is weakeſt, 186. 2. Will for the deed accepted, how underſtood, 202. 41. Will of God to be choſen before our own, 256. 15.

Wiſdom. How Jeſus, being God, is ſaid to have increaſed in Wiſdom, 68. 5.

Woman of Samaria, her diſcourſe with Chriſt, 171. 1, 2, *&c.*

Women who followed our Saviour, 279. 17. The fancy, ſoftneſs and paſſion of Women great helps in religion, 403. 11. Are ſometimes inſtrumental to the converſion of men, 172. 4. Women made ſubſervient to the deſigns of hereticks, *&c.* 179. 5. Religious friendſhips contracted with Women by ſome eminent apoſtles and biſhops, 179. 6. Good men to be cautious in converſing with them, 179. 5. Women who have ſuffered death for their chaſtity, might perchance have yielded it to a lover, had they lived, 217. 18. That is the duty of Women to nurſe their own children, 18. 8. — ſubmitted to by the greateſt perſonages of old, 16. 1. — furniſhed with breaſts for that purpoſe, 18. 9. The piety of the bleſſed virgin a pattern for them, 47. The Women go early to Chriſt's ſepulchre, 402. 10. — preſented him wine mixed with myrrh, 338. 31.

Works. St. Paul excluded only the Works of the law from juſtification, 534. 16. and St. James means that we are juſtified by evangelical obedience, or the Works of the goſpel, 534. 16. Works of religion, after a pious life, are of great concernment on our death-bed, 384. 15.

World, the love of it a ſource of troubles and vices, 282. 4. The World muſt be denied when made uſe of by the devil to inſnare us, 94. 14.

Worſhip (Publick) in the Jewiſh church, the places where, the times when, and perſons by whom adminiſtered, v. 6, 7, *&c.* Sacrifices a ſolemn part of it, xxiv. 5. Confined to Jeruſalem only, xxv. 6. & xlix. 12. The times, xxvj. 7. — perſons concerned in it, xxvij. 8.

—— —— In the Chriſtian church, — free to any part of the world, l. 12. Places conſecrated to it, 166. 5. Difference betwixt publick and private Worſhip, 69. 2.

Y.

Y*OKE.* The Yoke of Chriſtianity eaſy, 280. 1. & xlvj. 7. The Yoke of Moſes and the Yoke of ſin broken by Chriſt, 280. 1. & xlvj. 7. The Yoke of the ceremonial law grievous and burdenſome, xlvj. 7.

Z.

ZACHARY, father of John the Baptiſt, puniſhed and confirmed by a miracle, xliij. 2. — ſlain by Herod, why, 61. 5. Tertullian's report that his blood ſtained the pavement of the temple to after-ages, 61. 6.

ZACCHÆUS, his converſion and repentance, 330. 4.

ZALEUCUS, his law againſt adultery, 393. 8. Puts out one of his own eyes, to ſave one of his ſons, 393. 8.

Zeal for religion ſometimes deviates into ſin, 79. 8. — more eſpecially in new converts, 102. 20, *&c.* Zeal often tranſports men beyond bounds, 479. 14. Our Zeal moſt properly ſhewn in defence of God's honour, 95. 15. That of Elias not imitable by us, 308. 18. Moſes and Eliſha diſcompoſed by too much Zeal, 79. 8.

Zealots, a Jewiſh ſect, xlj. — mighty aſſerters of the honour of the law, 578. 2. Thought themſelves ſucceſſors of Phineas, — guilty of all manner of licentiouſneſs, 579. 2.

ZEBEDEE, his family highly honoured by Chriſt, 431. 4.

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